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**CLARENDON'S**  
**HISTORY OF THE REBELLION.**







Engraved by H. B. Hall.

**KING CHARLES THE FIRST.**

**OB. 1648.**

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THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF  
THE REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS  
IN  
ENGLAND,

BY  
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

ALSO,  
HIS LIFE, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

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A New Edition,  
ILLUSTRATED WITH FIFTY-SIX PORTRAITS.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.  
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## THE

## HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &amp;c.

## BOOK XI.

DEUT. XXIX. 24. *Even all nations shall say, Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger?*

LAM. ii. 7. *The Lord hath cast off his altar, he hath abhorred his sanctuary, he hath given up into the hand of the enemy the walls of her palaces; they have made a noise in the house of the Lord, as in the day of a solemn feast.*

IF a universal discontent and murmuring of the three nations, and almost as general a detestation both of parliament and army, and a most passionate desire that all their follies and madness might be forgotten in restoring the king to all they had taken from him, and in settling that blessed government they had deprived themselves of, could have contributed to his majesty's recovery, never people were better disposed to erect and repair again the building they had so maliciously thrown and pulled down. In England there was a general discontent amongst all sorts of men; many officers and soldiers who had served the parliament from the beginning of the war, and given too great testimonies of their courage and fidelity [to their party], and had been disbanded upon the new model, looked upon the present army with contempt, as those who reaped the harvest and reward of their labours, and spake of them and against them in all places accordingly: the nobility and gentry who had advanced the credit and reputation of the parliament by concurring with it against the king, found themselves totally neglected, and the most inferior people preferred to all places of trust and profit: the presbyterian ministers talked very loud; their party appeared to be very numerous, and the expectation of an attempt from Scotland, and the importunity and clamour from Ireland, for supplies of men and money against the Irish, who grew powerful, raised the courage of all discontented persons to meet and confer together, and all to inveigh against the army, and the officers who had corrupted it. The parliament bore no reproach so concernedly, as that of "the want of supplies to Ireland, and that, having so great an army without an enemy, they would not spare any part of it to preserve that kingdom." This argument made a new warmth in the house of commons, they who had been silent, and given over insisting upon the insolence and presumption of the army, which had prevailed, and crushed them, took now new spirit, and pressed the relief of Ireland with great earnestness, and in order thereunto made great inquisition into the expenses of the money, and how such vast sums received had been disbursed; which was a large field, and led them to many men's doors upon whom they were willing to be revenged.

There was a design this way to get the presbyterians again into power, and that they might

get the command of an army for the subduing the rebels in Ireland. Cromwell had, for the quieting the clamours from thence, got the lord Lisle, eldest son to the earl of Leicester, sent under the title of lord lieutenant of that kingdom thither, with a commission for five or six months. He had landed in Munster, either out of the jealousy they had of the lord Inchiquin, or because the best part of their army of English were under his command in that province. But that expedition gave the English no relief, nor weakened the power or strength of the Irish, but rather increased their reputation by the faction and bitterness that was between the lieutenant and the president, who writ letters of complaint one against the other to the parliament, where they had both their parties which adhered to them. So that, the time of his commission being expired, and the contrary party not suffering it to be renewed, the lord Lisle returned again into England, leaving the lord Inchiquin, whom he meant to have destroyed, in the entire possession of the command, and in greater reputation than he was before. And, in truth, he had preserved both with wonderful dexterity, expecting every day the arrival of the marquis of Ormond, and every day informing the parliament of the ill condition he was in, and pressing for a supply of men and money, when he knew they would send neither.

Upon the return of the lord Lisle the presbyterians renewed their design, and caused sir William Waller to be named for deputy or lieutenant of Ireland, the rather (over and above his merit, and the experience they had had of his service) because he could quickly draw together those officers and soldiers which had served under him, and were now disbanded, and would willingly again engage under their old general. At the first, Cromwell did not oppose this motion, but consented to it, being very willing to be rid both of Waller, and all the officers who were willing to go with him, who he knew were not his friends, and watched an opportunity to be even with him. But when he saw Waller insist upon great supplies to carry with him, as he had reason to do, and when he considered of what consequence it might be to him and all his designs, if a well formed and disciplined army should be under the power of Waller, and such officers, he changed his mind; and first set his instruments to cross such a sup-

ply of men and money, as he had proposed; "the one, as more than necessary for the service; and the other, as more than they could spare from their other occasions:" and when this check was put to Waller's engagement, he caused Lambert to be proposed for that expedition, a man who was then fast to the same interest he embraced, and who had gotten a great name in the army. He formalized so long upon this, that Ireland remained still unsupplied, and their affairs there seemed to be in a very ill condition.

The Scots made so much noise of their purposes, even before their commissioners left London, and gave such constant advertisements of the impatience of their countrymen to be in arms for the king, though they made no haste in providing for such an expedition, that both the presbyterians, who were their chief correspondents, and the royal party, bethought themselves how they might be ready; the one, that they might redeem themselves from their former guilt, and the other, that they might not only have a good part in freeing the king from his imprisonment, but be able to preserve him in liberty from any presbyterian impositions, which they still apprehended the Scots might endeavour to impose, though they had no suspicion of the engagement [lately mentioned] at the Isle of Wight.

The earl of Holland, who had done twice very notoriously amiss, and had been, since his return from Oxford, notably despised by all persons of credit in the parliament and the army, had a mind to redeem his former faults by a new and thorough engagement. He had much credit by descent and by alliance with the presbyterian party, and was privy to the undertakings of Scotland, and had constant intelligence of the advance that was made there. His brother, the earl of Warwick, had undergone some mortification with the rest, and had not that authority in the naval affairs as he had used to have, though he was the high admiral of England by ordinance of parliament, and had done them extraordinary services. He did not restrain or endeavour to suppress the earl of Holland's discontents, but inflamed them, and promised to join with him, as many others of that gang of men did; resolving that the Scots should not do all that work, but that they would have a share in the merit. The duke of Buckingham, and his brother, the lord Francis Villiers, were newly returned from travel, and though both under years, were strong and active young men, and being, in respect of their infancy, unengaged in the late war, and so unhurt by it, and coming now to the possession of large estates, which they thought they were obliged to venture for the crown upon the first opportunity, they fell easily into the friendship of the earl of Holland, and were ready to embark themselves in his adventure. The earl had made tender of his resolutions to his old mistress the queen at Paris, who was always disposed to trust him, and the lord Jermyn and he renewed their former friendship, the warmth whereof had never been extinguished.

And a commission was sent from the prince to the earl to be general of an army, that was to be raised for the redemption of the king

from prison, and to restore the parliament to its freedom. The earl of Peterborough, and John Mordaunt his brother, the family of the earl of Northampton, and all the officers who had served the king in the war, with which the city of London and all parts of the kingdom abounded, applied themselves to the earl of Holland, and received commissions from him for several commands.

This engagement was so well known, and so generally spoken of, that they concluded that the parliament durst not take notice of it, or wished well to it. And there is no question, never undertaking of such a nature was carried on with so little reservation; there was scarce a county in England, in which there was not some association entered into to appear in arms for the king. They who had the principal command in Wales under the parliament, sent to Paris to declare, "that, if they might have supply of arms and ammunition, and a reasonable sum of money for the payment of their garrisons, they would declare for the king, having the chief places of those parts in their custody." The lord Jermyn encouraged all those overtures with most positive undertaking, that they should be supplied with all they expected, within so many days after they should declare; which they depended upon, and he, according to his custom, never thought of after; by which the service miscarried, and many gallant men were lost.

Cromwell, to whom all these machinations were known, chose rather to run the hazard of all that such a loose combination could produce, than, by seizing upon persons, to engage the parliament in examinations, and in parties; the inconvenience whereof he apprehended more; finding already that the presbyterian party had so great an influence upon the general, that he declared to him, "he would not march against the Scots," whom he had a good mind to have visited before their counsels and resolutions were formed; and Cromwell had reason to believe, that Fairfax would be firm to the same mind, even after they should have invaded the kingdom.

All things being in this forwardness in England, it is fit to inquire how the Scots complied with their obligations, and what expedition they used in raising their army. After the commissioners' return from London, upon the king's being made prisoner in the Isle of Wight, it was long before the marquis of Argyle could be prevailed with to consent that a parliament should be called. He had made a fast friendship with Cromwell and Vane; and knew that in this new stipulation with the king, the Hamiltonian faction was the great undertaker, and meant to have all the honour of whatsoever should follow. And yet the duke lived very privately at his own house, had never seen the king, nor went abroad to any meeting after his return to Scotland; and to those who came to him, and to whom that resolution would be grateful, he used to speak darkly, and as a man that thought more of revenge upon those who had imprisoned him, than of assisting the crown to recover the authority it had lost. Argyle, whose power was over that violent party of the clergy which would not depart from the most

rigid clause in the covenant, and were without any reverence for the king or his government, discerned that he should never be able to hinder the calling of a parliament, which the people generally called for, and that he should sooner obtain his end by puzzling their proceedings, and obstructing their determinations, after they should be assembled, than by obstinately opposing their coming together. So summons were issued for the convention of a parliament; and they who appeared most concerned for the king, and to set him at liberty from his imprisonment, (which was all they pretended,) were the earl of Lanrick, brother to duke Hamilton, and then restored to his office of secretary of Scotland, who had been imprisoned at Oxford, and made his escape from thence; and the earl of Lautherdale, who had been with the forwardest from the beginning of the rebellion, when he was scarce of age, and prosecuted it to the end with most eminent fierceness and animosity.

They were both men of great parts and industry, though they loved pleasures too; both proud and ambitious; the former, much the civiler and better bred, of the better nature, and better judgment, and an openness and clearness more to be trusted and relied upon than most men of that nation: the latter, insolent, imperious, flattering, and dissembling, fitter for intrigues and contrivances by the want of the ingenuity which the other had, and by the experience and practice he had in the committee of both kingdoms in their darkest designs. The former was a man of honour and courage; the latter had courage enough not to fail where it was absolutely necessary, and no impediment of honour to restrain him from doing any thing that might gratify any of his passions.

These two were the chief managers and contrivers to carry on this affair; for though the chancellor, the earl of Lowden, had been a commissioner in England, and as privy to the treaty with the king, and had made as many professions and protestations of duty to him as they, and indeed was willing to perform them, yet he was so obnoxious for his loose and vicious life, which was notorious, that he durst not provoke Argyle or the clergy by dissenting from them. They used all the interest and skill they had, to get such elections in the boroughs of members for the parliament as might comply with them; and the people generally were exceedingly offended, and ashamed of the infamous delivery up of the king to the English, to which they imputed all the danger that threatened them, and the reproach and infamy that lay upon their country; and so had great prejudice to all men who were thought to be the cause of it.

At the opening of the parliament, they did all they could to inflame the people against the army in England; which, they said, "had forced the parliament there to break the treaty between the two kingdoms in their ill usage of the king, who was imprisoned by the army, nor was it in the power of the parliament to set him at liberty: that they had now, upon the matter, absolutely deposed him, by not suffering him to perform the office of a king, nor permitting any of his subjects to repair to him; in which the kingdom of Scotland was concerned, in that being independent upon England, and the parliament of

"England, they were by them deprived of their king, and could not be admitted to speak with him, nor his majesty to send to them; which was such a presumption, and violation of the law of nations, and such a perfidious breach and contempt of the solemn league and covenant, and of the treaty between the two kingdoms, that they were bound by all the obligations human and divine to be sensible of it, and to redeem their king's liberty, and their own honour, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes and all that was dear to them: and therefore they desired that they might enter upon those counsels, which might soonest get an army together, which should no sooner enter England, but it would find a conjunction from that whole kingdom, except only the army; and that it would then quickly appear that the parliaments of both kingdoms desired the same thing, and to live happily under the government of the same king."

This discourse, urged and seconded by many of the principal men, was entertained by the rest with so general a reception, that Argyle found it would be to no purpose directly to contradict or oppose it. He saw the election of the knights and burghesses had succeeded according to their wishes, and that they would concur with whatsoever was proposed; and he found likewise that they had wrought upon the greatest part of their clergy; who believed all they said to them. He did not therefore oppose any thing proposed by them, but only desired, "that they would very well weigh the manner of their proceeding in an affair of so great concernment, which was like to terminate in a bloody war between the two kingdoms; which had hitherto proceeded as brethren, and had both reaped great benefit and advantage from the conjunction: and he hoped there was no purpose to shake any of those foundations which had been laid in the years by-gone, which supported that government, and made that kingdom happy; which if dissolved, all the mischief and tyranny they had formerly felt and undergone, would break in upon them with a torrent that should destroy them." Every body declared, "that there was no purpose to swerve, in the least degree, from what was established for the government in either kingdom, by their solemn league and covenant, which they had in perfect veneration, and looked upon it as an obligation upon them to do all that had been proposed;" upon which Argyle acquiesced as satisfied, not doubting but that, in the prosecution of their counsels, he should find opportunity enough to obstruct the quick progress, and to interrupt the conclusion, and execution.

The lords who had been in England, and frequented Hampton Court, whilst the king was there, to make themselves the more gracious, had treated all the king's party with all manner of caresses, and more particularly had much applied themselves to those gentlemen of the north who had most eminently served the king, and who had good fortunes there to support their interest. Of this kind there were two very notable men, sir Marmaduke Langdale, and sir Philip Musgrave; both men of large and plentiful estates, the one in Yorkshire, the other in Cumberland and Westmoreland; who having been in the time of peace eminent in their country in the offices of justices of peace, and deputy lieutenants, had, in the begin-

ning of the war, engaged themselves in commands in the king's army with great reputation of stout, diligent, and active officers; and continued to the end, and had not after applied themselves to make any composition, but expected a new opportunity to appear with their swords in their hands. They were both looked upon by the parliament, and the chief officers of the army, with most jealousy, as men worthy to be apprehended, and who could never be induced to comply with them. The Scottish lords had not been scrupulous to let these two gentlemen know what they intended, and "that they made no question but they should engage their whole kingdom and nation to enter into a present war with England on the king's behalf; and therefore desired them, by the interest and influence they had upon the northern counties, to dispose them to a conjunction with them." And because they knew that they two were too notorious to stay with any security about London, much less in their own country, they invited them into Scotland, where they assured them, "they should not only be safe, but very welcome; and should be witnesses of their proceedings, and have parts of their own to act in, as soon as the season should be ripe."

These gentlemen, though they had been hitherto unhurt, and, whilst the army made those professions towards the king, had been much courted by the chief officers thereof, and had been quartered with them as friends, knew well, now the mask was off, that if they did not immediately apply themselves to make their compositions, they should be apprehended, and imprisoned. And therefore, being confident that the Scots would engage for the king, they accepted their invitation, and told them, "they should quickly find them in Scotland after their own return." Accordingly, after having secretly spent some time in their own counties, and directed their friends to be in a readiness when they should be called upon, and in the mean time settled a way how to correspond together, they went into Scotland to those who had invited them, and were received by them with civility enough. They owned such a wariness, in respect of the jealousies amongst themselves, and the ill arts of Argyle, that they desired them "for some time to withdraw to some place," (which they recommended to them,) "and there to remain in secret, and under feigned names, until the calling of the parliament; at which time they might cometo Edinburgh, and appear in their own likeness with all freedom." So after having remained in that private manner, where they were well treated for some months, when the parliament was assembled at Edinburgh, they returned thither; and were very well looked upon by all that knew them; which made them behave themselves with the more freedom and confidence in their conversation, the forementioned lords telling them all they meant to do, and what arts they were to use till they could get their army up, towards which they believed they had mastered the greatest difficulties.

Though the Scottish commissioners had withdrawn from London, shortly after they had protested loudly against the proceedings of the parliament, both in imprisoning the king, and in refusing to give them leave to repair to him, or to receive from him any directions or orders concerning the government of that kingdom, and thought it high

time to provide for their own security by quitting their station at London, where they received every day affronts, and their persons were exposed to contempt; yet there were no sooner preparations towards a parliament in Scotland, than commissioners were sent from the lords and commons at Westminster to reside at Edinburgh, as if they hoped to over-vote them there too; and it was evident quickly that they were not without a strong or at least an active party there. They were received with the same show of respect, and the same care was taken for their accommodation, as had been when they first came for contriving of the covenant; not only the marquis of Argyle, and his party, very diligently visited them, and performed all offices of respect towards them, but even the Hamiltonian faction, and they who were most solicitous to raise the war, attended them as officiously as others, and made the same professions to preserve the peace and amity between the two nations.

That rigid party of the clergy which so adored the covenant in the strictest sense of the letter, that they did not desire to have any more dependence upon the king, but to lay him aside, and to settle the government without him, as their brethren in England had resolved to do, were never from them, and willingly received such presents and pensions from the English commissioners, as they were prepared and provided to offer to them; and much money was given to make them fast friends. By this means nothing was resolved, or proposed in the most secret councils, that was not forthwith imparted, and made known to them; and they behaved themselves as haughtily and imperiously, as if they had their army at hand to second them. They took notice of the resort of so many to Edinburgh, and that there were many amongst them who had been in arms against the parliament, and demanded, "that they might either be banished that kingdom, or delivered to them to be sent to the parliament."

They were so clamorous in this argument, and found so much countenance to their clamour, that they who had invited the English thither, had not the courage to own them; but advised them underhand, "to absent themselves from the town, till that storm should be over." And even sir Marmaduke Langdale, and sir Philip Musgrave, whom, over and above all the discourses held with them at London, the Scottish lords had sent to confer with as they passed through the northern parts homewards, and had then conferred with them, and desired them "to prepare all things with their friends for the surprisal of Berwick and Carlisle, when the season should be ripe; and that they would hasten their journey into Scotland, that they might be out of danger of imprisonment;" even these men were desired, "either to withdraw again from Edinburgh, or to keep their chambers there, and not to be seen abroad, until their army should be raised, and such a general made choice of as would take care of their protection." And they did not conceal from them, that they made no doubt but that duke Hamilton should be that general; who often conferred with them in private, and always assured them, "that whatever was, in that place and season, discoursed of the covenant, which was very necessary to bring their designs to pass, he should be no sooner invested in the command

"his friends designed for him, than he would manifest his resolution to join with the king's party, upon the true interest of the crown, without which he could hope for little success in England:" and he desired them, "though they saw little appearance yet of raising an army, which would be as soon finished as begun, by the method they were accustomed to use, that they would write very earnestly to their friends in England to begin, as soon as might be, to execute the designs they had laid, in as many parts of the kingdom as they could, upon confidence that they should receive relief before they could be oppressed." To the same purpose they writ to the queen, and desired "that the prince might be in a readiness to be with them against the time their army should be ready to march; which, they assured her, should be by the beginning of May." All which several advertisements, being communicated in England, found a people too ready to give credit to what was promised, and to begin the work sooner than they ought to have done; and yet they were hastened by such accidents, as, in truth, made their appearance even necessary.

The king, whilst he was at Hampton Court, when he foresaw that the army would not comply with him, as he once believed, and resolved to get himself out of their hands, had, as is mentioned before, directed the duke of York, who was of years to be trusted with the secret, "that, when a fit opportunity should be offered, he should make his escape into the parts beyond the seas, and follow the directions of his mother;" and about this time, when so much action was expected, which probably might produce many alterations, his majesty, in all places, found some way to advertise the duke, "that it would be a very proper season for him to make his escape." The person who was intrusted to contrive it was colonel Bamfield, a man of an active and insinuating nature, and dexterous enough in bringing any thing to pass that he had the managing of himself. He had now no relation to the king's service; he had served the king in the late war as a colonel of foot, and had not behaved himself so well in it, as to draw any suspicion upon himself from the other party, and was in truth much more conversant with the presbyterian party than with the king's. So that his repair often to the place where the duke of York and the other children were, drew nothing of suspicion upon him.

The duke and his brother and sister were then kept at St. James's, where they had the liberty of the garden and park to walk and exercise themselves in, and lords, and ladies, and other persons of condition, were not restrained from resorting thither to visit them. In this manner Bamfield had been sometimes there; and after he had informed the duke what he was to do, and found one or two more to be trusted between them, that he might not become suspected by being observed to speak too often with him, he provided a small vessel to be ready about the custom-house, and to have its pass for Holland, and then advertised the duke to be ready in the close of an evening, when playing, as he used to do, with the other children, in a room from whence there was a pair of stairs to the garden, he might, untaken notice of, get thither; from whence there was a door into the park; where Bamfield would meet him. And this

was so well adjusted, that the duke came at the hour to the place; where the other met him, and led him presently where a coach was ready, and so carried him into a private house; where he only stayed whilst he put on women's apparel, that was provided for him; and presently, with colonel Bamfield only, went into a pair of oars that was ready; so he passed the bridge, and went on board the vessel that was ready to receive him; which immediately hoisted sail, and arrived safe in Holland, without any man of the ship having the least imagination what freight they carried.

The duke, as soon as he was on shore, and in a lodging, resolving no longer to use his woman's habit, stayed there till he advertised his sister, the princess royal of Orange, of his arrival; who quickly took care to provide all such things as were necessary for his remove to the Hague; from whence the queen was informed, and so knew as soon almost where he was, as she did of his escape from London. The prince was not yet ready for his remove, nor was it resolved which way he should go; so that it was thought best that the duke should, for the present, stay at the Hague with his sister, till farther resolutions might be taken; and though the service which Bamfield had performed was very well esteemed, yet they thought the making him a groom of his bedchamber would be an ample recompense, and that it was necessary to put a person of a better quality about his highness, who might have a superior command over the other servants; and because the lord Byron, who had been made governor of the duke of York by the king, was then in England, secretly attending the conjuncture to appear in arms in a quarter assigned to him, sir John Berkley was sent by the queen to wait upon the duke, as governor in the absence of the lord Byron, which Bamfield looked upon as a degradation, and bringing the man he hated of all men living, to have the command over him.

The lord Capel, who was in the most secret part of all these intrigues in England, being entirely trusted by those who would not trust any of the presbyterians, nor communicate their purposes to them, had written to the chancellor of the exchequer, who remained still in Jersey, the hopes he had of a good conjuncture, and his own resolution to embark himself in that attempt, as soon as it should be ripe; and had signified the king's command to him, "that as soon as the chancellor should be required to wait upon the prince, he should without delay obey the summons;" and the king had likewise writ to the queen very positively, "that when it should be necessary for the prince to remove out of France, the chancellor should have notice of it, and be required to give his attendance upon the person of his royal highness, in the condition he had formerly done." About the beginning of May, in the year 1648, the lord Capel, who had always corresponded with the chancellor, and informed him of the state of affairs, and all that concerned himself, writ to him, "that all things were now so ripe, that he believed the prince would not find it fit to remain longer in France; and thereupon conjured him that he would be ready, if he should be sent for, as he was confident he would be, to attend upon his highness;" which, he said, all the king's friends expected he should do; and which he was resolved to do as soon as the prince should be out

of France, though he should receive no order or invitation so to do.

About the middle of May, the queen, according to his majesty's command, sent to the chancellor of the exchequer to Jersey, commanding, "that he would wait upon the prince in the Louvre at Paris," upon a day that was past before the letter came to his hands. But he no sooner received the summons, than he betook himself to the journey, and to transport himself into Normandy; where, after he was landed, he made what haste he could to Caen, supposing he should there find secretary Nicholas, who had given him notice, "that he had received the same command." When he came to Caen, he found the secretary's lady there, but himself was gone to Rouen, to the lord Cottington, and intended to stay there till the other should arrive, and to consult together there upon their farther journey. The old earl of Bristol, who had lived likewise at Caen, was gone with the secretary to Rouen, having likewise received the same summons with the others to attend the prince at the Louvre. The chancellor hastened to Rouen, where he found the lord Cottington, who had still the office and precedence of lord high treasurer of England, the earl of Bristol, and secretary Nicholas, who were all his very good friends, and very glad of his arrival. They had received advertisement, the day before, "that the prince, with all his small train, was passed by towards Calais;" and direction was sent, "that the chancellor, whom they supposed to be on the way, and the rest, should stay at Rouen, till they should receive new orders from Calais, where his royal highness would take new measures what he was to do." So they stayed together at Rouen, where there were at the same time very many English of quality in their own condition, who were driven out of England, as well as they, for their fidelity to the king, and had brought somewhat with them for their support abroad, till they might upon some good change return to their own country. In the mean time they lived very decently together in that city; where they were well esteemed. The way between Rouen and Calais was so dangerous without a very strong convoy, that no day passed without robberies and murders, so that they were glad of their order not to stir from thence, till they should receive a very particular direction from the prince; and within few days they received advice, "that the prince had, as soon as he came to Calais, put himself on board a ship that he found there bound for Holland, whence they were to hear from him, how they should dispose of themselves." Whereupon they all resolved to remove from Rouen to Dieppe, from whence they might embark themselves for Holland if they saw cause; the ways by land, in regard that both the French and the Spanish armies were in the field, being very dangerous. The night before they were to leave Rouen, the secretary received notice by an express from Caen, that his wife was at the point of death, whereupon he was obliged to return to Caen, and the lord Cottington, the earl of Bristol, and the chancellor, set forward next day for Dieppe.

The prince's remove from Paris on such a sudden, proceeded from an accident in England that was very extraordinary, and looked like a call from Heaven. The parliament had prepared, according to custom, a good fleet of ten or a dozen ships for the summer guard, and appointed Rainsborough

to be admiral thereof; who had been bred at sea, and was the son of an eminent commander at sea, lately dead; but he himself, from the time of the new model, had been an officer of foot in the army, and was a colonel of special note and account, and of Cromwell's chief confidants; which offended the earl of Warwick much, and disposed him to concurrence with his brother. And captain Batten was as much unsatisfied, who had acted so great a part in the first alienating the fleet and the affections of the seamen from the king, and had ever been their vice-admiral afterwards, and the person upon whom they principally relied at sea. Rainsborough, as long as he remained in the navy, had been under his command, and both the earl and he well knew that this man was now made admiral of this fleet, because they, being presbyterians, should have no credit or influence upon it; which made them solicitous enough that the seamen should not be well pleased with the alteration; and they looked upon Rainsborough as a man that had forsaken them, and preferred the land before the sea service. The seamen are a nation by themselves, a humorous and fantastic people; fierce, and rude in whatsoever they resolve or are inclined to, unsteady and inconstant in pursuing it, and jealous of those to-morrow by whom they are governed to-day. These men, observing the general discontent of the people, and that, however the parliament was obeyed by the power of the army, both army and parliament were grown very odious to them, and hearing so much discourse of an army from Scotland ready to enter into the kingdom, they concluded that the king would be restored; and then remembering that the revolt of the fleet was the preamble to the loss of his majesty's authority every where else, and the cause of all his misfortunes, imagined it would be a glorious thing to them, if they could lead the way to his majesty's restoration by their declaring for him. This was an agitation among the common seamen, without communicating it to any officer of the quality of master of a ship. This inclination was much improved in them by a general disposition in Kent to an insurrection for the king, and by some gentlemen's coming on board the ships, according to the custom of that country; who fomented the good disposition in the seamen by all the ways they could.

At this very time there appeared generally throughout Kent the same indigested affection to the king, and inclination to serve him, as was among the seamen, and was conducted with much less order and caution, neither the one nor the other having been designed by those who took care of the king's affairs, and who designed those insurrections which happened in other parts of the kingdom. They knew nothing, that is, contributed nothing to this distemper among the seamen, though they were not without some hope, that, upon other revolutions, somewhat might likewise fall out at sea to the advantage of the king's affairs. They had some expectation indeed from Kent, where they knew the people were generally well affected, and depended upon two or three gentlemen of that country, who had been officers in the king's army, and resolved to bring in some troops of horse, when occasion should be ripe; but it was resolved that the Scottish army should be entered the kingdom, by which the parliament army would be upon their march towards them,



before they would have any appearance of force in the parts near London; and then they believed that both country and city would rise together. And so those gentlemen of Kent, who were privy to any design, lay privately in London to avoid all cabals in their country; so that what now fell out there, was by mere chance and accident, that could never be foreseen, or prevented.

There happened to be at some jovial meeting in Kent about that time, one Mr. L'Estrange, a younger brother of a good family in Norfolk, who had been always of the king's party, and for attempting somewhat in his own country for his majesty's service, had been taken prisoner by the parliament, and by a court of war condemned to die, but being kept in prison till the end of the war, was then set at liberty, as one in whom there was no more danger. But he retained his old affections, and more remembered the cruel usage he had received, than that they had not proceeded as cruelly with him as they might have done. He had a great friendship with a young gentleman, Mr. Hales, who lived in Kent, and was married to a lady of a noble birth and fortune, he being heir to one of the greatest fortunes of that country, but was to expect the inheritance from the favour of an old severe grandfather, who for the present kept the young couple from running into any excess; the mother of the lady being of as sour and strict a nature as the grandfather, and both of them so much of the parliament party, that they were not willing any part of their estates should be hazarded for the king. At the house of this Mr. Hales, Mr. L'Estrange was, when, by the communication which that county always hath with the ships which lie in the Downs, the report first did arise that the fleet would presently declare for the king, and those seamen who came on shore talked as if the city of London would join with them. This drew many gentlemen of the country who wished well, to visit the ships, and they returned more confirmed of the truth of what they had heard. Good-fellowship was a vice generally spread over that country, and this young great heir, who had been always bred among his neighbours, affected that which they were best pleased with, and so his house was a rendezvous for those who delighted in that exercise, and who every day brought him the news of the good inclinations in the fleet for the king; and all men's mouths were full of the general hatred the whole kingdom had against the parliament as well as the army. Mr. L'Estrange was a man of a good wit, and a fancy very luxuriant, and of an enterprising nature. He observed, by the good company that came to the house, that the affections of all that large and populous country were for the king. He begun to tell Mr. Hales, "that though his grandfather did in his heart wish the king well, yet his carriage had been such in his conjunction with the parliament, that he had more need of the king's favour than of his grandfather's to be heir to that great estate; and that certainly nothing could be more acceptable to his grandfather, or more glorious to him, than to be the instrument of both;" and therefore advised him "to put himself into the head of his own country, which would be willing to be led by him; that when the Scots were entered into the northern parts, and all the kingdom should be in arms, he might, with the body of his countrymen, march

"towards London; which would induce both the city and the parliament to join with him, where-by he should have great share in the honour of restoring the king."

The company that frequented the house thought the discourse very reasonable, and saw that the issue must be very honourable: the young lady of the house was full of zeal for the king, and was willing her husband should be the instrument of his delivery: the young gentleman himself had not been enough conversant in the affairs of the world to apprehend the danger or hazard of the attempt, and so referred himself and the whole business to be governed and conducted by Mr. L'Estrange, whom they all believed by his discourse to be an able soldier. He writ some letters to particular gentlemen, who he was informed would receive them willingly, and signed warrants to the constables of hundreds with his own name, which had been never heard of in the country, requiring, "in his majesty's name, all persons to appear, at a time and place appointed, to advise together, and to lay hold on such opportunities, as should be offered for relieving the king and delivering him out of prison." There was an incredible appearance of the country at the place appointed, where Mr. L'Estrange appeared with Mr. Hales, and those persons which had been used to their company. Mr. L'Estrange spoke to them in a style very much his own; and being not very clear to be understood, the more prevailed over them. He spake like a man in authority, inveighed against "the tyranny of the army, which had subdued the parliament, against their barbarous imprisonment of the king, and against a conspiracy they had to murder him." He added, "that the affections of that noble country were well known to his majesty, and that he had therefore appointed the fleet that was in the Downs to join with them; and that he doubted not but they would together be too strong for his enemies, who were like to have enough to do to defend themselves in many other places; and that his majesty was willing they should have a gentleman of their own country, well known to them, to be their general;" and named Mr. Hales; who was present. There was not one man who so much as asked for any letter or commission, or other authority from the king; but all of them, very frankly and unanimously, declared "they would be ready to join, and march as their general Hales should direct;" and so another day and place was appointed for another appearance, and listing and forming their regiments; and in the mean time Mr. L'Estrange set out such declarations and engagements, as he thought most like to prevail with the people, and required, "that they should be read in all churches;" which was done accordingly. The next appearance was greater than the former; and with the same courage, many coming armed both horse and foot, and shewing a marvellous alacrity to the engagement. Their general then gave out his commissions for several regiments, and a new day was appointed for their rendezvous, when all should come armed, and keep together in a body, until it should be fit to march to London.

It was known that the fleet was gone out of the Downs, but it was as well known that it had absolutely renounced the service of the parliament, and rejected all their officers. It was easy to persuade

the people, that they were gone upon some important enterprise, and would speedily return; and it was insinuated, "that it was gone to the Isle of Wight to release the king, who would return with it into Kent;" which made them hasten their preparations.

At the time when the king made the earl of Northumberland admiral, he declared, and it was inserted in his commission, "that he should enjoy that office during the minority of the duke of York;" and the duke having made his escape at this time, when there was this commotion amongst the seamen, it was no sooner known that his highness was in Holland, but the seamen talked aloud, "that they would go to their admiral;" and the gentlemen of Kent stirring them up and inflaming them to that resolution, and the seamen again pressing the gentlemen to hasten their rising in arms, that they might assist and second each other, they both declared themselves sooner than they ought to have done, and before they were prepared for an enterprise of that importance.

The parliament was well informed of the distemper amongst the seamen, and had therefore forborne putting the half of the provisions aboard the ships, which, for the greatest part, lay ready in the Downs, wanting only half the victual they were to have for the summer service. But those officers which were on board, finding they had no authority, and that the seamen mocked and laughed at them, sent every day to inform the parliament, what mutinous humour the whole fleet was in. Whereupon they sent Rainsborough and some other officers thither; presuming that the presence of the admiral would quickly quiet all. He, being a man of a rough imperious nature, as soon as he came on board his ship, begun to make a strict inquiry into the former disorders and mutinous behaviour, upon which all the men of his ship retired into their old fortress of one and all, and presently laid hold on him, and put him, and such other officers of the ship as they liked not, into the boat, and sent them on shore. Which was no sooner known to the rest of the ships, but they followed their example, and used their officers in the same manner. After they had for some days been feasted and caressed by the people of Kent, some of the gentlemen putting themselves on board to join with them, and in order to assist them towards providing such necessaries as were wanting, they went out of the Downs, and stood for Holland, that they might find their admiral; and let fall their anchors before the Brill. What was done by the gentlemen of Kent on shore, and the success thereof, will be related hereafter.

This so very seasonable revolt of the fleet, in a conjuncture when so many advantages were expected, was looked upon as a sure omen of the deliverance of the king. And the report that the ships were before Calais, as if they had expected somebody there, which was true, for some time, was the reason that it was thought fit that the prince (who had hitherto thought of nothing but being sent for by the Scots, and how to find himself with them) should make all possible haste to Calais. This was the cause of that his sudden motion, which was yet retarded for want of money, and all other things necessary for his journey. The cardinal shewed no manner of favouring all these appearances of advantage to the king; he gave less countenance to Scotland, than he had

ever done when it was in rebellion against the king; and, notwithstanding all his promises with reference to Ireland, the marquis of Ormond remained still at Paris, without obtaining arms or money in any proportion, (both which had been promised so liberally,) and was, after all importunities, compelled to transport himself into Ireland (where he was so importunately called for) without any manner of supplies, which were expected. And now, when the remove of the prince was so behoveful, the cardinal utterly refused to furnish him with any money; all which discountenances were shortly after remembered to Cromwell, as high merit.

The prince's remove was by every body thought so necessary, that the lord Jermyn, as was pretended, found means to borrow so much money as was necessary for the journey; which the king paid long after with full interest. Dr. Goffe, a man well known in that time, as the chief agent and confidant of my lord Jermyn, was presently sent into Holland, to dispose the seamen to be willing to receive the lord Jermyn to command the fleet. So solicitous that nobleman was to be in the head of any action that was like to prosper, how unfit soever he was for it; having neither industry, nor knowledge of any thing of the sea, and being less beloved by the seamen than any man that could be named. The prince made what haste he could to Calais, attended by prince Rupert, the lord Hopton, and the lord Colepepper, and some other gentlemen, besides his own domestics; and finding one of the English frigates before Calais, and understanding that the duke of York was gone from the Hague to Helvoetsluys, and had put himself on board the fleet there, his highness presently embarked, and made the more haste lest his brother should be in action before him, and was received at the fleet with all those acclamations and noises of joy, which that people are accustomed to; they having expressed as much some days before, at the arrival of the duke of York.

As soon as it was known in Holland that the prince of Wales was arrived, the prince of Orange, with his wife the princess royal, came presently thither to entertain his highness the best that place would permit, but especially to rejoice together, having not seen each other from the time they were children. The prince found the fleet in faction and disorder, and great pains had been taken to corrupt them. Sir John Berkley's coming to the Hague to assume the government of the duke of York, had not been acceptable to his royal highness; who was persuaded by colonel Bamfield, that he had been unfaithful, as well as unfortunate, in his attendance upon the king to the Isle of Wight. The colonel himself was so incensed with it, that he used all the skill and insinuation he had, to lessen his highness's reverence to the queen, and to dispute her commands. Then taking the opportunity of the fleet's being come to Helvoetsluys, he went thither, and having, as is said before, a wonderful address to the disposing men to mutiny, and to work upon common men, which the fleet consisted of, the greatest officer among them being not above the quality of a boat-swain or master's mate, he persuaded them "to declare for the duke of York, without any respect to the king or prince; and when his highness should be on board, that they should not meddle in the quarrel between the king and the

"parliament, but entirely join with the presbyterian party, and the city of London; which" by this means would bring the parliament to "reason:" and he prepared his friends the seamen when the duke should come to them, that they would except against sir John Berkley, and cause him to be dismissed; and then he believed he should be able to govern both his highness and the fleet.

At the same time Dr. Goffe, who was a dexterous man too, and could comply with all men in all the acts of good-fellowship, had gotten acquaintance with others of the seamen, and made them jealous of Bamfield's activity; and endeavoured to persuade them, "that they should all petition the "prince," (who, he knew, would be shortly with them,) "that the lord Jermyn might be made their "admiral; who would be able to supply them "with money, and whatsoever else they wanted: "that there was no hope of money but from "France, and that the lord Jermyn had all the "power and credit there, and might have what "money he desired;" and by these agitations, the infant loyalty of the seamen begun to be distracted.

At the same time the lord Willoughby of Parham, who had always adhered to the presbyterians, and was of great esteem amongst them, though he was not tainted with their principles, had left the parliament, and secretly transported himself into Holland; and was arrived at Rotterdam, when Bamfield returned from the fleet, and went to wait upon the duke of York at the Hague. Bamfield delivered such a message from the fleet as he thought would hasten the duke's journey thither; and told him, "the seamen made great inquiry "after the lord Willoughby, and much longed to "have him with them;" insinuating to the duke, "that he had much contributed to that good dis- "position in the seamen, and was privy to their "revolt, and had promised speedily to come to "them, and that it would be the most acceptable "thing his highness could do to carry him with "him to the fleet, and make him his vice-admiral." The duke made all imaginable haste to Helvoetsluys, and immediately went on board the Admiral; where he was received with the usual marks of joy and acclamation. He declared the lord Willoughby his vice-admiral, and appointed some other officers in the several ships, and seemed very desirous to be out at sea. In the mean time Bamfield continued his activity; and the doctor, finding he had little hope to raise his patron to the height he proposed, did all he could to hinder the operation of Bamfield, and took all the ways he could that the prince might be advertised of it, and thereupon hasten his own journey; which did likewise contribute to the haste his highness made. He arrived at Helvoetsluys very seasonably to prevent many inconveniences, which would have inevitably fallen out; and the seamen, upon his highness's appearance, returned again into their old cheerful humour; which the prince knew would be best preserved by action; and therefore exceedingly desired to be at sea, where he was sure he must be superior to any force the parliament could in a short time put out. But the fleet already wanted many provisions, of which beer was the chief; which, by the countenance and assistance of the prince of Orange, was in a short time procured in a reasonable proportion; and

then the prince set sail for the Downs; having sent his brother, the duke of York, with all his family to the Hague, to remain there.

Though the duke was exceedingly troubled to leave the fleet, which he had been persuaded to look upon as his province, yet he could not but acknowledge, that right reason would not permit they should both be ventured at one time on board the fleet; and, the prince determining to engage his own person, he submitted to the determination; and was well content to remain with his sister. The prince did not think fit to remove the lord Willoughby (who, he knew, was much relied upon by the presbyterian party) from the charge the duke had given him; though he had never been at sea, and was not at all known to the seamen. But captain Batten coming at the same time when his highness did to the fleet, and bringing the Constant Warwick, one of the best frigates the parliament had built, with Jordan, and two or three seamen of good command, his highness knighted him, and made him rear-admiral of the fleet; believing, that he could not do a more popular and acceptable thing to the seamen, than by putting the same man, who had commanded them so many years, over them again at this time; whose experience and government would supply the defects and want of skill of the vice-admiral, who was very willing to be advised by him. But the prince shortly after found he was mistaken in that expedient, and that the seamen (who desired to serve the king upon the clear principles of obedience and loyalty) did not in any degree affect Batten, because he had failed in both, and was now of a party towards which they had no veneration. The truth is, the prince came prepared and disposed from the queen, to depend wholly upon the presbyterian party, which, besides the power of the Scottish army, which was every day expected to invade England, was thought to be possessed of all the strength of the city of London; and the lord Colepepper, and Mr. Long, the prince's secretary, were trusted by the queen to keep the prince steady and fast to that dependence; and his highness was enjoined to be entirely advised by them; though all the other lords about him were of another mind, and the prince himself not inclined that way. Dr. Steward, the dean of the king's chapel, whom his majesty had recommended to his son to instruct him in all matters relating to the church, and Dr. Earles, and his rest of his chaplains, waited diligently upon him to prevent those infusions. But, by those two, the benefit of this fleet was principally considered, as a happy means to put the prince on shore, that he might be in the head of the Scottish army; and no doubt if that army had been then entered into England, as it was very shortly after, the prince would have been advised, with the fleet, "to have followed all the "advice which should have been sent from the "Scots."

In the mean time it was thought most counsel-able, after the prince had sailed some days about the coast, that the kingdom might generally know that his highness was there, that they should all go into the river of Thames, and lie still there; by which they expected two great advantages; first, that the city would be thereby engaged to declare itself, when they saw all their trade obstructed; and that their ships homewards bound, of which, at that season of the year, they expected many,

must fall into the prince's hands; and then, that the presence of the prince in the river would hinder the parliament from getting seamen; and from setting out that fleet which they were preparing to reduce the other, under the command of the earl of Warwick; whom they thought fit, in this exigent, again to employ; and who, by accepting the charge, thought he should be in a better posture to choose his party, in any other alteration that should happen at land.

When the parliament first heard of the commotion in Kent, and saw the warrants which were sent out and signed by L'Estrange, whom nobody knew, (and the gentlemen of Kent, who sat in the parliament, assured them, "that there was no such gentleman in that county;" and sir Edward Hales, who likewise was present there, told them, "he was very confident that his grandson could not be embarked in such an affair.") they neglected it, and thought it a design to amuse them. But when they heard that the meetings were continued, and saw the declarations which were published, and were well assured that young Hales appeared with them as their general, they thought the matter worth their care; and therefore appointed their general, "to send two or three troops of horse into Kent to suppress that seditious insurrection;" sir Edward Hales now excusing himself with revilings, threats, and detestation of his grandson; who, he protested, should never be his heir.

The earl of Holland, who had a commission to be general, and the rest who were engaged, were not yet ready, the Scots being not yet entered; nor did they understand any thing of the business of Kent; however when they were assured that they were drawn into a body, and were so strong that the officers who commanded the troops which had been sent to suppress them, had sent to the parliament word, "that they durst not advance, for that the enemy was much stronger than they, and increased daily; and that they had sent a letter to the city of London inviting them to join with them;" they thought it fit to send them all the countenance and encouragement they could; and thereupon despatched those officers who had been designed for the troops of that county, when the season should be ripe, and who had hitherto lurked privately in London to avoid suspicion. They were desired to call their friends together, as soon as was possible, to join with their neighbours; and were told, "that they should very shortly receive a general from the king:" for they did not think Mr. Hales equal to the work, who found his power and credit to grow less, the greater the appearance grew to be; and they began to inquire for the king's commission. The earl of Holland had formed his party of many officers who had served both the king and the parliament; all which were in the city; and he had not yet a mind to call them together, but to expect the appearance of their northern friends, and therefore consulting with the rest, and finding the earl of Norwich, who had been some months in England under a pass from the parliament, (upon pretence of making his composition, from which he had never been excluded,) willing to engage himself in the conduct of those in Kent, where he was well known and beloved, his affection and zeal for the king's service being not to be doubted, they resolved that he should go thither; and there being many

blank commissions ready to be disposed as the service should require, they filled one with his name, by which the command of all Kent was committed to him, "with power to lead them any whither as the good of the king's service should make requisite." And with this commission he made haste into Kent, and found at Maidstone a better body of horse and foot armed than could have been expected; enough in number to have met any army that was like to be brought against them. They all received him with wonderful acclamations, and vowed obedience to him. Mr. Hales, upon the news of another general to be sent thither, and upon the storms of threats and rage which fell upon him from his grandfather, on the one side, and on his wife by her mother on the other side, and upon the conscience that he was not equal to the charge, though his affection was not in the least declined, found means to transport himself, and wife, together with his friend Mr. L'Estrange, who had lost his credit with the people, into Holland; resolving, as soon as he had put his wife out of the reach of her mother, to return himself, and to venture his person in the service which he could not conduct; which he did quickly after very heartily endeavour to do.

The importunities from Scotland with the presbyterians their correspondents, the fame of sir Marmaduke Langdale's being well received at Edinburgh, and that many English officers and soldiers daily flocked thither, but especially the promises from Paris of supplies of arms, ammunition, and money, as soon as they could expect it, set all the other wheels going in England which had been preparing all the winter. There were in South Wales colonel Laughorn, colonel Powell, and colonel Poyer, who commanded those parts under the parliament, which they had served from the beginning: the first of them a gentleman of a good extraction, and a fair fortune in land in those counties, who had been bred a page under the earl of Essex, when he had a command in the Low Countries, and continued his dependence upon him afterwards, and was much in his favour, and by that relation was first engaged in the rebellion, as many other gentlemen had been, without wishing ill to the king: the second was a gentleman too, but a soldier of fortune: the third, had from a low trade raised himself in the war to the reputation of a very diligent and stout officer, and was at this time trusted by the parliament with the government of the town and castle of Pembroke. These three communicated their discontents to each other, and all thought themselves ill requited by the parliament for the service they had done, and that other men, especially colonel Mitton, were preferred before them; and resolved to take the opportunity of the Scots coming in, to declare for the king upon the presbyterian account. But Laughorn, who was not infected with any of those freaks, and doubted not to reduce the other two, when it should be time, to sober resolutions, would not engage till he first sent a confident to Paris to inform the prince of what he had determined, and of what their wants consisted, which if not relieved, they should not be able to pursue their purpose, desiring to receive orders for the time of their declaring, and assurance that they should in time receive those supplies they stood in need of. And the lord Jermyn sent him a promise under his hand, "that he should not fail

"of receiving all the things he had desired, before he could be pressed by the enemy;" and therefore conjured him, and his friends, "forthwith to declare for the king; which he assured them would be of singular benefit and advantage to his majesty's service; since, upon the first notice of their having declared, the Scottish army would be ready to march into England." Hereupon they presently declared, before they were provided to keep the field for want of ammunition and money, and when Pembroke was not supplied with provisions for above two months; and were never thought of after.

The lord Byron had been sent from Paris, upon the importunities from Scotland, to get as many places to declare in England in several places, as might distract the army, and keep it from an entire engagement against them; to dispose his old friends about Chester and North Wales to appear as soon as might be: and he presently, with the help of colonel Robinson, possessed himself of the island of Anglesey, and disposed all North Wales to be ready to declare as soon as the Scots should enter the kingdom. But that which was of most importance, and seemed already to have brought the war even into the heart of England, was that some gentlemen, who had formerly served the king in the garrison of Newark, and in the northern army, under sir Marmaduke Langdale, had (by a design consulted with him before his going into Scotland, and upon orders received from him since, when he believed the Scots would be in a short time ready to begin their march) surprised the strong castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, (which had a garrison in it for the parliament,) and grew presently so numerous, by the resort of officers and soldiers from the adjacent counties, that they grew formidable to all those parts, and made the communication between London and York insecure, except it was with strong troops. Upon which argument of the surprise of Pontefract, we shall enlarge hereafter, before we speak of the tragic conclusion of this enterprise. All affairs were in this motion in England, before there was any appearance of an army in Scotland, which they had promised should be ready to march by the beginning of May.

Indeed as to the raising an army in Scotland, the difficulties were well nigh over, nor did they ever look upon that as a thing that would trouble them, but who should command, and be general of this army, was the matter upon which the success of all they proposed would depend; and if they could not procure duke Hamilton to be made choice of for that service, they could promise themselves no good issue of the undertaking. It was a hard thing to remove the old general Lesley, who had been hitherto in the head of their army in all their prosperous successes; but he was in the confidence of Argyle, which was objection enough against him, if there were no other; and the man was grown old, and appeared, in the actions of the last expedition into England, very unequal to the command. And therefore some expedient was to be found to be rid of him; and they found it no hard matter to prevail with him to decline the command, upon pretence of his age and infirmities, when in truth he had no mind to venture his honour against the English, except assisted by English, which had been his good fortune in all the actions of moment he had per-

formed; and when he had been destitute of that help, he had always received some affront. When by this means there was a new general to be named, duke Hamilton was proposed, as a fit man to be employed to redeem the honour of the nation. He had formerly undergone the office of general under the king of Sweden, where Lesley, that had now declined the employment, was major general under him; and therefore could not be thought to be without ample experience of war.

Whilst this was depending, Argyle took notice of sir Marmaduke Langdale's and sir Philip Musgrave's being in the town, and of some discourses which they had used, or some other English officers in their company, and desired, "that, if they were to have any command in the army, they might presently take the covenant; and that there might be a general declaration, that there should be neither officer nor soldier received into their army, before he had first taken the covenant: and that, after they were entered into the kingdom of England, they should make no conjunction with any forces, or persons, who had not done, or should refuse to do the same." This proposal found no opposition; they who were most forward to raise the army for the delivery of the king, being as violent as any to advance that declaration. And though duke Hamilton and his brother of Lanrick did as well disapprove it in their own judgments, as they did foresee, out of the long experience they had of England, what prejudice it would bring upon them there, yet they had not the courage in any degree to speak against it; and the chancellor of Scotland and the earl of Lautherdale were as passionate for the advancement of it, as Argyle himself; and seemed to think that those two gentlemen either had already taken, or would be willing to take it.

It can hardly be believed, that, after so long knowledge of England, and their observation of whom the king's party did consist, after their so often conferences with the king without prevailing upon him, in any degree, either to preserve himself at Newcastle from being delivered up to the parliament, or in their last agitation with him, when he yielded to so many unreasonable particulars to gratify them, to consent to or promise, "that any man should be compelled to take the covenant;" that they should still adhere to that fatal combination against the church, which they could never hope to bring to pass, except they intended only to change the hand, and to keep the king under as strict a restraint, when they should get him into their hands, as he was under the domination of the parliament and army: yet they were so infatuated with this resolution, that they discovered their apprehension of the king's party, and designed no less to oppress them than the independents and anabaptists; and upon the news of the revolt of the fleet from the parliament to the king, the insurrection in Kent, and other places, and the general inclinations throughout the kingdom for the king, they slackened their preparations, that they might defer their march, to the end that all that strength might be oppressed and reduced, that so they might be absolute masters after they had prevailed over the army. And at last, when they could defer their march no longer, upon the importunate pressure of their friends in London, they sent the earl of

Lautherdale with those insolent instructions, which will be mentioned anon, and positively required the prince immediately to repair to them; positively declaring, "that if his person should not be forthwith in their army, they would return again into Scotland without making any attempt;" and the knowing this resolution, was the reason that the queen was so positive in her instructions, notwithstanding the appearance of any other advantage to the king in England.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale and sir Philip Musgrave no sooner heard of this declaration, than they went to those lords, and expostulated very sharply with them, for "having broken their faiths, and betrayed them into their country; where they were looked upon as enemies." They were answered, "that they must give over their design to redeem the king, or yield to this determination, which their parliament was so firm and united in; and would never depart from." And therefore they entreated them with all imaginable importunity, that they would take the covenant; some of them desiring to confer with them upon it, and undertaking to satisfy them, that the covenant did not include those things in it, which they thought it did. But when they saw those gentlemen would not be prevailed with, but that on the contrary they resolved presently to leave the country; and told them, "they would deceive those honest people in England, who were too much inclined to trust them; and that they should find that they had a harder work in hand than they imagined;" the Scottish lords knew well enough of what importance their presence was to be to them, for their very entrance into England; and thereupon desired them, "that they would have a little patience, and again absent themselves from Edinburgh, till the heat of this dispute was over, and till the army should be ready to march;" and duke Hamilton, who had a marvellous insinuation to get himself believed, assured them in confidence, "that as soon as he should find himself in the head of his army, and upon their march, there should be no more talk of covenants, but that all the king's friends should be welcome, and without distinction." So they left Edinburgh again, and went to their old quarters; where they had not stayed long, before the duke sent for them to come to him in private; and after a very cheerful reception, he told them, "he was now ready; and that their friends in England called so importunately for them, that he was resolved to march in very few days; which he thought necessary to communicate to them, not only for the friendship he had for them; which would always keep him without reserve towards them; but because he must depend upon them two to surprise the towns of Berwick and Carlisle, against the time he should be able to march thither; for he intended to march between those two places."

The work was not hard to be performed by them, they having, from their first entrance into Scotland, adjusted with their friends who inhabited near those places, to be ready for that enterprise when they should be called upon; which they then believed would have been much sooner; so that they were willing to undertake it, and demanded commissions from the duke for the doing thereof; which he excused himself for not giving,

under pretence of "the secrecy that was necessary; in respect whereof he would not trust his own secretary; and likewise, as a thing unnecessary for the work; since it was their own reputation and interest, and their being known to have been always trusted by the king, by which they could bring it to pass, and not his commission; for which those towns would have no reverence." Besides, he told them, "that the marquis of Argyll had still protested against their beginning the war by any act of hostility against the English, in forcing any of the towns; which was not necessary in order to the king's deliverance; but that an army might march to the place where the king was, to the end that those messengers who were sent by the state to speak with the king, might have liberty to speak with his majesty; which was a right of the kingdom, and the demanding it could be no breach of the pacification between the two kingdoms."

This argument, they knew, was not reasonable enough to sway the duke. But they foresaw two other reasons, which did prevail with him not to give those commissions they desired, which otherwise might have been given with the same secrecy that the business was to be acted with; the one, the order against giving any commission to any man before he had taken the covenant: and how much authority soever the duke might take upon him to dispense with that order after he should be in England, it might not be convenient that he should assume it whilst he remained yet at Edinburgh: the other was, that, when they had done it without his commission, he might, upon his march, or as soon as he came thither, dispossess them of the government, and put Scotchmen into their places; the last of which he did not dissemble to them; but confessed, "that, though the council of Scotland would not attempt the taking of those towns, yet when they should be taken, they would expect the government thereof should be in their hands, and depend upon them, without which they should not be able to send him those continual supplies which he expected from them." And there being then a recruit of five or six thousand, which sir George Monroe had near raised in the north, who were to begin their march after him, as soon as he should be out of Scotland, the two gentlemen had no purpose of remaining in those governments, well knowing that their presence would be of importance to the army, at least whilst they stayed in the northern counties; yet they knew well, it was for the service that those towns should remain in the hands of the English, without which few of the gentlemen of those parts would declare themselves, how well affected soever they were; which when they had offered to the duke, they left it to him, and accepted the employment he pressed them to undertake, and parted to put the same in execution in both places at one time, all things being concerted between them to that purpose.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale had several officers, and soldiers, laid privately on the Scottish side to wait his commands, and more on the English; there being two or three good families within two or three miles of Berwick, who were well affected and ready to appear when they should be required; in expectation whereof they had for some time harboured many men. Some of them sir Marmaduke appointed to meet him, on the Scottish

side, at a place about a mile distant from Berwick, the night before he intended the surprise, and the rest to be in the town by the rising of the sun; some about the market place, and some upon the bridge, by which he must enter. The next morning, being market day, when great droves of little horses, laden with sacks of corn, always resorted to the town, sir Marmaduke Langdale, with about a hundred horse, and some few foot, which walked with the market people, presently after sunrise, was upon the bridge, before there was any apprehension; and finding his friends there whom he expected, he caused the bridge presently to be drawn up, and guarded by his foot, and sent others to the other parts. Himself with most of his troops went into the market place, where he found his country friends ready to do all he would command. There was so general a consternation seized upon the whole town, there being no other garrison but town's-men, that after they had seized upon the mayor, who was the governor, all things were in a short time so quiet, that they opened their ports again, that the market might not be interrupted. Sir Philip Musgrave, with as little opposition, possessed himself of Carlisle; where he had a greater interest; and the people were generally better affected to the king, and more disinclined to the Scots than those of Berwick used to be; and they both hastened advertisement to the duke of what they had done.

It will be much wondered at, that after Cromwell plainly foresaw they should have a war with Scotland, and had constant intelligence from thence of the advances they made, he did not take care to put garrisons into those two important places, the very strength of which could for some time have withstood all the power which Scotland could have brought against them. But the same reason which had been current at Edinburgh to this very time, had prevailed at Westminster. It was specially provided for by the act of pacification between the two kingdoms, when the parliaments of both kingdoms combined against the king, "that there should be no more garrisons kept on either side in Berwick or Carlisle;" where they were then disbanded, and some of their fortifications slighted; which could easily have been repaired; and, without repairing, could have kept out an enemy for some time. And the parliament would not now permit any men to be sent thither, that the Scots might not pretend that the war was begun by them; but left Berwick to the government of the mayor and the citizens; who could have defended themselves against the Scots if they had expected them. But the truth is, Cromwell had so perfect a contempt of the whole strength of that nation, that he never cared what advantage ground they had upon any field, or what place they ever possessed.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale and sir Philip Musgrave were no sooner possessed of Berwick and Carlisle, than all the gentlemen, officers, and soldiers thereabouts, who had formerly served the king, resorted and flocked to them well armed, appointed, and provided for the war; so that they had not only very sufficient garrisons to keep those places, but troops enough of horse to free the adjacent counties from those forces, and committees, and other persons, who were either publicly engaged in, or well known privately to wish well to the parliament. It was upon the 28th of April

that sir Marmaduke Langdale possessed himself of Berwick; and next day after sir Philip Musgrave surprised Carlisle, about eight of the clock at night, many gentlemen of the neighbours being in and about the town, expecting his arrival; so that the citizens were in confusion, and made little resistance. It is very true, they had both given under their hands to duke Hamilton, that they would deliver up the towns to him when he should require them; he having assured them, "that the king had promised, under his hand, "that those two towns should be delivered into "the possession of the Scots;" which it must needs be supposed that they should first take from the parliament, in whose possession they were both when the king signed the engagement at Carisbrook castle. And the duke had not only refused to give them any men, or other assistance towards the taking them, but, as hath been said, would not grant them his commission to perform it; pretending, "that he durst not do it, "because they were bound not to begin the war:" only he, and the other lords of his fraternity, promised "to send five hundred muskets, and ten "barrels of powder to each garrison; and that "their whole army should march into England "within twenty days; and that, if they were "sooner in distress, they should be sure to be "relieved."

But after he heard that both places were possessed by them, he deferred not to send a governor and garrison to receive Berwick; to whom sir Marmaduke Langdale delivered it according to his promise; and was required "to march with "all the English to the parts adjacent to Carlisle, "and there to increase his troops to what number "he could, with what expedition was possible;" which he performed so effectually, that, in very few days, he had a rendezvous upon a heath within five miles of Carlisle, where he mustered above three thousand foot well armed, and seven hundred horse not so well armed; all which were raised in Cumberland and Westmoreland, over and above the garrison of Carlisle; which yet remained under sir Philip Musgrave; and, within two days, five hundred horse, very well appointed, came out of Yorkshire, the bishopric of Durham, and the neighbour parts; so that sir Marmaduke Langdale resolved presently to march into Lancashire, to reduce those who were for the parliament there; which he could easily have done, the lord Byron being ready upon the borders of Cheshire to have joined with him. But this quick advance and progress towards an army, was not well looked upon at Edinburgh; and an express was despatched with positive orders to sir Marmaduke Langdale "not to engage or fight with the enemy, "upon what advantage soever, until the Scottish "army should come up." And wherever that express should overtake sir Marmaduke, he was immediately to retire with his forces near Carlisle; which he obeyed as soon as he received the order, and when he might have marched against Lambert; who was sent before with a less strength than sir Marmaduke commanded, and which in all probability would have been defeated.

But, as if this had not been discouragement enough, within one or two days after that express, letters were sent from the council in Scotland, by which sir Marmaduke Langdale was very severely reprehended, "for receiving papists into his army,



"and not owning the covenant in the declarations which he had published;" and told, "that he should receive no assistance from them, except the covenant was embraced by all his army." This struck at the root of all their hopes; and was so contrary to all the engagements they had received from the Scottish lords, both by words and letters, "that they should never be troubled with any such motions, after they were once upon English ground; and that then they should proceed upon those grounds as were like to bring in most men to their assistance;" that sir Marmaduke prevailed with sir Philip Musgrave to make a journey forthwith to Edinburgh, to expostulate upon the whole matter, and declare their firm resolution to the lords there.

Sir Philip Musgrave, that it might appear that they did not exclude any who had taken the covenant, and were willing to join with them, carried a list with him of the names of many officers in their troops who had been compelled to take the covenant before they could be admitted to composition, or procure the sequestrations to be taken from their estates, and of some others who had taken it for quietness' sake in the places where they lived; with which the Scots were in some degree mitigated, but seemed to retain still their rigour, that it should be submitted to by the whole army.

In the mean time Lambert, having gotten a strong body of horse and foot, advanced upon sir Marmaduke Langdale; who, being enjoined not to fight, was forced to retire to Carlisle, and suffer himself to be, upon the matter, blocked up on one side, whilst he sent letter upon letter to the duke "to hasten his march, or to send some troops to his assistance, and liberty to fight the enemy."

Though the earl of Norwich had found the assembly at Maidstone very numerous, he found them likewise very disorderly, and without government, nor easy to be reduced under any command. They had been long enough together to enter into jealousies of one another, and from thence into factions, and were of several opinions what they were to do. And though they all pretended an entire submission and obedience to the earl of Norwich as their general, yet no man forbore to deliver his opinion of things and persons, nor to inquire by what means they had first been drawn together; which implied that many men wished they had been to begin again. The earl was a man fitter to have drawn such a body together by his frolic and pleasant humour, which reconciled people of all constitutions wonderfully to him, than to form and conduct them towards any enterprise. He had always lived in the court in such a station of business as raised him very few enemies; and his pleasant and jovial nature, which was every where acceptable, made him many friends, at least made many delight in his company. So that by the great favour he had with the king and queen, and the little prejudice he stood in with any body else, he was very like, if the fatal disorder of the time had not blasted his hopes, to have grown master of a very fair fortune; which was all that he proposed to himself. But he had no experience or knowledge of the war, nor knew how to exercise the office he had taken upon him of general, but was very willing to please every man, and comply with every body's humour; which

was quickly discovered; and so men withdrew the reverence they were prepared to have paid him, and grew more obstinate in their own opinions what was to be done; and the indisposition increased, when they heard that Fairfax himself was appointed to march towards them. They who best understood the affair, and how to apply the strength they had to the best advantage, advised, "that they might retire beyond Rochester, and by breaking down the bridge there, and fortifying another pass or two, which was easy to be done, they might keep the enemy from entering into the [east] of Kent" (which was the largest and best part of that rich and populous county) "longer than they would be able to continue the attempt, for fear of being enclosed by an enemy at their back, if the city of London, or those of Essex, who were most spoken of, had a mind to declare for the king; and by this means they might be sure of a correspondence with the fleet;" of the return whereof in a short time they were most confident; and the more, because some gentlemen of their own body were on board the fleet in some authority, who, they knew, would hasten their return all they could.

Many were the more persuaded that the fleet was gone to the Isle of Wight for the rescue of the king, because those gentlemen were gone in it. And without doubt that advice was the most reasonable, and if it had been pursued might have kept the enemy at a bay for some time. But other men less reasonable were of another mind: they did not believe "that Fairfax could have leisure to look after them; they were confident that the parliament had so many enemies to look after, those in Wales growing strong, and having beaten the party that had been sent against them; and the officers in the north, who had seized upon Pontefract castle in Yorkshire, and had drawn in a strong garrison from the parts adjacent, had a body of horse, that infested all those parts; and the Scots were upon their march for England: and therefore they concluded that Fairfax could not be at leisure to visit them: the retiring would be an argument of fear, which would dishearten their friends at London, and all those of that part of Kent, which must be deserted upon their retreat, would desert them, as soon as that resolution should be known;" and therefore they desired, "that they might all march towards Blackheath; which would raise the spirits of their friends, and many would resort every day to them out of London and the parts adjacent; all which were eminently well affected."

The noise for this was the greater, and the earl of Norwich himself was thereby swayed to be of that opinion; and so they resolved to advance, and a short day was appointed for a general rendezvous upon Blackheath; and orders were sent out accordingly.

The disturbance in so many places made the resolution of the general now to be known, which had been hitherto carefully concealed, "that Fairfax himself was not willing to march against the Scots;" which was not now counsellable for him to do. Cromwell was very willing to take that province to himself, and had always so great a contempt of the Scots, that he was willing to march with a much lesser number than he well knew the Scottish army to consist of, and being



informed which way the Scots resolved to enter the kingdom, and that they were even ready to march, he advanced to meet them, as soon as they should be entered, with those troops which he had made choice of, having first suppressed the risings in South Wales by taking of Pembroke castle, and making prisoners therein Laughorn, Powell, and Poyer, the heads of that insurrection, and not troubling himself with Pontefract castle, which he thought would not be of great consequence, if the Scots were subdued.

Fairfax, with a numerous part of the army, remained in and about London to suppress the insurrection in Kent, and watch any other which should fall out in the city or thereabouts; of which they had more apprehension than of all the power of Scotland. And so when the parliament was advertised by their troops which were first sent, that they were too weak to advance farther, and heard that the earl of Norwich was declared general of the Kentish troops, and was marching in the head of them towards Blackheath, Fairfax drew all his army together, and his cannon, and marched over London-bridge to meet the men of Kent at Blackheath, and to stop their march to London. The earl was now advanced so far, and Fairfax advanced too fast to put the former counsel in practice, of breaking down the bridges, and keeping the passes; and they who had opposed that counsel, and were so forward to advance, thought they were now too far. The countrymen were weary of being all night in the field, though it was the warmest season of the year, the month of July, and many withdrew themselves every day; so that they who remained had no reason to believe themselves equal to the power that marched towards them, and yet there were more left than could hope to preserve themselves by flying, and by concealment. And therefore the earl, upon conference with those who remained, and were resolved to run the utmost hazard, resolved to pass themselves and their horses by such boats as they had ready about Greenwich, and down the river, over into Essex, where they knew they had many friends, and where Fairfax and his army could not visit them in some days. And so they made a shift to transport themselves to the number of near two thousand men, horse and foot; whereof many were officers and soldiers who had served the king, and young gentlemen grown up in those families, who had been too young to appear before.

They found many persons in Essex ready to join with them, who came sooner together than they intended, upon the alarm of Kent; and who had purposed to have passed over into Kent to have joined with and assisted those who had so frankly appeared for the king, if they had not been prevented by their unexpected coming to them. There was the brave lord Capel, sir William Compton, sir Charles Lucas, sir George Lisle, sir Bernard Gascoigne, all excellent officers, with whom colonel Farr, who had served the parliament, and was a known creature and confident of the earl of Warwick, and had at that time the command of Languard Point, a fort of importance upon the sea, joined with them, and many other gentlemen and officers of name, who had drawn together many soldiers; so that when they were all joined together, with those who came from Kent, they made a body of above three thousand horse and foot,

with officers enough to have formed and commanded a very good army.

They well knew Fairfax would quickly visit them, and therefore they chose to post themselves in Colchester, a great and populous town, which though unfortified, they cast up such works before the avenues, that they did not much fear to be forced by an assault; and resolved to expect a conjunction with other of their friends; and were most confident that the Scottish army, which they heard was upon its march, would be with them before they could be distressed.

They had scarce put themselves and the town, which was not glad of their company, into any order, before Fairfax came upon them; who made no stay in Kent, after he heard what was become of the earl of Norwich and his friends; but left two or three troops of horse to settle that county, with the assistance of their committees, who had been driven from thence, and returning now victorious, knew well enough how to deal with those who had revolted from them. When he came first before Colchester, and saw it without any fortifications, he thought presently to have entered the town with his army; but he found so rude resistance, that by the advice of Ireton, who was left by Cromwell to watch the general as well as the army, he resolved to encompass it with his troops, and without hazarding the loss of men, to block them up, till famine should reduce them; and disposed his army accordingly; which quickly stopped up all passages by which either men or provisions should get into the town; though by many brave sallies from within, their quarters were often beaten up, and many valiant men were lost on both sides.

The fleet, after it had, with all imaginable cheerfulness, submitted to the command of the prince, was not so active as it was expected it should be; and was very much the worse for the factions and divisions which were amongst those who attended upon the prince; who, according to their several humours, endeavoured to work upon the seamen; a people capable of any impression, but not very retentive of it. Prince Rupert, to whom the prince was very kind, did not, upon many old contests in the late war, love the lord Colepepper, who was not of a temper that cared to court him: and there was one, who had the greatest influence on prince Rupert, Herbert the attorney general, that of all men living was most disposed to make discord and disagreement between men; all his faculties being resolved into a spirit of contradicting, disputing, and wrangling upon any thing that was proposed. He having no title or pretence to interpose in councils, and yet there being no secret in the debates there, found it easy to infuse into prince Rupert, who totally resigned himself to his advice, such arguments as might disturb any resolution: and there were so many who were angry that they were not admitted into the council, as the lords Piercy, Wilmot, and Wentworth, that it was no hard matter to get any thing disliked that was resolved there. They had all that admission and countenance from the prince, that they had as much confidence to speak to and before him, as any where else. Prince Rupert had a great mind that somewhat should be attempted upon the coast, which might have caused some sea-towns, and the parts adjacent, to have declared for the king; which seemed not a design that would bear a

reasonable discourse. But action was a very grateful word to the seamen, and they who opposed any thing that tended toward it, were looked upon with great jealousy and prejudice. But the prince was obliged, as hath been said, by his instructions at Paris, not to engage himself in any thing that might divert him from being ready at the minute when the Scots should call for his presence; and they expected the first intimation of that from London; from whence they had the assurance already, that duke Hamilton was entered into the kingdom with an army of above thirty thousand men; which was true.

When the prince came with the fleet into the sea from Helvoetsluys, he met a ship of London bound for Rotterdam, and laden with cloth by the company of Merchant Adventurers, who did not think that the fleet could have been so soon ready for sea. The ship was taken, and, the decks being sealed up, was kept under guard with the fleet; which, at their entrance into the river of Thames, took many other ships of great value outward bound, and intercepted all vessels homeward bound, and amongst those an East India ship richly laden, and the more welcome because the ship itself was a very strong ship, and would make an excellent man of war, and the captain thereof was a seaman of courage and experience, and was very well inclined to serve the king: and, without doubt, if all the ships which were then taken, had been sent into some secure ports, the value of the goods would have mounted to so great a sum, as might have countervailed a very great expense at sea and land. But as it would have been very difficult to have found such a secure port, where that treasure might have been deposited, so it was not suitable to those measures which had been taken, and were still pursued, for his royal highness's proceedings. The city of London was to be courted by all the artifices imaginable, and that was so alarmed by the fleet's being in the river, and by the seizure of so many of their ships, especially the cloth ship, that there was a general consternation amongst the people: and the lord mayor and aldermen applied themselves to the parliament, for leave to send down some agents to the fleet to procure a release of that ship; and if that could not be brought to pass, that they might buy it at as good rate as they could get it. Which was the introducing such a commerce and correspondence between the fleet and the city, in such a conjuncture of jealousy, that most men believed the parliament would never have hearkened to it; and concluded, from the granting it, that there was another sort of treasure enclosed in that ship, than what belonged to the Merchant Adventurers; and that many of those who granted that indulgence to the city, had more money on board that vessel than the cloth was worth, though the value thereof amounted to no less than forty thousand pounds.

Upon this liberty granted by the parliament, a committee was sent from the city with a petition to the prince of Wales, "that he would restore the ship which belonged to his father's good subjects." With these men came letters from some of those who were well known to be very solicitous at that time for the advancement of the king's service, and privy to the treaty with the Scots, and whatever was intended by the earl of Holland: the countess of Carlisle, who was trusted by all

that people, and had gotten again confidence with the queen, trusted Mr. Lowe, who was employed by the city in this negociation, to say many things to the prince of the good inclinations of the city, and how necessary it was not to irritate it. And he brought other letters and testimonies to give him credit, as a man trusted by all who intended to serve the king, who had with wonderful address got him to be one of those employed by the city, that he might, under that security, give such animadversions to the prince, and to his council, as was necessary. He was a man intelligent enough of the spirit and humour of the city, and very conversant with the nobility and gentry about the town; and though he was trusted by the presbyterian party, as a man entirely addicted to them, he took pains to insinuate himself into many of the king's party, which did believe him fit to be trusted in any thing that might concern them. But he was a man of so voluble a tongue, and so everlasting a talker, and so undertaking and vain, that no sober man could be imposed upon by him.

Upon the receipt of this petition, the prince writ a long letter to the city, and enclosed in it a declaration, for the publishing of both which in print care was taken, the substance of which was, "the great affection he bore to the city, and the prosperity thereof;" the whole being in such a style, as might best please the presbyterians, with less care than should have been used to preserve the zeal of the king's party; and desiring, "that they would join with him for the delivery of the king his father out of prison, and to make a good understanding between his majesty and the parliament, which his highness desired with all imaginable concernment." The citizens quickly found, that there was no hope to have their ship released without a good sum of money, which the prince told them "was absolutely necessary for the payment of the seamen, and he would receive it as a loan from them, and repay it when a peace should be made." So some of them returned to London, and the rest remained with the fleet, coming and going for a month, and driving many bargains for other ships. By this means the prince received advertisement of the Scots continuing their march, and that those who were enclosed in Colchester were in a very good condition, and willing to expect relief; which they would be sure to receive in due time, the earl of Holland being ready to declare as soon as their pressures should require it. After near a month's negociation, there was about twelve thousand pounds paid to the prince, and thereupon that cloth ship was delivered to the merchants, with a general opinion, as hath been said, that there was somewhat else besides cloth in the body of it; for which there was not any search suffered to be made.

Whilst the prince lay in the Downs, there was an enterprise necessary to be made on shore, which did not succeed to wish. Upon the first revolt of the fleet from the parliament, and before it set sail for Holland, it had taken one or two of those blockhouses, which are nearest the mouth of the river; and had left some seamen in them, with sufficient provisions to defend themselves till the fleet should return. The prince found these blockhouses besieged, and received intelligence out of them, that their provisions were so near spent, that they could not hold out above so many days.







Engraved by H.T. Ryall.

**LUCY PERCY, COUNTESS OF CARLISLE.**

**OB. 1660.**

**FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF**

**THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF EGREMONT.**



The strength that lay before them consisted more in horse than foot; and at high tide the boats might go so near, that there seemed little difficulty of putting in relief, or to compel the besiegers to rise: and the seamen, having nothing else to do, offered to undertake the service for the redemption of their fellows; many land officers being likewise on board, and some foot soldiers, the prince sent some of those with the seamen to undertake the business; but it had no good issue; the tide was too far spent before it begun; whereby they had more ground to march between their landing and the castle than they imagined, and the horse charged them with such resolution, that many of the men were killed, and more taken prisoners, and the rest forced to their boats with more disorder than became them. And some other attempts being afterwards made with no better success, the blockhouses at last came into the hands of the enemy; which though of little inconvenience to the prince, those forts being of very small importance to do any prejudice, yet there was some disreputation in it; and it discredited the designs, which had not yet appeared very prosperous in any place; and any access of good fortune raised the spirits of those, who easily were persuaded to think it greater than it was, in a time when they lay under some mortification.

By this time another fleet was prepared by the parliament of more and better ships than had revolted, and the command thereof given to the earl of Warwick; who very frankly accepted it; and was already on board, and with the tide was come within sight of the prince; and there dropped anchor. So that both fleets lay within that distance of each other, that there was now nothing thought of but a battle; to which there seemed all alacrity in the prince's fleet; and, it may be, the more upon the intelligence that the other was not well manned, and that many were put on board who had more affection for the king; which they would manifest when they came within distance: but whether that fancy was from imagination or intelligence, it seemed to have no foundation in truth.

The earl of Warwick and his fleet appeared resolute and prepared enough for an engagement: yet it was well known, that the earl was privy to the engagement of his brother the earl of Holland, and had promised to join with him. And therefore it was thought fit, that the prince should write to the earl to summon, or invite him to return to his allegiance. This was sent by Harry Seymour, who quickly returned with an answer from the earl, which, in terms of duty enough, humbly besought his highness "to put himself into the hands of the parliament; and that the fleet with him might submit to their obedience; upon which they should be pardoned for their revolt."

Though this might well have satisfied concerning the earl's inclination, yet the prince was prevailed with, that Mr. Crofts might give the earl a visit; who, having more acquaintance with him, having married his aunt, might be able to get a private audience of the earl; which Seymour endeavoured, but could not obtain. But Crofts returned as the other did; and now there wanted only a wind to bring them together, which coming fair for the prince, he resolved to attack them. All anchors were weighed, and preparations made

to advance to the assault, the whole fleet being under sail towards the other; which seemed equally resolved and disposed, though the wind, which drove the prince upon them, compelled them a little to retire, where the river was somewhat narrower. In an instant the wind ceased, and there was a calm; so that the prince could not advance; and some doubts arose, upon the narrowing of the river, as if some of his ships might want water in the engagement. In this deliberation the wind rose again, but from another quarter, which was directly in the prince's face; and would not suffer him to move towards the enemy, but drove him back, and would carry him out of the river. Hereupon were new consultations; great want of provisions was discovered to be in the fleet, inasmuch as that they should not be able to stay at sea above ten days, and many ships would want sooner, and therefore since the earl of Warwick, as the wind stood, could not be compelled to fight, and they were in danger to be distressed for provisions, it was thought most counsellable to put to sea; where they could more commodiously engage in a battle, if the earl of Warwick would advance; and if he did not, there was great reason to hope, that the prince might meet with those ships which were coming from Portsmouth to join with the earl, and which might easily be surprised or taken by the prince's fleet; which was much superior to them in strength.

At this time the earl of Lautherdale arrived in a ship from Scotland; and having left duke Hamilton upon his march towards Berwick, he was sent to demand the performance of the treaty, and that the prince would immediately repair to that army. This confirmed the prince in the purpose of putting out to sea, since it was absolutely necessary to carry the fleet first into Holland, before it could transport him into the northern parts. So the whole fleet went to sea, and continued their course for Holland, with hope still to meet with those ships which were coming from Portsmouth. And meet with them they did in the night; which the prince knew not till the morning; when one put the fault upon another; and it was now necessary to make all possible haste to Holland; since by the conjunction with these ships, besides all other advantages, the earl of Warwick was now become superior in the number, as well as the strength and goodness of his ships; which appeared by his coming before Helvoetsluis, within few days after the prince's arrival there.

It was near the middle of July, when duke Hamilton entered into England with his army, when he came to Carlisle, and immediately took that government from sir Philip Musgrave, and drew out all the English garrison, and put Scots in their place. And after some few days' stay there, the English and Scottish forces met at a rendezvous, in the way to Penrith in Cumberland where Lambert then quartered: and if they had continued their march, as they ought to have done, it is very probable they had broken that body of Lambert's. But the duke would quarter that night two miles short; and Lambert, in the same night, marched from thence in great disorder and confusion to the edge of Yorkshire. The duke rested many days, that all his forces might come up, which came slowly out of Scotland. As soon as they were come up, he marched to Kendal; where he rested again a full fortnight; the reason where-

of nobody could imagine; except it were that those forces which were up in several parts of the kingdom, for the king, might undergo some defeat, that they might not be so united, as to control or obstruct the presbyterian design. For after that army was entered into England, it moved, as hath been said, by such very slow marches, and so negligently, and with so little apprehension of an enemy, and it was quartered at so huge a distance, that the head-quarter was very often twenty miles distant from some part of the army; the duke himself performing no part of the office of a general, but taking his ease, and being wholly governed by David Lesley the lieutenant general of the army, and two or three other officers.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale marched, with his body of English, consisting of near four thousand foot, and seven or eight hundred horse, always a day before the army; by which they intended to have timely advertisement of the enemy's motion, and for which they made no other provision, and likewise meant that he should bear the first brunt of them, desiring to weaken him by all the ways they could. They had not marched many days, it being now near the middle of August, when sir Marmaduke Langdale advertised the duke, by an express, "that he had received unquestionable intelligence that Cromwell was within two or three days' march, and resolved to engage his army as soon as possibly he could, and that he would not be diverted from it, by the people's gathering together at any distance from him, in what posture soever;" and therefore desired his grace, "that he would keep his army close together; for they could not be far asunder with any security;" and declared, "that he himself would rest, and wait the advance of the enemy, and then retire back as he should find it necessary."

The duke, notwithstanding this advertisement, reformed not the order of his march in any degree, but was persuaded, "that the enemy could not be so near; and that, if Cromwell was advanced to such a distance, it was only with such a party, as he would not presume to engage with their whole army." In this confidence, he marched as he had done before. Sir Marmaduke sent him every day advice that confirmed the former, "and that his horse had encountered some of the enemy, and that their whole body was at hand; but that it was true, it was not a body equal in number to their army, yet all that Cromwell expected was to join battle with him." All this gained not credit, till sir Marmaduke himself, making his retreat with very sharp skirmishes, in which many men fell on both sides, was pursued into the head quarters of the duke; whither he likewise brought with him some prisoners, who averred, that the whole body of the army was within five or six miles, and marched as fast as they were able.

The duke was confounded with the intelligence, and at his wits' end knew not what to do: the army was not together; and that part that was about him, was without any order, and made no show of any purpose to fight. In this amazement, the duke stayed himself with some officers at Preston; and caused his foot to be drawn over a bridge, that they might march towards Wigan, a pretty town in Lancashire, where he should, as he thought, find some regiments, and where they might make some stand till the rest should come up. In the mean time sir Marmaduke Langdale returned to

his troops, the duke having promised to send him some troops to assist, and that some foot should be sent to keep a lane, that would flank his men upon his retreat. Sir Marmaduke retired before the enemy, and drew up his troops into the closes near Preston. The enemy followed him close, and pressed him very hard; notwithstanding which he maintained the dispute for above six hours with great courage, and with very great loss to the enemy in officers, and common soldiers; insomuch as they seemed to retire, at least to make a stand. And in all this time the Scots sent him no assistance, but concluded that it was not Cromwell's whole army that assaulted him, but only some party, which he would himself be well enough able to disengage himself from. And sir Marmaduke Langdale told me often afterwards, "that he verily believed, if one thousand foot had then been sent to him, he should have gained the day;" and Cromwell himself acknowledged, that he never saw foot fight so desperately as they did.

The Scots continued their march over the bridge, without taking any care to secure the lane, which he had recommended to them; by which Cromwell's horse came upon his flank, whilst he was equally pressed in the van. So that his excellent body of foot being broken, sir Marmaduke, and such of his horse as kept together, were driven into the town; where the duke remained yet with some officers; who all retreated over a ford to the foot, who were in equal disorder. For as soon as the English forces were broken, the Scots were presently beaten from the bridge, and forced to a very disorderly march. However, the duke had still his own army entire; with which he continued to march two or three days, till he came to Uxeter; and in that time many of the Scottish noblemen forsook him, and rendered themselves prisoners to the gentlemen of the country; and Cromwell's troops pressed so hard upon the rear, that they killed, and took as many prisoners as they pleased, without hazarding one man of their own. The duke was scarce got into Uxeter, when his troops, which made no resistance, were beaten in upon him, and so close pursued by Cromwell's horse under Lambert, that himself and all the principal officers (some few excepted, who, lying concealed, or by the benefit of the swiftness of their horses, made their escape) were taken prisoners: the duke neither behaving himself like a general, nor a gentleman of courage which he was before never thought to want; but making all submissions, and all excuses when he was brought to Cromwell that a poor-spirited man could do.

Thus his whole army was routed, and defeated; more killed out of contempt, than that they deserved it by any opposition; the rest taken prisoners, all their cannon and baggage taken, and their colours; only some of their horse, which had been quartered most backward, made haste to carry news to their country of the ill success of their arms. They who did not take the way for Scotland, were for the most part taken by the activity of the country, or the horse that pursued them; whereof sir Marmaduke Langdale, after he had made his way with some of his officers and soldiers, who stood with him till they found it safest to disperse themselves, had the ill fortune to be discovered; and was so taken prisoner, and sent to the castle of Nottingham. All this great victory was got by Cromwell with an army amount-



ing to a third part of the Scots in number, if they had been all together ; and it was not diminished half a hundred in obtaining this victory, after the English forces under Langdale had been defeated.

[It may be proper now to mention, that] the lord Cottington, and the chancellor of the exchequer, had many misadventures ; which detained them from attending upon the prince in the fleet. As soon as they heard that his highness had put himself on board a ship at Calais to find the fleet in Holland, they embarked at Dieppe, in a French man of war that was bound for Dunkirk ; where when they arrived, they found a gentleman, a servant of the prince's, who informed them, "that the prince was with the whole fleet in the Downs, and that he had sent him with a letter to the marshal Ranzaw, who was governor of Dunkirk, to borrow a frigate of him ;" which he had there, and had by some civil message offered to lend to his highness ; and the marshal, who received them with great civility, assured them that the frigate should be ready the next day, and, if they pleased to make use of it, should carry them to the prince.

They looked upon it as an excellent opportunity, which would deliver them much sooner at the fleet, than they had before expected to be ; and so, without weighing the dangers which might accompany it, and might very naturally have been foreseen, they embraced the occasion ; there being no hazard which they apprehended at sea, but that they might be taken by the parliament ships ; which, by the prince's being with his fleet in the Downs, and so being master at sea, was hardly possible. So they unwarily put themselves into that frigate, and set sail in the evening from Dunkirk ; presuming that they should, the next morning, find themselves in the Downs with the prince. But there was so dead a calm that night, that they made very little way ; and, the next morning, they found that they were chased by six or seven frigates of Ostend. The sum was, that they were taken prisoners, and plundered of all they had, (which amounted to good value in jewels and money,) and were carried into Ostend, where, though they were presently at liberty, they were compelled to stay many days, not without some hope, raised by the civility of the Spanish governor, and the lords of the admiralty there, who very liberally promised an entire restitution of all that they had lost. But that being without any effect, that brutish people, the freebooters, being subject to no government, they found means to give notice to the prince of all that happened, and that they would attend his command at Flushing ; whither they easily went without being exposed any more to the perils of the sea. Within few days after, the prince, out of the Downs, sent a frigate for them to Flushing ; where they embarked several times, and were at sea the whole night, and in the morning driven back by high winds, sometimes into Flushing, sometimes to Ramekins ; and so were compelled to go to Middleborough, and after a month's stay in those places, and many attempts to get to sea, they received order from the prince to attend him in Holland, whither he had resolved to go, as soon as the earl of Lauderdale arrived from Scotland in the fleet, and had delivered his imperious invitation for the prince's immediate repair to the Scottish army ; which was then entered into England.

By this means they came not to the prince, till the next day after he came to the Hague, having left the fleet before Goree and near Helvoetsluys.

The prince was received by the States with all outward respect, and treated by them for four or five days at their charge at the hotel de ville ; his royal highness every night lodging in the palace, which belonged to the States too, where the prince of Orange and the princess lay, and where both his royal highness and the duke of York had very good apartments ; the prince and duke, after two or three days, always eating with the princess royal, the prince of Orange himself keeping his own table open, according to custom, for the resort of such of the States, or officers of the army, or other noble persons, who frequently repaired thither.

The prince of Wales's court was full of faction, and animosity against each other, so that the new comers were not only very well received by the prince, but very welcome to every body, who being angry with the other counsellors there, believed that matters would be better carried now they were come. They had not been an hour in the Hague, when Herbert the attorney general, who had never loved either of them, came to them, and congratulated their arrival, and told them "how much they had been wanted, and how much prince Rupert longed for their company." And within a very short time after, prince Rupert himself came to bid them welcome, with all possible grace, and profession of great kindness and esteem for them. They both inveighed bitterly against the whole administration of the fleet, in which most part of the court, which had been present, and who agreed in nothing else, concurred with them.

The whole clamour was against the lord Colepepper, and sir Robert Long the prince's secretary, who, by the queen's injunction, was wholly subservient to the lord Colepepper. They accused them of corruption, not only with reference to the cloth ship, but to the release of very many other ships, which they had discharged upon no other reason, but as it would be a very popular thing, and make the prince grateful to the city of London. Though there was much discourse of money brought to both their cabins by Mr. Lowe, yet there was never any proof made of any corruption in the lord Colepepper, who was not indeed to be wrought upon that way ; but, having some infirmities, and a multitude of enemies, he was never absolved from any thing of which any man accused him ; and the other was so notoriously inclined to that way of husbandry, that he was always thought guilty of more than he was charged with. It was true enough that great riches were parted with, and had been released for little or no money ; which being now exceedingly wanted, made it easily believed that such unthrifty counsel could not have been given, except by those who were well rewarded for it ; which still fell upon those two.

There was a general murmur that the fleet had lain so long idle at the mouth of the river, when it had been proposed that it might go to the Isle of Wight, where they might, in the consternation the whole kingdom was then in, probably have been able to have released the king ; Carisbrook being near the sea, not strong in itself, and without a strong castle, the island well affected, and at that time under no such power as could subdue them.

And why such an attempt, which, if unsuccessful, could have been attended with no damage considerable, was not made, was never fully answered.

They were very angry with Batten, and would have it treachery in him, that the two fleets did not fight with each other, when they were so near engaging in the river; which, they said, they might well have done before the wind changed, if he had not dissuaded the prince; and in this the clamour of the seamen joined with them. But it was but clamour, for most dispassionate men gave him a good testimony in that affair, and that he behaved himself like a skilful officer, and was very forward to fight whilst there was reason to effect it. The other reproach upon him, of passing by the ships which came from Portsmouth, in the night, was not so well answered: for it was known, though he said that they were passed by, and out of reach before he was informed of them, that he had notice time enough to have engaged them, and did decline it; which might reasonably enough have been done, out of apprehension, besides the inconvenience of a night engagement, that the noise of the conflict might have called the earl of Warwick out of the river to their assistance, before they could have mastered them; there being two or three of the best ships of the royal navy, which would have made a very notable resistance. But this being never urged by himself, and what would have been too much for him to have taken upon himself, it was imputed to his cowardice, of which the seamen, as well as the courtiers, accused him; though, as was generally thought, without reason, and only with prejudice to the man for what he had done before, and because he was a man of a regular and orderly course of life, and command, and of very few words, and less passion than at that time raised men to reputation in that county. There was only one man in the council of whom nobody spoke ill, or laid any thing to his charge; and that was the lord Hopton. But there was then such a combination, by the countenance of prince Rupert, with all the other lords of the court, and the attorney general, upon former grudges, to undervalue him, that they had drawn the prince himself to have a less esteem of him than his singular virtue, and fidelity, and his unquestionable courage, and industry (all which his enemies could not deny that he excelled in) did deserve.

This state the court was in, when the two new counsellors came; who quickly discerned, by the unsteady humours and strong passions all men were possessed with, that they should not preserve the reputation they seemed to have with every body for the present, any long time, and foresaw that necessity would presently break in upon them like an armed man, that would disturb and distract all their counsels. And there was, even at the instant in which they arrived at the Hague, the fatal advertisement of that defeat of the Scottish army, which must break all their measures, and render the condition of the prince, and of the whole kingdom, very deplorable, and leave that of the king his father in the utmost despair.

The rumour of this defeat came to the Hague the next day after the prince came thither, but not so particularly that the extent of it was known, or the tragical effects yet thoroughly understood. And his highness appointing his council to meet together the next morning after the lord Cottington and the

chancellor of the exchequer came thither, he informed them of the lord Lautherdale's message to him from the parliament of Scotland, and that he very earnestly pressed him, even since the news of the defeat, that he would forthwith repair to their army; and his highness thought fit, that the earl should give an account of his commission at the board; whereupon he was sent for in; and, that all respect might be shewed to the parliament of Scotland, he had a chair allowed him to sit upon.

He first read his commission from the parliament, and then the letter which the parliament had writ to the prince; in which, having at large magnified the great affection of the parliament, "that out of their native and constant affection" and duty to their king, and finding that, contrary "to the duty of subjects, his majesty was imprisoned by the traitorous and rebellious army in England, they had raised an army in that kingdom, that, since their advice, counsel, and entreaty in an amicable way, could not prevail, might by force redeem his majesty's person from that captivity; which they held themselves obliged by their solemn league and covenant to endeavour to do, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes: that this army was already entered into England, under the command of James duke Hamilton, whom, in respect of his known and eminent fidelity to his majesty, they had made general thereof; and having now done all that was in their power to do for the present, and having taken due care for the seasonable supply and recruit of that army, they now sent to his highness, that he would with all possible speed, according to the promise which the king his father had made, transport his royal person, that he might himself be in the head of that army to obtain the liberty of his father;" and they desired him, "that for the circumstances of his journey he would be advised by the earl of Lautherdale, to whom they had given full instructions;" and they besought his highness "to give credit to him in all things."

The earl likewise shewed his instructions, by which none of the prince's chaplains were to be admitted to attend him, and great care to be taken, that none but *godly* men should be suffered to be about the person of his highness; and particularly that neither prince Rupert, nor the chancellor of the exchequer, nor some other persons should be permitted to go with the prince. And after all these things were read and enlarged upon, he pressed the prince, with all imaginable instance, and without taking notice of any thing that was befallen their army in England, of which he could not be without particular relation, that he would lose no time from entering upon his journey; and all this with as insolent and supercilious behaviour, as if their army had been triumphant.

When he had said all he meant to say, he sat still, as if he expected to hear what the prince or any body else would say to what he proposed. It was then moved, "that, if he had no more to say, he would withdraw, to the end that the council might debate the matter, before they gave their advice to the prince." He took this motion very ill, and said "he was a privy counsellor to the king in Scotland, and being likewise a commissioner from the parliament, he ought not to be excluded from any debate that concerned the affair upon which he was employed." This he urged in so

imperious and offensive a manner, that drew on much sharpness; and the chancellor of the exchequer, who knew him very well since the treaty at Uxbridge, where they had often differed in matters of the highest importance, treated him with the same liberty they had then been accustomed to. He told him, "he meant not to say any thing in that debate, when he should be withdrawn, that he desired should be concealed from him, or unheard by him; and that he was ready to say, that, in his judgment, all he had proposed was very unreasonable; but he would not that the dignity of the board should be prostituted to his demand, nor that he should be present there at any debate." The earl replied, "that he was sent by the parliament and kingdom of Scotland, to the prince of Wales, and that he did protest against having any thing he proposed to be treated, and debated by, or before the English board; nor did he consider what was or should be said, by any man but the prince himself." The prince told him, "it was necessary that he himself should hear, and know what the opinion of the council should be; and that it was as unreasonable that he should be present;" and thereupon commanded him to withdraw; which he presently submitted to with indecency enough. The prince then told them, "that there were some persons come to the town, the last night, who came out of England after the news of the victory over the Scots came to London, with all the circumstances thereof; and of the duke's being taken prisoner;" and that the prince of Orange had told him, "that the States had received intelligence of it from their ambassador Newport, who resided in London." Upon the whole matter, the prince resolved "to meet again the next morning to consult farther what he was to do, and that, in the mean time, the intelligence would be more perfect, and unquestionable, and they should see whether Lautherdale would take any notice of it."

But the night made no alteration in him; he appeared the next morning with the same confidence, and the same importunity for the prince to remove, and begin his journey. He was asked, "whether he had received no information of some ill fortune, that had befallen that army, which might so change the case since he left Scotland, that what might then have been fit, would be now unfit and uncounsellable?" The earl said, "he knew well what the news was from England; and whatever he hoped, that he was not confident it was not true: however he hoped, that would not change the prince's purpose, but that it would more concern him to pursue the resolution he was formerly obliged to; that if any misfortune had befallen that army, the prince had the more reason to endeavour to repair it; which could be done no other way, than by his making all possible haste into Scotland; which remained still a kingdom entire, wholly devoted to his service; and that, by the benefit of his presence, might quickly draw together another army, towards which there was a good beginning already by the preservation of that body under Monroe: that if his highness should decline this only probable way to preserve himself, and to recover his other two kingdoms, it would be thought he had little zeal for the liberty of his father, and as little for his own interest, and for

"the preservation of the crown: he therefore besought his highness, that he would cause some of his ships to be forthwith made ready, and would therein immediately transport himself into Scotland; whereby the late wound would, in a short time, be healed; which would otherwise prove incurable."

But Scotland was so well known, and the power of Argyle, (which must be now greater than ever by the total defeat of the contrary party,) that his proposition was by all dispassionate men thought to be very extravagant, and not to be hearkened to: and the news from London, that Cromwell was marched into Scotland with his whole army, confirmed every honest man in that opinion. And within few days the earl of Lautherdale seemed rather to think of going thither himself, where his own concerns were in great danger, than of pressing the prince to so hazardous a voyage; and after a few weeks more stay at the Hague, upon the intelligence from his friends in Scotland, how affairs went there, he returned thither in the same ship that transported him from thence, with as much rage and malice against the council about the prince, as against Cromwell himself.

The wonderful defeat of the Scottish army at Preston, though it was not at first believed to be an entire victory over their whole body, there being double that number that was not there or that marched from thence, broke or disappointed most of the designs which were on foot for raising men, in those northern counties, for the king's service, to have joined and united under sir Marmaduke Langdale. Sir Thomas Tildesley, a gentleman of a fair estate, who had served the king from the beginning of the war with good courage, was then with a body of English, with which he had besieged the castle of Lancaster, and was upon the point of reducing it, when the news of Preston arrived. It was then necessary to quit that design; and hearing that major general Monroe, who, shortly after the duke marched out of Scotland, followed him with a recruit of above six thousand horse and foot, was come to the skirts of Lancashire, he retired thither to him, having gathered up many of sir Marmaduke Langdale's men, who had been broken at Preston, and some others who had been newly levied. Sir Thomas Tildesley moved Monroe, "that his forces, and some regiments of Scots, who yet remained about Kendal, might join with the English under his command, and march together towards Preston, and follow Cromwell in the rear, as he pursued the Scots:" which they might very well have done, being a body, when in conjunction, of above eight thousand men; which was superior in number to the army under Cromwell. But the major general would not consent to the motion, but retired to the farther part of Westmoreland; and the English followed them in the rear; presuming, that though they would not be persuaded to advance after Cromwell, yet that they would choose some other more convenient post to make a stand in, if the enemy followed them; and then that they would be glad to join with them: to which he was pressed again the next day, but continued still fast in his sullen resolution, without declaring what he meant to do; and retired through Cumberland, where he had left a sad remembrance of his having passed that way a few days before, having then raised vast sums of money

upon the poor people, and now in his retreat plundered almost all they had left.

The English marched into the bishopric of Durham, to join with such new levies as were then raising there; and their number being increased by the addition of those troops which were under the command of sir Henry Bellingham, they met again major general Monroe in Northumberland, and desired him, "that they might unite together against the common enemy, who equally desired the destruction of them both." But he resolutely refused, and told them plainly, "that he would march directly into Scotland, and expect orders there;" which he did with all possible expedition.

Sir Philip Musgrave believed that he and his foot might be welcome to Carlisle; and went thither, and sent sir Henry Bellingham, sir Robert Strickland, and colonel Chater, to the earl of Lanrick, and offered that they should carry their troops into Scotland to join with him; who he knew well would stand in need of help. But he durst not accept their motion, saying, "if he should, Argyle would from thence take an excuse to invite Cromwell;" who they heard was then upon his march towards Berwick, to bring his army into Scotland: upon which sir Henry Bellingham returned with the party he commanded into Cumberland, paying for all they had through that part of Scotland it was necessary for them to pass through.

Sir Philip Musgrave had no better success with sir William Levingston, the governor of Carlisle, for though he received him very civilly, and entered into a treaty with him, (for he knew well enough that he was not able to victual or defend the place without the assistance of the English, and therefore desired the assistance of sir Philip in both,) yet when articles were agreed upon, and signed by sir Philip Musgrave, the governor fell back, and refused to engage himself "not to deliver up the garrison without the consent of sir Philip Musgrave;" who was contented that none of his men should come within the walls, until it should be most apparent, that they could no longer keep the field.

Within a short time after, orders were sent out of Scotland for the delivery of Berwick and Carlisle to the parliament; in which orders there was not the least mention of making conditions for the English. Sir Philip Musgrave had yet Appleby castle in his own possession, having taken it after he had delivered Carlisle to duke Hamilton, and after he was marched from thence. By this good accident, upon the delivery of it up, which could not long have made any defence, he made conditions for himself, and one hundred and fifty officers, many of them gentlemen of quality, who lived again to venture, and some to lose, their lives for the king: after which, he soon transported himself into Holland.

Cromwell resolved to lose no advantage he had got, but as soon as he had perfected his defeat of duke Hamilton, by gathering up as many prisoners as he could of the dispersed troops, he marched directly towards Scotland, to pull up the roots there, from which any farther trouble might spring hereafter; though he was very earnestly called upon from Yorkshire to reduce those at Pontefract castle, which grew very formidable to all their neighbours; and, not satisfied with drawing contributions from all the parts adjacent, they made

excursions into places at a great distance, and took divers substantial men prisoners, and carried them to the castle; where they remained till they redeemed themselves by great ransoms. However, he would not defer his northern march; but believing that he should be in a short time capable to take vengeance upon those affronts, he satisfied himself in sending colonel Rainsborough, with some troops of horse and foot, to restrain their adventures, and to keep them blocked up; and himself, with the rest of his army, continued their march for Scotland, it being about the end of August, or beginning of September, before the harvest of that country was yet ripe; and so capable of being destroyed.

It was generally believed, that the marquis of Argyle earnestly invited him to this progress; for the defeat of the Scottish army in England had not yet enough made him master of Scotland. There was still a committee of parliament sitting at Edinburgh, in which, and in the council, the earl of Lanrick swayed without a rival; and the troops which had been raised under Monroe for the recruit of the duke's army, were still together, and at the earl's devotion; so that the marquis was still upon his good behaviour. If he did not invite Cromwell, he was very glad of his coming; and made all possible haste to bid him welcome upon his entering into the kingdom. They made great shows of being mutually glad to see each other, being linked together by many promises, and professions, and by an entire conjunction in guilt.

There was no act of hostility committed; Cromwell declaring, "that he came with his army to preserve the godly party, and to free the kingdom from a force, which it was under, of malignant men, who had forced the nation to break the friendship with their brethren of England, who had been so faithful to them: that it having pleased God to defeat that army under duke Hamilton, who endeavoured to engage the two nations in each other's blood, he was come thither to prevent any farther mischief, and to remove those from authority who had used their power so ill; and that he hoped he should, in very few days, return with an assurance of the brotherly affection of that kingdom to the parliament of England; which did not desire in any degree to invade their liberties, or infringe their privileges." He was conducted to Edinburgh by the marquis of Argyle, where he was received with all solemnity, and the respect due to the deliverer of their country, and his army quartered about, and supplied with all provisions the country could yield.

The earl of Lanrick, and all the Hamiltonian faction, (that is, all who had a mind to continue of it,) were withdrawn, and out of reach; and they who remained at Edinburgh were resolved to obey Argyle; who they saw could protect them. There were then enough left of the committee of parliament to take care of the safety and good of the kingdom, without putting Cromwell to help them by the power of the English; which would have been a great discredit to their government. Whilst he remained their guest, (whom they entertained magnificently,) Argyle was able, by the laws of Scotland, to reform all that was amiss, and preserve the government upon the true foundation. So the committee of parliament sent to Monroe an order and command to disband his troops; which







Engraved by W T Motte

**WILLIAM KERR, EARL OF LOTHIAN.**

**OB. 1673.**

**FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JAMIESON, IN THE COLLECTION OF**

**THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF LOTHIAN**





when he seemed resolved not to do, he quickly discerned that Cromwell must be arbitrator; and thereupon he observed the orders of the committee very punctually: so that there was no power in Scotland that could oppose the command of Argyle; the committee of parliament, the council, all the magistrates of Edinburgh, were at his devotion; and whoever were not so, were either in prison, or fled. The pulpits were full of invectives against the sinfulness of the late engagement, and solemn fasts enjoined by the assembly to implore God's pardon and forgiveness for that heinous transgression; the chancellor Lowden giving the good example, by making his recantation and humble submission with many tears. Cromwell had reason to believe that it would henceforward prove as peaceable a kingdom as he could wish; and having therefore concerted all things with his bosom friend Argyle, (who resolved, as soon as he was withdrawn a distance from Edinburgh, that he and his army might not be thought to have an influence upon the councils, to call the parliament to confirm all he should think fit to do,) he returned for England; where he thought his presence was like to be wanted.

The committee of parliament at Edinburgh (who had authority to convene the parliament when the major part of them should please; care being taken in the nomination of them, that they were such as were thought most like to pursue the way they were entered into) sent out their summons to call the parliament. They who appeared, were of another mind from what they had been formerly, and with the same passion and zeal with which they had entered into the engagement, they now declared it unlawful and ungodly; and the assembly joining with them, they excommunicated all who had the most eminent parts in the promoting it; and made them incapable of bearing any office in the state, or of sitting in council, or in parliament; subjecting those who had sinned in a less degree, to such penalties as would for ever make them subject to their government. By these judgments, amongst others, the earl of Lanrick was deprived of being secretary of state, and that office was conferred upon the earl of Lothian; who, in the beginning of the rebellion, had been employed by the conspirators into France, and coming afterwards into England was imprisoned thereupon, and being after set at liberty continued amongst those who, upon all occasions, carried the rebellion highest, and shewed the most implacable malice to the person of the king. And by this time Argyle was become so much more master of Scotland than Cromwell was of England, that he had not so much as the shadow of a parliament to contend, or to comply with, or a necessity to exercise his known great talent of dissimulation, all men doing as he enjoined them, without asking the reason of his direction.

[To return to the state of the king's affairs in England:] when the earl of Norwich and the lord Capel with the Kentish and Essex troops were enclosed in Colchester, their friends could not reasonably hope that the Scottish army, which had so long deferred their march into England, contrary to their promise, would, though they were now come in, march fast enough to relieve Colchester before they should be reduced by famine. The earl of Holland thought it necessary, since many who were in Colchester had engaged themselves

upon his promises and authority, now to begin his enterprise; to which the youth and warmth of the duke of Buckingham, who was general of the horse, the lord Francis Villiers his brother, and divers other young noblemen, spurred him on. And he might have the better opinion of his interest and party, in that his purpose of rising, and putting himself into arms for the relief of Colchester, was so far from being a secret, that it was the common discourse of the town. There was a great appearance every morning, at his lodging, of those officers who were known to have served the king; his commissions shewed in many hands; no question being more commonly asked, than "when doth my lord Holland go out?" and the answer was, "such and such a day;" and the hour he did take horse, when he was accompanied by an hundred horse from his house, was publicly talked of two or three days before.

His first rendezvous was at Kingston upon Thames; where he stayed two nights, and one whole day, expecting a great resort to him, not only of officers, but of common men, who had promised, and listed themselves under several officers; and he imputed the security he had enjoyed so long, notwithstanding his purpose was so generally known, to the apprehension both the parliament and the army had of the affections of the city to join with him; and he believed, that he should not only remain secure at Kingston, as long as he should think fit to stay there, but that some entire regiments of the city would march out with him for the relief of Colchester.

During the short stay he made at Kingston, some officers and soldiers, both of horse and foot, came thither, and many persons of honour and quality, in their coaches, came to visit him and his company from London; and returned thither again to provide what was still wanting, and resolved to be with him soon enough. The principal officer the earl relied upon (though he had better) was Dalbeer a Dutchman, of name and reputation, and good experience in war; who had served the parliament as commissary general of the horse under the earl of Essex, and having been left out in the new model, was amongst those discontented officers who looked for an opportunity to be revenged of the army; which they despised for their ill breeding, and much preaching. Thus Dalbeer was glad to depend upon the earl of Holland, who thought himself likewise happy in such an officer. The keeping good guards, and sending out parties towards the Kentish parts, where it was known some troops remained since the last commotion there, was committed to his care. But he discharged it so ill, or his orders were so ill observed, that the second or third morning after their coming to Kingston, some troops of horse under the command of colonel Rich (eminent for praying but of no fame for fighting) fell into the town, before those within had notice to be ready to receive them; the earl and most of the rest making too much haste out of town, and never offering to charge those troops. And in this confusion the lord Francis Villiers, a youth of rare beauty and comeliness of person, not being upon his horse so soon as the rest, or endeavouring to make some resistance, was unfortunately killed, with one or two more but of little note. Most of the foot made a shift to conceal themselves, and some officers,

until they found means to retire to their close mansions in London. The earl with near an hundred horse (the rest wisely taking the way to London, where they were never inquired after) wandered without purpose or design, and was, two or three days after, beset in an inn at St. Neots in Huntingdonshire, by those few horse who pursued him; where the earl delivered himself prisoner to the officer without resistance: yet at the same time Dalbeer and Kenelm Digby, the eldest son of sir Kenelm, were killed upon the place; whether out of former grudges, or that they offered to defend themselves, was not known; and the duke of Buckingham had severed himself from them, and happily found a way into London; where he lay concealed, till he had an opportunity to secure himself by being transported into Holland; where the prince was; who received him with great grace and kindness. The earl of Holland remained prisoner in the place where he was taken, till by order from the parliament he was sent to Windsor castle, where, notwithstanding he was constable of it, he was kept prisoner with great strictness.

The total defeat of the Scottish army lately mentioned succeeded this, and when those noble persons within Colchester were advertised of both, they knew well that there was no possibility of relief, nor could they expect it longer, being pressed with want of all kind of victual, and having eaten near all their horses. They sent therefore to Fairfax, to treat about the delivery of the town upon reasonable conditions; but he refused to treat, or give any conditions, if they would not render to mercy all the officers and gentlemen; the common soldiers he was contented to dismiss. A day or two was spent in deliberation. They within proposed "to make a brisk sally; and thereby to shift for themselves, as many as could." But they had too few horse, and the few that were left uneaten were too weak for that enterprise. Then, "that they should open a port, and every man die with their arms in their hands;" but that way they could only be sure of being killed, without much hurting their adversaries, who had ways enough securely to assault them. Hereupon, they were in the end obliged to deliver themselves up prisoners at mercy; and were, all the officers and gentlemen, led into the public hall of the town; where they were locked up, and a strong guard set upon them. They were required presently to send a list of all their names to the general; which they did; and, within a short time after, a guard was sent to bring sir Charles Lucas, and sir George Lisle, and sir Bernard Gascoigne to the general, being sat with his council of war. They were carried in, and in a very short discourse told, "that after so long and so obstinate a defence until they found it necessary to deliver themselves up to mercy, it was necessary, for the example of others, and that the peace of the kingdom might be no more disturbed in that manner, that some military justice should be executed; and therefore, that council had determined they three should be presently shot to death;" for which they were advised to prepare themselves; and without considering, or hearing what they had a mind to say for themselves, they were led into a yard that was contiguous; where they found three files of musketeers ready for their despatch.

Sir Bernard Gascoigne was a gentleman of Florence; and had served the king in the war, and afterwards remained in London till the unhappy adventure of Colchester, and then accompanied his friends thither; and had only English enough to make himself understood, that he desired a pen and ink and paper, that he might write a letter to his prince the great duke, that his highness might know in what manner he lost his life, to the end his heirs might possess his estate. The officer that attended the execution thought fit to acquaint the general and council, without which he durst not allow him pen and ink, which he thought he might reasonably demand: when they were informed of it, they thought it a matter worthy some consideration; they had chosen him out of the list for his quality, conceiving him to be an English gentleman, and preferred him for being a knight, that they might sacrifice three of that rank.

This delay brought the news of this bloody resolution to the prisoners in the town; who were infinitely afflicted with it; and the lord Capel prevailed with an officer, or soldier, of their guard, to carry a letter, signed by the chief persons and officers, and in the name of the rest, to the general; in which they took notice of that judgment, and desired him "either to forbear the execution of it, or that they might all, who were equally guilty with those three, undergo the same sentence with them." The letter was delivered, but had no other effect than the sending to the officer to despatch his order, reserving the Italian to the last. Sir Charles Lucas was their first work; who fell dead; upon which sir George Lisle ran to him, embraced him, and kissed him; and then stood up, and looked those who were to execute him in the face; and thinking they stood at too great a distance, spake to them to come nearer; to which one of them said, "I'll warrant you, sir, we'll hit you:" he answered smiling, "Friends, I have been nearer you, when you have missed me." Thereupon, they all fired upon him, and did their work home, so that he fell down dead of many wounds without speaking word. Sir Bernard Gascoigne had his doublet off, and expected the next turn; but the officer told him "he had order to carry him back to his friends;" which at that time was very indifferent to him. The council of war had considered, that if they should in this manner have taken the life of a foreigner, who seemed to be a person of quality, their friends or children who should visit Italy might pay dear for many generations; and therefore they commanded the officer, "when the other two should be dead, to carry him back again to the other prisoners."

The two who were thus murdered were men of great name and esteem in the war; the one being held as good a commander of horse, and the other of foot, as the nation had; but of very different tempers and humours. Lucas was the younger brother of the lord Lucas, and his heir both to the honour and estate, and had a present fortune of his own. He had been bred in the Low Countries, and always amongst the horse. He had little conversation in that court, where great civility was practised, and learned. He was very brave in his person, and in a day of battle a gallant man to look upon, and follow; but at all other times and places, of a nature not to be lived with, of an ill understanding, of a rough and proud nature, which

made him during the time of their being in Colchester more intolerable than the siege, or any fortune that threatened them; yet they all desired to accompany him in his death. Lisle was a gentleman who had had the same education with the other, and at the same time an officer of foot; had all the courage of the other, and led his men to a battle with such an alacrity, that no man was ever better followed; his soldiers never forsaking him; and the party which he commanded, never left any thing undone which he led them upon. But then, to his fierceness of courage he had the softest and most gentle nature imaginable; loved all, and beloved of all, and without a capacity to have an enemy.

The manner of taking the lives of these worthy men was new, and without example, and concluded by most men to be very barbarous; and was generally imputed to Ireton, who swayed the general, and was upon all occasions of an unmerciful and bloody nature. As soon as this bloody sacrifice was ended, Fairfax, with the chief officers, went to the town-house to visit the prisoners; and the general (who was an ill orator on the most plausible occasion) applied with his civility to the earl of Norwich, and the lord Capel; and, seeming in some degree to excuse the having done that, which he said "the military justice required," he told them, "that all the lives of the rest were safe; and that they should be well treated, and disposed of as the parliament should direct." The lord Capel had not so soon digested this so late barbarous proceeding, as to receive the visit of those who caused it, with such a return as his condition might have prompted to him; but said, "that they should do well to finish their work, and execute the same rigour to the rest;" upon which there were two or three such sharp and bitter replies between him and Ireton, that cost him his life in few months after. When the general had given notice to the parliament of his proceedings, he received order to send the earl of Norwich and the lord Capel to Windsor castle; where they had afterwards the society of earl of Holland, to lament each other's misfortunes; and after some time they were all sent to the Tower.

Though the city had undergone so many severe mortifications, that it might very well have been discouraged from entering into any more dangerous engagements, at least all other people might have been terrified from depending again upon such engagements, yet the present fright was no sooner over than they recovered new spirits for new undertakings; and seemed always to have observed somewhat in the last miscarriage which might be hereafter prevented, and no more obstruct their future proceedings; and many in the parliament, as well as in the city, who were controlled and dispirited by the presence of the army, when that was at a distance appeared resolute, and brisk in any contradiction and opposition of their counsels. So that Cromwell had no sooner begun his march towards the north, and Fairfax his into Kent, but the common council delivered a petition to the parliament, "that they would entertain a personal treaty with the king, that the kingdom might be restored again to a happy peace; which could be hoped for no other way." This was the first presumption that had been offered, since their vote of no more addresses to be made to the

king; which had been near half a year before; and this seemed to be made with so universal a concurrence of the city, that the parliament durst not give a positive refusal to it. And in truth the major part thereof did really desire the same thing; which made sir Harry Vane, and that party in the parliament to which the army adhered, or rather which adhered to the army, to contrive some specious way to defer and delay it by seeming to consent to it, rather than to oppose the motion. And therefore they appointed a committee of the house of commons, to meet with such a committee of the common council, as they should make choice of, to confer together of the ways and means to provide for the king's safety and security during the time of the treaty: which committee being met together, that of the house of commons perplexed the other with many questions, "what they meant by those expressions, they used in their petition," (and had been the common expressions, long used both by the king and the parliament, in all applications which had concerned a treaty,) "that his majesty might treat with honour, freedom, and safety? what they intended by those words? and whether the city would be at the charge in maintaining those guards, which were to be kept for the security of the king during such treaty; and if the king should in that treaty refuse to give the parliament satisfaction, how his person should be disposed of?" and many such questions, to which they well knew that the committee itself could make no answer, but that there must be another common council called, to which they must repair for directions. And by this means, and administering new questions at every meeting, much time was spent, and the delays they wished could not be avoided. So that notwithstanding all their clamours that the treaty might be presently entered upon, much time was spent, and the insurrection in Kent, and the designs of the earl of Holland (to both which they had promised another kind of assistance) were both disappointed, and expired. However, the prince was still in the Downs with his fleet, and the gentlemen in Colchester defended themselves resolutely, and the Scottish army was entered the kingdom, all which kept up their courage; insomuch as, after all the delays, the parliament consented, and declared, "that they would enter into a personal treaty with the king for the settling the peace of the kingdom; but that the treaty should be in the Isle of Wight, where his majesty should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety."

The city had offered before to the committee upon some of the questions which had been administered to them, "that if the treaty might be in London, they would be at the charge of maintaining those guards which should be necessary for the safety and security of the king;" and therefore they were very much troubled, that the treaty should be now in the Isle of Wight, upon which they could have no influence; yet they thought not fit to make any new instances for change of the place, lest the parliament might recede from their vote, that there should be a treaty entered upon. So they only renewed their importunity, that all expedition might be used; and, in spite of all delays, in the beginning of August a committee was sent from both houses to the king to Carisbrook castle, where he had been close shut up about half a year, without being

suffered to speak with any but such who were appointed by them to attend, and watch him.

The message the committee delivered was, "that the houses did desire a treaty with his majesty, in what place of the Isle of Wight he would appoint, upon the propositions tendered to him at Hampton Court, and such other propositions, as they should cause to be presented to him; and that his majesty should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety to his person." The messengers, who were one of the house of peers and two commoners, were to return within ten days, nobody being strict in the limitation of time, because the treaty was so much the longer kept off, which they hoped still would by some accident be prevented.

The king received them very graciously, and told them, "they could not believe that any man could desire a peace more heartily than himself, because no man suffered so much by the want of it: that, though he was without any man to consult with, and without a secretary to write what he should dictate, yet they should not be put to stay long for an answer;" which he gave them within two or three days, all written in his own hand; in which, after he had lamented his present condition, and the extreme restraint he was under, he said, "he did very cheerfully embrace their motion, and accepted a treaty they promised should be with honour, freedom, and safety; which he hoped they did really intend should be performed; for that, in the condition he was in, he was so totally ignorant and uninformed of the present state of all his dominions, that a blind man was as fit to judge of colours, as he was to treat concerning the peace of the kingdom, except they would first revoke their votes, and orders, by which all men were prohibited and forbid to come, write, or speak to him. For the place, he could have wished, for the expedition that would have resulted from thence, that it might have been in or near London, to the end that the parliament's resolution and determination might have been sooner known upon any emergent occasion that might have grown in the treaty, than it could be at such a distance: however, since they had resolved that it should be in the Isle of Wight, he would not except against it, but named the town of Newport for the place of the treaty." He said, "though he desired all expedition might be used towards the beginning and ending the treaty, yet he should not think himself in any freedom to treat, except, before the treaty begun, all such persons might have liberty to repair to him, whose advice and assistance he should stand in need of in the treaty." He sent a list of the names of those his servants which he desired might be admitted to come to him, and attend upon him; whereof the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, were the chief; all four gentlemen of his bedchamber, and of his privy council. He named likewise all the other servants, whose attendance he desired in their several offices. He sent a list of the names of several bishops, and of such of his chaplains, as he desired to confer with, and of many common lawyers, and some civilians, whose advice he might have occasion to use, and desired, "that he might be in the same state of freedom, as

"he enjoyed whilst he had been at Hampton Court."

By the time that the commissioners returned from the Isle of Wight, and delivered this answer to the parliament, news was brought of the defeat of the Scottish army, and Cromwell had written to his friends, "what a perpetual ignominy it would be to the parliament, that nobody abroad or at home would ever give credit to them, if they should recede from their former vote and declaration of no farther addresses to the king, and conjured them to continue firm in that resolution." But they had gone too far now to recede, and since the first motion and petition from the common council for a treaty, very many members, who had opposed the vote and declaration of no more addressees, and from the time that had passed, had forborne ever to be present in the parliament, upon the first mention of a treaty, flocked again to the house, and advanced that overture; so that they were much superior in number to those who endeavoured first to obstruct and delay, and now hoped absolutely to frustrate all that had been [proposed] towards a treaty. And the great victory which had been obtained against the Scots, and which they concluded must speedily reduce Colchester, and put a quick period to all other attempts against the parliament, made them more earnest and solicitous for a treaty; which was all the hope left to prevent that confusion they discerned was the purpose of the army to bring upon the kingdom: and so with the more vigour they pressed "that satisfaction might be given to the king, in all that he had proposed in his answer;" and, notwithstanding all opposition, it was declared "that the vote for no more addresses should stand repealed: that the treaty should be at Newport, and that his majesty should be there in the same freedom in which he was at Hampton Court; that the instructions to colonel Hammond, by which the king had been in that manner restrained, and all persons restrained from going to him, should be recalled; that all those persons who were named by the king, should have free liberty to repair to him, and to remain with him without being questioned, or troubled." And having proceeded thus far, they nominated a committee of five lords and ten commoners to be the commissioners who should treat with the king, and who were enjoined to prepare all things to be in readiness for the treaty with all possible expedition; but the lord Say and sir Harry Vane, being two of those commissioners, used all their arts to obstruct and delay it, in hope that Cromwell would despatch his affairs in Scotland time enough to return, and to use more effectual and powerful arguments against it, than they were furnished withal.

All these occurrences were very well known to Cromwell, and were the motives which persuaded him to believe that his presence at the parliament was so necessary to suppress the presbyterians, who ceased not to vex him at any distance, that he would not be prevailed with to stay and finish that only work of difficulty that remained to be done, which was the reducing Pontefract castle; but left Lambert to make an end of it, and to revenge the death of Rainsborough, who had lost his life by that garrison, with some circumstances which deserve to be remembered; as in truth all

that adventure in the taking and defending that place, should be preserved by a very particular relation, for the honour of all the persons who were engaged in it.

When the war had been brought to an end by the reduction of all places, and persons, which had held for the king, and all men's hopes had been rendered desperate, by the imprisonment of his majesty in the Isle of Wight, those officers and gentlemen who had served, whilst there was any service, betook themselves generally to the habitations they had in the several counties; where they lived quietly and privately, under the insolence of those neighbours who had formerly, by the inferiority of their conditions, submitted to them. When the parliament had finished the war, they reduced and slighted most of the inland garrisons, the maintenance whereof was very chargeable; yet by the interest of some person who commanded it, or out of the consideration of the strength and importance of the place, they kept still a garrison in Pontefract castle, a noble royalty and palace belonging to the crown, and then part of the queen's jointure. The situation in itself was very strong; no part whereof was commanded by any other ground: the house very large, with all offices suitable to a princely seat, and though built very near the top of a hill, so that it had the prospect of a great part of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and of Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire, yet it was plentifully supplied with water. Colonel Cotterell, the governor of this garrison, exercised a very severe jurisdiction over his neighbours of those parts; which were inhabited by many gentlemen, and soldiers, who had served the king throughout the war, and who were known to retain their old affections, though they lived with all submission to the present government. Upon the least jealousy or humour, these men were frequently sent for, reproached, and sometimes imprisoned by the governor in this garrison; which did not render them the more devoted to him. When there appeared some hopes that the Scots would raise an army for the relief and release of the king, sir Marmaduke Langdale, in his way for Scotland, had visited and conferred with some of his old friends and countrymen, who now lived quietly within some distance of Pontefract, who informed him of that garrison, the place whereof was well known to him. And he acquainting them with the assurance he had of the resolution of the principal persons of the kingdom of Scotland, and that they had invited him to join with them, in order to which he was then going thither, they agreed, "that, when it should appear that an army was raised in Scotland upon that account, which must draw down the parliament's army into the other northern counties, and that there should be risings in other parts of the kingdom," (which the general indisposition and discontent, besides some particular designs, made like to fall out,) "that then those gentlemen should endeavour the surprise of that castle, and after they had made themselves strong in it, and provided it with provisions to endure some restraint, they should draw as good a body to them as those countries would yield:" and having thus adjusted that design, they settled such a way of correspondence with sir Marmaduke, that they frequently gave him an account, and received his directions for their proceeding.

In this disposition they continued quiet, as they had always been; and the governor of the castle lived towards them with less jealousy, and more humanity, than he had been accustomed to.

There was one colonel Morrice, who, being a very young man, had, in the beginning of the war, been an officer in some regiments of the king's; and, out of the folly and impatience of his youth, had quitted that service, and engaged himself in the parliament army with some circumstances not very commendable; and by the clearness of his courage, and pleasantness of his humour, made himself not only very acceptable, but was preferred to the command of a colonel, and performed many notable services for them, being a stout and bold undertaker in attempts of the greatest danger; wherein he had usually success. After the new modelling of the army, and the introducing of a stricter discipline, his life of great license kept not his reputation with the new officers; and being a free speaker and censurer of their affected behaviour, they left him out in their compounding their new army, but with many professions of kindness, and respect to his eminent courage, which they would find some occasion to employ, and reward. He was a gentleman of a competent estate in those parts in Yorkshire; and as he had grown elder, he had heartily detested himself for having quitted the king's service, and had resolved to take some seasonable opportunity to wipe off that blemish by a service that would redeem him; and so was not troubled to be set aside by the new general, but betook himself to his estate; enjoyed his old humour, which was cheerful and pleasant; and made himself most acceptable to those who were most trusted by the parliament; who thought that they had dismissed one of the best officers they had, and were sorry for it.

He now, as a country gentleman, frequented the fairs and markets, and conversed with equal freedom with all his neighbours, of what party soever they had been, and renewed the friendship he had formerly held with some of those gentlemen who had served the king. But no friendship was so dear to him, as that of the governor of Pontefract castle, who loved him above all men, and delighted so much in his company, that he got him to be with him sometimes a week and more at a time in the castle, when they always lay together in one bed. He declared to one of those gentlemen, who were united together to make that attempt, "that he would surprise that castle, whenever they should think the season ripe for it;" and that gentleman, who knew him very well, believed him so entirely, that he told his companions, "that they should not trouble themselves with contriving the means to surprise the place; which, by trusting too many, would be liable to discovery; but that he would take that charge upon himself, by a way they need not inquire into; which he assured them should not fail:" and they all very willingly acquiesced in his undertaking; to which they knew well he was not inclined without good grounds. Morrice was more frequently with the governor, who never thought himself well without him; and always told him "he must have a great care of his garrison, that he had none but faithful men in the castle; for that he was confident there were some men who lived not far off, and who many

"times came to visit him, had some design upon the place;" and would then in confidence name many persons to him, some whereof were those very men with whom he communicated, and others were men of another temper, and were most devoted to the parliament, all his particular friends and companions; "but that he should not be troubled; for he had a false brother amongst them, from whom he was sure to have seasonable advertisement;" and promised him, "that he would, within few hours' notice, bring him at any time forty or fifty good men into the castle to reinforce his garrison, when there should be occasion;" and he would shew him the list of such men, as would be always ready, and would sometimes bring some of those men with him, and tell the governor before them, "that those were in the list he had given him of the honest fellows, who would stick to him when there should be need;" and others would accidentally tell the governor, "that they had listed themselves with colonel Morrice to come to the castle, whenever he should call or send to them." And all these men thus listed, were fellows very notorious for the bitterness and malice which they had always against the king, not one of which he ever intended to make use of.

He made himself very familiar with all the soldiers in the castle, and used to play and drink with them; and, when he lay there, would often rise in the night, and visit the guards; and by that means would sometimes make the governor dismiss and discharge a soldier whom he did not like, under pretence, "that he found him always asleep," or some other fault which was not to be examined; and then he would commend some other to him as very fit to be trusted and relied upon; and by this means he had very much power in the garrison. The governor received several letters from his friends in the parliament, and in the country, "that he should take care of colonel Morrice, who resolved to betray him;" and informed him, "that he had been in such and such company of men, who were generally esteemed most malignant, and had great intrigues with them;" all which was well known to the governor; for the other was never in any of that company, though with all the show of secrecy, in the night, or in places remote from any house, but he always told the governor of it, and of many particular passages in those meetings; so that when these letters came to him, he shewed them still to the other; and then both of them laughed at the intelligence; after which Morrice frequently called for his horse, and went home to his house, telling his friend, "that though he had, he knew, no mistrust of his friendship, and knew him too well to think him capable of such baseness, yet he ought not for his own sake be thought to slight the information; which would make his friends the less careful of him: that they had reason to give him warning of those meetings, which, if he had not known himself, had been very worthy of his suspicion; therefore he would forbear coming to the castle again, till this jealousy of his friends should be over; who would know of this, and be satisfied with it:" and no power of the governor could prevail with him, at such times, to stay; but he would be gone, and stay

away till he was, after some time, sent for again with great importunity, the governor desiring his counsel and assistance as much as his company.

It fell out, as it usually doth in affairs of that nature, when many men are engaged, that there is an impatience to execute what is projected before the time be thoroughly ripe. The business of the fleet, and in Kent, and other places, and the daily alarms from Scotland, as if that army had been entering the kingdom, made the gentlemen who were engaged for this enterprise imagine that they deferred it too long, and that though they had received no orders from sir Marmaduke Langdale, which they were to expect, yet they had been sent, and miscarried. Hereupon they called upon the gentleman who had undertaken, and he upon Morrice, for the execution of the design. The time agreed upon was such a night, when the surprisers were to be ready upon such a part of the wall, and to have ladders to mount in two places, where two soldiers were to be appointed for sentinels who were privy to the attempt. Morrice was in the castle, and in bed with the governor, and, according to his custom, rose about the hour he thought all would be ready. They without made the sign agreed upon, and were answered by one of the sentinels from the wall; upon which they run to both places where they were to mount their ladders. By some accident, the other sentinel who was designed was not upon the other part of the wall; so that when the ladder was mounted there, the sentinel called out; and finding that there were men under the wall, run towards the court of guard to call for help; and in his way met Morrice, who, finding him to be a wrong soldier, seemed not to believe him, but took him back with him to shew him the place, and carried him to the top of the wall, nearer, that they might listen; and from thence, being a very strong man, he made a shift to throw the soldier over the wall: and by this time they from without were got upon the wall from both places, and had made their signs to their friends at a distance. With these Morrice went to the court of guard, which was in part prepared, so that with knocking two or three of the other in the head, they became masters there, and opened the port for their friends' horse and foot to enter. Morrice, with two or three gentlemen, went to the governor's chamber, whom they found in his bed, and told him, "the castle was surprised, and himself a prisoner." He betook himself to his arms for his defence, but quickly found that his friend had betrayed it, and the other gentlemen appearing, of whom he had been before warned, his defence was to no purpose, yet he received some wounds. Morrice comforted him with assurance "of good usage, and that he would procure his pardon from the king for his rebellion."

They put the garrison in good order, and so many came to them from Yorkshire, Nottingham, and Lincoln, that they could not in a short time be restrained, and had leisure to fetch in all sorts of provisions for their support, and to make and renew such fortifications as might be necessary for their defence. From Nottingham there came sir John Digby, sir Hugh Cartwright, and a son and nephew of his, who had been good officers in the army, with many soldiers who had been under

their command; many other gentlemen of the three counties were present, and deserve to have their names recorded, since it was an action throughout of great courage and conduct.

Cromwell's marching towards the Scots with the neglect of these men after their first appearance, and only appointing some county troops to enclose them from increasing their strength, gave them great opportunity to grow; so that driving those troops to a greater distance, they drew contribution from all the parts about them, and made incursions much farther, and rendered themselves so terrible, that, as was said before, after the Scots' defeat, those of Yorkshire sent very earnestly to Cromwell, "that he would make it the business of his army to reduce Pontefract." But he, resolving upon his Scottish expedition, thought it enough to send Rainsborough to perform that service, with a regiment of horse, and one or two of foot, belonging to the army; which, with a conjunction of the country forces under the same command, he doubted not would be sufficient to perform a greater work. As soon as the castle had been reduced, they who were possessed of it were very willing to be under the command of Morrice; who declared he would not accept the charge, nor be governor of the place, knowing well what jealousies he might be liable to, at least upon any change of fortune, but under the direction of sir John Digby; who was colonel general of those parts, and was a man rather cordial in the service, than equal to the command; which made him refer all things still to the counsel and conduct of those officers who were under him; by whose activity, as much was done as could be expected from such a knot of resolute persons.

The total defeat of the Scottish army being now generally known, and that their friends in all other places were defeated, they in the castle well knew what they were presently to expect, and that they should be shortly shut up from making farther excursions. They heard that Rainsborough was upon his march towards them, and had already sent some troops to be quartered near them, himself yet keeping his headquarters at Doncaster, ten miles from the castle. They resolved, whilst they yet enjoyed this liberty, to make a noble attempt. They had been informed, that sir Marmaduke Langdale, (whom they still called their general,) after the overthrow of the Scottish army, had been taken prisoner, and remained in Nottingham castle, under a most strict custody, as a man the parliament declared, "they would make an example of their justice." Morrice, with a party of twelve horse, and no more, but picked and choice men, went out of the castle, in the beginning of the night, with a resolution to take Rainsborough prisoner, and thereby to ransom their general. They were all good guides, and understood the ways, private and public, very exactly; and went so far, that about the break of day or a little after, in the end of August, they put themselves into the common road that led from York; by which ways the guards expected no enemy; and so slightly asked them "whence they came?" who negligently answered; and asked again, "where their general was?" saying, "they had a letter for him from Cromwell." They sent one to shew them where the general was; which they knew well enough; and that he lay at the best inn of the town. And when the gate of

the inn was opened to them, three of them only entered into the inn, the other rode to the other end of the town to the bridge, over which they were to pass towards Pontefract; where they expected and did find a guard of horse and foot, with whom they entertained themselves in discourse, saying, "that they stayed for their officer, who went only in to speak with the general;" and called for some drink. The guards making no question of their being friends, sent for drink, and talked negligently with them of news; and, it being broad day, some of the horse alighted, and the foot went to the court of guard, conceiving that morning's work to be over. They who went into the inn, where nobody was awake but the fellow who opened the gate, asked in which chamber the general (for so all the soldiers called Rainsborough) lay; and the fellow shewing them from below the chamber door, two of them went up, and the other stayed below, and held the horses, and talked with the soldier who had walked with them from the guard. The two who went up, opened the chamber door, found Rainsborough in his bed, but awaked with the little noise they had made. They told him in short, "that he was their prisoner, and that it was in his power to choose whether he would be presently killed," (for which work he saw they were very well prepared,) "or quietly, without making resistance, or delay, to put on his clothes and be mounted upon a horse, that was ready below for him, and accompany them to Pontefract." The present danger awakened him out of the amazement he was in, so that he told them he would wait upon them, and made the haste that was necessary to put on his clothes. One of them took his sword, and so they led him down stairs. He that held the horses, had sent the soldier away to those who were gone before, to speak to them to get some drink, and any thing else that could be made ready in the house, against they came. When Rainsborough came into the street, which he expected to find full of horse, and saw only one man, who held the others' horses, and presently mounted that he might be bound behind him, he begun to struggle, and to cry out. Whereupon, when they saw no hope of carrying him away, they immediately run him through with their swords, and, leaving him dead upon the ground, they got upon their horses, and rode towards their fellows, before any in the inn could be ready to follow them. When those at the bridge saw their companions coming, which was their sign, being well prepared, and knowing what they were to do, they turned upon the guard, and killed so many of them, that all the rest fled in distraction; so that the way was clear and free; and though they missed carrying home the prize for which they had made so lusty an adventure, they joined together, and marched, with the expedition that was necessary, a shorter way than they had come, to their garrison; leaving the town and soldiers behind in such a consternation, that, not being able to receive any information from their general, whom they found dead upon the ground without any body in view, they thought the devil had been there; and could not recollect themselves, which way they were to pursue an enemy they had not seen. The gallant party came safe home without the least damage to horse or man, hoping to make some other attempt more success-



fully, by which they might redeem sir Marmaduke Langdale. There was not an officer in the army whom Cromwell would not as willingly have lost as this man; who was bold and barbarous to his wish, and fit to be intrusted in the most desperate interest, and was the man whom that party always intended to commit the maritime affairs to, when it should be time to dismiss the earl of Warwick; he having been bred in that element, and knowing the duty of it very well, though he had that misfortune spoken of in the beginning of the summer.

When Lambert came to this charge, (instructed by Cromwell to take full vengeance for the loss of Rainsborough, to whose ghost he designed an ample sacrifice,) and kept what body of men he thought fit for that purpose, he reduced them in a short time within their own circuit, making good works round about the castle, that they might at last yield to hunger, if nothing else would reclaim them. Nor did they quietly suffer themselves to be cooped up without bold and frequent sallies, in which many of the besiegers, as well as the others, lost their lives. They discovered many of the country who held correspondence with, and gave intelligence to the castle, whom they apprehended, and caused to be hanged in sight of the castle, whereof there were two divines, and some women of note, friends and allies to the besieged. After frequent mortifications of this kind, and no human hope of relief, they were content to offer to treat for the delivery of the castle, if they might have honourable conditions; if not, they sent word, "that they had provisions yet for a good time; that they durst die, and would sell their lives at as dear a price as they could." Lambert answered, that he knew "they were gallant men, and that he desired to preserve as many of them, as was in his power to do; but he must require six of them to be given up to him, whose lives he could not save; which he was sorry for, since they were brave men; but his hands were bound." The six excepted by him were colonel Morrice, sir John Digby, and four more whose names he found to have been amongst those who were in the party that had destroyed Rainsborough; which was an enterprise no brave enemy would have revenged in that manner: nor did Lambert desire it, but Cromwell had enjoined it him: all the rest he was content to release, that they might return to their houses, and apply themselves to the parliament for their compositions, towards which he would do them all the good offices he could." They from within acknowledged his civility in that particular, and would be glad to embrace it, but they would never be guilty of so base a thing, as to deliver up any of their companions; and therefore they desired "they might have six days allowed them, that those six might do the best they could to deliver themselves; in which it should be lawful for the rest to assist them;" to which Lambert generously consented, "so that the rest would surrender at the end of that time;" which was agreed to. Upon the first day the garrison appeared twice or thrice, as if they were resolved to make a sally, but retired every time without charging; but

the second day they made a very strong and brisk sally upon another place than where they had appeared the day before, and beat the enemy from their post, with the loss of men on both sides; and though the party of the castle was beaten back, two of the six (whereof Morrice was one) made their escape, the other four being forced to retire with the rest. And all was quiet for two whole days; but in the beginning of the night of the fourth day, they made another attempt so prosperously, that two of the other four likewise escaped: and the next day they made great shows of joy, and sent Lambert word, "that their six friends were gone," (though there were two still remaining,) "and therefore they would be ready the next day to surrender."

The other two thought it to no purpose to make another attempt, but devised another way to secure themselves, with a less dangerous assistance from their friends, who had lost some of their own lives in the two former sallies to save theirs. The buildings of the castle were very large and spacious, and there were great store of waste stones from some walls, which were fallen down. They found a convenient place, which was like to be least visited, where they walled up their two friends in such a manner that they had air to sustain them, and victual enough to feed them a month, in which time they hoped they might be able to escape. And this being done, at the hour appointed they opened their ports, and after Lambert had caused a strict inquisition to be made for those six, none of which he did believe had in truth escaped, and was satisfied that none of them were amongst those who were come out, he received the rest very civilly, and observed his promise made to them very punctually, and did not seem sorry that the six gallant men (as he called them) were escaped.

And now they heard, which very much relieved their broken spirits, that sir Marmaduke Langdale had made an escape out of the castle of Nottingham; who shortly after transported himself beyond the seas. Lambert presently took care so to dismantle the castle, that there should be no more use of it for a garrison, leaving the vast ruins still standing; and then drew off all his troops to new quarters; so that, within ten days after the surrender, the two, who were left walled up, threw down their enclosure, and securely provided for themselves. Sir John Digby was one of those who lived many years after the king's return, and was often with his majesty. Poor Morrice was afterwards taken in Lancashire, and by a wonderful act of Providence was put to death in the same place where he had committed a fault against the king, and where he first performed a great service to the parliament.

In this desperate condition, that is before described, stood the king's affairs when the prince was at the Hague, his fleet already mutinying for pay, his own family factious and in necessity, and that of his brother the duke of York full of intrigues and designs, between the restless unquiet spirit of Bamfield, and the ambitious and as unquiet humour of sir John Berkley. The council, which was not numerous, (for the prince had not authority



to add any to those who were his father's counsellors,) wanted not unity in itself, so much as submission and respect from others, which had been lost to those who were in the fleet, and the prejudice to those still remained, and so abated much of the reverence which most men were willing to pay to the two who came last. And the great animosity which prince Rupert had against the lord Colepepper infinitely disturbed the counsels, and perplexed the lord Cottington, and the chancellor of the exchequer, who had credit enough with the other two. But Colepepper had some passions and infirmities, which no friends could restrain; and though prince Rupert was very well inclined to the chancellor, and would in many things be advised by him, yet his prejudice to Colepepper was so rooted in him, and that prejudice so industriously cultivated by Herbert the attorney general, who had the absolute ascendant over that prince, and who did perfectly hate all the world that would not be governed by him, that every meeting in council was full of bitterness and sharpness between them.

One day the council met (as it used to do when they did not attend the prince of Wales at his lodgings) at the lord treasurer's lodging, (he and the chancellor of the exchequer being in one house,) about giving direction for the sale of some goods which had been taken at sea, for the raising of money toward the payment of the fleet. In such services merchants, and other proper persons, were always necessary to be trusted. Prince Rupert proposed, "that one sir Robert Walsh" (a person too well known to be trusted) "might be employed 'in that affair:'" it was to sell a ship of sugar. No man who was present would ever have consented that he should have been employed; but the lord Colepepper spoke against him with some warmth, so that it might be thought to reflect a little upon prince Rupert, who had proposed him. Upon which, he asking "what exceptions there were to sir Robert Walsh, 'why he might not be fit for it,'" Colepepper answered with some quickness, "that he was 'a known cheat;' which, though notoriously true, the prince seemed to take very ill; and said, 'he was his friend, and a gentleman; and if he should come to hear of what had 'been said, he knew not how the lord Colepepper could avoid fighting with him.'" Colepepper, whose courage no man doubted, presently replied, "that he would not fight with 'Walsh, but he would fight with his highness;" to which the prince answered very quietly, "that it was well;" and the council rose in great perplexity.

Prince Rupert went out of the house, and the chancellor led the lord Colepepper into the garden, hoping that he should so far have prevailed with him, as to have made him sensible of the excess he had committed, and to have persuaded him presently to repair to the prince, and to ask his pardon, that no more notice might be taken of it. But he was yet too warm to conceive he had committed any fault, but seemed to think only of making good what he had so imprudently said. Prince Rupert quickly informed his confident the at-

torney general of all that had passed; who was the unfittest man living to be trusted with such a secret, having always about him store of oil to throw upon such fire. He soon found means to make it known to the prince, who presently sent for the chancellor of the exchequer to be informed of the whole matter; and when he understood it, was exceedingly troubled, and required him "to let Colepepper 'know, that he ought to make a submission 'to prince Rupert; without which worse would 'fall out."

He went first to prince Rupert, that he might pacify him till he could convince the other of his fault; and he so far prevailed with his highness, who would have been more choleric if he had had less right of his side, that he was willing to receive a submission; and promised, "that the other should receive no affront 'in the mean time." But he found more difficulty on the other side, the lord Colepepper, continuing still in rage, thought the provocation was so great, that he ought to be excused for the reply, and that the prince ought to acknowledge the one as well as the other. But after some days' recollection, finding nobody with whom he conversed of his mind, and understanding how much the prince was displeased, and that he expected he should ask prince Rupert pardon, and withal reflecting upon the place he was in, where he could expect no security from his quality and function, he resolved to do what he ought to have done at first; and so he went with the chancellor to prince Rupert's lodging; where he behaved himself very well; and the prince received him with all the grace could be expected; so that so ill a business seemed to be as well concluded as the nature of it would admit. But the worst was to come: the attorney general had done all he could to dissuade that prince from accepting so small and so private a satisfaction; but, not prevailing, he inflamed sir Robert Walsh, who had been informed of all that had passed at the council concerning himself, to take his own revenge; in which many men thought, that he was assured prince Rupert would not be offended. And the next morning after his highness had received satisfaction, as the lord Colepepper was walking to the council without a sword, Walsh, coming to him, seemed quietly to expostulate with him, for having mentioned him so unkindly. To the which the other answered, "that he would give him satisfaction 'in any way he would require; though he 'ought not to be called in question for any 'thing he had said in that place." On a sudden, whilst they were in this calm discourse, Walsh struck him with all his force one blow in the face with his fist; and then stepped back, and drew his sword; but seeing the other had none, walked away; and the lord Colepepper, with his nose and face all bloody, went back to his chamber, from whence he could not go abroad in many days by the effect and disfiguring of the blow. This outrage was committed about ten of the clock in the morning, in the sight of the town; which troubled the prince exceedingly; who immediately sent to the States to demand justice; and they, according to their method and slow proceedings in

matters which they do not take to heart, caused Walsh to be summoned, and after so many days, for want of appearance, he was by the sound of a bell publicly banished from the Hague; and so he made his residence in Amsterdam, or what other place he pleased. And this was the reparation the States gave the prince for so ruffianly a transgression; and both the beginning and the end of this unhappy business exposed the prince himself, as well as his council, to more disadvantage, and less reverence, than ought to have been paid to either.

The improvidence that had been used in the fleet, besides its unactivity, by the dismissing so many great prizes, was now too apparent, when there was neither money to pay the seamen, who were not modest in requiring it, nor to new victual the ships, which was as important; since it was easy to be foreseen, that they could not remain long in the station where they were for the present, and the extreme license which all men took to censure and reproach that improvidence, disturbed all counsels, and made conversation itself very uneasy. Nor was it possible to suppress that license; every man believing that his particular necessities, with which all men abounded, might easily have been relieved, and provided for, if it had not been for that ill husbandry; which they therefore called treachery and corruption. It cannot be denied but there was so great a treasure taken, which turned to no account, and so much more might have been taken, if the several ships had been applied to that end, that a full provision might have been made, both for the support of the fleet, and supply of the prince, and of all who depended upon him for a good time, if the same had been well managed; and could have been deposited in some secure place, till all might have been sold at good markets. And nobody was satisfied with the reasons which were given for the discharging and dismissing so many ships to gratify the city of London, and the presbyterian party throughout the kingdom. For, besides that the value of what was so given away and lost, was generally believed to be worth more than all they would have done, if they had been able, those bounties were not the natural motives which were to be applied to that people; whose affections had been long dead, and could be revived by nothing but their sharp sufferings, and their insupportable losses; the obstruction and destruction of their trade, and the seizing upon their estates, was the most proper application to the city of London, and the best arguments to make them in love with peace, and to extort it from them in whose power it was to give it. And if the fleet had applied itself to that, and visited all those maritime parts which were in counties well affected, and where some places had declared for the king, (as Scarborough in Yorkshire did,) if it had not been possible to have set the king at liberty in the Isle of Wight, or to have relieved Colchester, the fort at Harwich being then declared for the king, (both which many men believed, how unskilfully soever, to be practicable,) it would have spent the time much more advantageously and honourably than it did.

But let the ill consequence be never so great,

if it had proceeded from any corruption, it would have been discovered by the examination and inquisition that was made; and therefore it may be well concluded that there was none. And the truth is, the queen was so fully possessed of the purpose and the power of the Scots to do the king's business, before the insurrections in the several parts in England, and the revolt of the fleet appeared, that she did not enough weigh the good use that might have been made of those when they did happen, but kept her mind then so fixed upon Scotland, as the sole foundation of the king's hopes, that she looked upon the benefit of the fleet's returning to their allegiance, only as an opportunity offered by Providence to transport the prince with security thither. And her instructions to those she trusted about the prince were so positive, "that they should not give consent to any thing that might divert or delay that expedition," that, if the earl of Lauderdale had been arrived when the prince came to the fleet, it would have been immediately engaged to have transported the prince into Scotland, what other conveniences soever, preferable to that, had offered themselves. And the very next day after that lord's coming to the prince in the Downs, his injunctions and behaviour were so imperious for the prince's present departure, that nothing but a direct mutiny among the seamen prevented it. His highness's own ship was under sail for Holland, that he might from thence have prosecuted his other voyage: nor would he at that time have taken Holland in his way, if there had been any quantity of provision in the fleet for such a peregrination. This expedition for Scotland was the more grievous to all men, because it was evident that the prince himself was much more inclined to have pursued other occasions which were offered, and only resigned himself implicitly to the pleasure of his mother.

The present ill condition of the fleet, and the unsteady humour of the common seamen, was the more notorious and unseasonable, by the earl of Warwick's coming with another fleet from the parliament upon the coast of Holland, within few days after the prince came to the Hague, and anchoring within view of the king's fleet. And it is probable he would have made some hostile attempt upon it, well knowing that many officers and seamen were on shore, if the States had not, in the very instant, sent some of their ships of war to preserve the peace in their port. However, according to the insolence of his masters, and of most of those employed by them, the earl sent a summons of a strange nature to the king's ships, in which he took notice, "that a fleet of ships, which were part of the navy royal of the kingdom of England, was then riding at anchor off Helvoetalsuys, and bearing a standard: that he did therefore, by the parliament's authority, by which he was constituted lord high admiral of England, require the admiral, or commander in chief of that fleet, to take down the standard; and the captains, and mariners belonging to the ships, to render themselves and the ships to him, as high admiral of England, and for the use of the king and parliament: and he did, by the like authority,

"offer an indemnity to all those who should submit to him."

After which summons, though received by the lord Willoughby, who remained on board the fleet in the command of vice-admiral, with that indignation that was due to it, and though it made no impression upon the officers, nor visibly, at that time, upon the common men, yet, during the time the earl continued in so near a neighbourhood, he did find means by private insinuations, and by sending many of his seamen on shore at Helvoetsluys, (where they entered into conversation with their old companions,) so to work upon and corrupt many of the seamen, that it afterwards appeared many were debauched; some whereof went on board his ships, others stayed to do more mischief. But that ill neighbourhood continued not long; for the season of the year, and the winds which usually rage on that coast in the month of September, removed him from that station, and carried him back to the Downs to attend new orders.

All these disturbances were attended with a worse, which fell out at the same time, and that was the sickness of the prince; who, after some day's indisposition, appeared to have the small pox; which almost distracted all who were about him, who knew how much depended upon his precious life: and therefore the consternation was very universal whilst that was thought in danger. But, by the goodness and mercy of God, he recovered in few days the peril of that distemper; and, within a month, was restored to so perfect health, that he was able to take an account himself of his melancholic and perplexed affairs.

There were two points which were in the first place to be considered, and provided for by the prince; neither of which would bear delay for the consultation and resolution: the first, how to make provision to pay and victual the fleet, and to compose the mutinous spirits of the seamen; who paid no reverence to their officers, insomuch as, in the short stay which the earl of Warwick had made before Helvoetsluys, as hath been said, many of the seamen, had gone over to him, and the Constant Warwick, a frigate of the best account, had either voluntarily left the prince's fleet, or suffered itself willingly to be taken, and carried away with the rest into England. The other was, what he should do with the fleet, when it was both paid and victualled.

Towards the first, there were some ships brought in with the fleet, laden with several merchandise of value, that, if they could be sold for the true worth, would amount to a sum sufficient to pay the seamen their wages, and to put in provisions enough to serve four months; and there were many merchants from London, who were desirous to buy their own goods, which had been taken from them; and others had commissions from thence to buy the rest. But then they all knew, that they could not be carried to any other market, but must be sold in the place where they were; and therefore they were resolved to have very good pennyworths. And there were many debts claimed, which the prince had promised, whilst he was in the river, should be paid out of the first money that should be raised upon the sale of such and

such ships: particularly, the prince believed that the countess of Carlisle, who had committed faults enough to the king and queen, had pawned her necklace of pearls for fifteen hundred pounds, which she had totally disbursed in supplying officers, and making other provisions for the expedition of the earl of Holland, (which sum of fifteen hundred pounds the prince had promised the lord Piercy her brother, who was a very importunate solicitor,) should be paid upon the sale of a ship that was laden with sugar, and was then conceived to be worth above six or seven thousand pounds. Others had the like engagements upon other ships: so that when money was to be raised upon the sale of merchandise, they who had such engagements would be themselves intrusted, or nominate those who should be, to make the bargain with purchasers, to the end that they might be sure to receive what they claimed, out of the first monies that should be raised. By this means, double the value was delivered, to satisfy a debt that was not above the half.

But that which was worse than all this, the prince of Orange advertised the prince, that some questions had been started in the States, "what they should do, if the parliament of England (which had now a very dreadful name) should send over to them to demand the restitution of those merchants' goods, which had been unjustly taken in the Downs, and in the river of Thames, and had been brought into their ports, and were offered to sale there, against the obligation of that amity which had been observed between the two nations, during the late war? What answer they should be able to make, or how they could refuse to permit the owners of those goods to make their arrests, and to sue in their admiralty for the same? Which first process would stop the present sale of whatever others pretended a title to, till the right should be determined." The prince of Orange said, "that such questions used not to be started there without design;" and therefore advised the prince "to lose no time in making complete sales of all that was to be sold; to the end that they who were engaged in the purchase, might likewise be engaged in the defence of it." Upon this ground, as well as the others which have been mentioned, hasty bargains were made with all who desired to buy, and who would not buy except they were sure to be good gainers by all the bargains which they made. Nor could this be prevented by the caution or wisdom of any who were upon the place, with no more authority than they had. Mr. Long, who was secretary to the prince, had been possessed of the office of receiving and paying all monies, whilst the prince was in the fleet, and so could not well be removed from it when he came into Holland: though he was thought to love money too well, yet nobody who loved it less, would at that time have submitted to the employment, which exposed him to the importunity and insolence of all necessitous persons, when he could satisfy none; yet he liked it well with all its prejudice and disadvantage.

As soon as the money was raised, it was sent to the fleet to pay the seamen; and the prince made a journey to the fleet to see, and keep up the spirits of the seamen, who were very mutinous, not without the infusions of some who did not desire they should be too well pleased with their

officers. The lord Willoughby stayed on board purely out of duty to the king, though he liked neither the place he had, nor the people over whom he was to command, who had yet more respect for him than for any body else. Sir William Batten likewise remained with them, not knowing well how to refuse it, though he had too much reason to be weary of his province, the seamen having contracted an implacable jealousy and malice against him, more than they were naturally inclined to. And the truth is, though there was not any evidence that he had any foul practices, he had an impatient desire to make his peace, and to live in his own country, as afterwards he did with the leave of the king; against whom he never after took employment.

The other point to be resolved was yet more difficult, "what should be done with the fleet, and who should command it?" and though the advertisement the prince of Orange had given his royal highness, of the question started in the States, concerned only the merchants' ships, which were made prize, yet it was very easy to discern the logic of that question would extend as well, and be applied to those of the royal navy, as to merchants' ships. And it was evident enough, that the United Provinces would not take upon them to determine whether they were in truth the ships of the king or of the parliament. And it was only the differences which were yet kept up in the houses, which kept them from being united in that demand. So that the prince knew that nothing was more necessary than that they should be gone out of the ports of those provinces, and that the States wished it exceedingly.

Whilst Bamfield was about the person of the duke of York, he had infused into him a marvelous desire to be possessed of the government of the fleet; but the duke was convinced with much ado, that it was neither safe for his highness, nor for his father's service, that he should be embarked in it: and Bamfield, by an especial command from the king, who had discovered more of his foul practices than could be known to the prince, was not suffered to come any more near the person of the duke. So he returned into England; where he was never called in question for stealing the duke away. From this time the duke, who was not yet above twelve or thirteen years of age, was so far from desiring to be with the fleet, that, when there was once a proposition, upon occasion of a sudden mutiny amongst the seamen, "that he should go to Helvoetsluys, to appear amongst them," who professed great duty to his highness, he was so offended at it that he would not hear of it; and he had still some servant about him who took pains to persuade him, "that the council had persuaded the prince to that designation, out of ill will to his highness, and that the ships might deliver him up to the parliament." So unpleasant and uncomfortable a province had those persons, who, being of the king's council, served both with great fidelity; every body who was unsatisfied (and nobody was satisfied) aspersing them, or some of them (for their prejudice was not equal to them all) in such a manner as touched the honour of the rest, and most reflected upon the king's own honour and service.

It was evident enough that prince Rupert had a long desire to have that command of the fleet put

into his hands; and that desire, though carried with all secrecy, had been the cause of so many intrigues, either to inflame the seamen, or to cherish their froward inclinations, and increase the prejudice they had to Batten. The attorney mentioned this to the chancellor of the exchequer, shortly after his coming to the Hague, as a thing, he thought, that prince might be induced to accept out of his zeal to the king's service, if he were invited to it; and thereupon was willing to debate, to what person the government of the fleet could be committed, when it should set sail from that port, and whither it should go. The chancellor made no other answer to him, than "that it was like to be a charge of much danger and hazard; that he must not believe that any body would propose the undertaking it to prince Rupert, or that the prince would command him to undertake it; and that he thought it necessary, that it should be first resolved what the fleet should do, and whither it should go, before a commander should be appointed over it."

When the marquis of Ormond had waited so many months at Paris for the performance of those gaudy promises which the cardinal had made, after he saw in what manner the prince of Wales himself was treated by him, and that he would not suffer the least assistance to be applied to the affairs of England, in a conjuncture when very little would probably have done the work, upon the revolt of the fleet, upon so powerful insurrections in England, and possessing so many places of importance on the king's behalf, and when the whole kingdom of Scotland seemed so united for his majesty's service, and an army of thirty thousand men were even ready to march; I say, after he discerned that the cardinal was so far from giving any countenance or warmth to their blooming hopes, that he left nothing undone towards the destroying them but the imprisoning the prince; he concluded that it was in vain for him to expect any relief for Ireland. And therefore he resolved, though he had neither men, nor money, nor arms, nor ammunition, all which had been very liberally promised to transport with him, he would yet transport his own person, to what evident danger soever he was to expose it. Upon the full assurance the cardinal had given him of very substantial aid, he had assured the lord Inchiquin, "that he would be present with him with notable supply of money, arms, and ammunition, and good officers, and some common men," (which were all in readiness, if the money had been paid to entertain them,) and had likewise sent to many, who had formerly served the king, and lived now quietly in the enemy's quarters, upon the articles which had been formerly granted the marquis of Ormond, "that they should expect his speedy arrival."

And though he had, from time to time, sent advertisements of the delays and obstructions he met with in the French court, so that he did almost despair of any assistance from it, yet the lord Inchiquin had advanced too far to retire; and the lord Lisle, who had been sufficiently provoked, and condemned by him, was gone into England with full malice, and such information (which was not hard for him to be furnished with) as would put Cromwell and the army into such fury, that his friends in the parliament, who had hitherto sustained his credit, would be very hardly

able to support him longer. So that, as he was to expect a storm from thence, so he had a very sharp war to maintain against the Irish, led and commanded by the pope's nuncio; which war had been always carried on in Munster with wonderful animosity, and with some circumstances of bloodiness, especially against priests, and others of the Roman clergy, that it was very hard to hope that those people would live well together. And indeed the Irish were near rooted out of the province of Munster, though they were powerful enough and strong in all the other provinces. Hereupon the lord Inchiquin, with all possible earnestness, writ to the lord of Ormond, "that, though without any other assistance, he would transport his own person:" by whose countenance and authority he presumed the Irish might be divided and brought to reason; and desired him, "in the mean time to send to such of the Irish as had dependence upon him, and who, he knew, in their hearts did not wish well to the nuncio, that they would secretly correspond with him, and dispose their friends and dependents to concur in what might advance the king's service; to which they did not know that he was inclined, but looked upon him, as the same malicious and irreconcilable enemy to them, as he had always appeared to me to their religion, more than to their persons."

From the time that the Irish entered into that bloody and foolish rebellion, they had very different affections, intentions, and designs, which were every day improved in the carrying on the war. That part of them which inhabited the *Pale*, so called from a circuit of ground contained in it, was originally of English extraction, since the first plantation by the English many ages past. And though they were degenerated into the manners and barbarous customs of the Irish, and were as stupidly transported with the highest superstition of the Romish religion, yet they had always steadily adhered to the crown, and performed the duty of good subjects during all those rebellions which the whole reign of queen Elizabeth was seldom without. And of that temper most of the province of *Lemster* was; Munster was the most planted with English of all the provinces of Ireland, and though there were many noblemen of that province who were of the oldest Irish extractions, and of those families which had been kings of Munster, yet many of them had intermarried with the best English families, and so were better bred and more civilized than the rest of the old Irish, and lived regularly in obedience to the government, and by connivance enjoyed the exercise of their religion, in which they were very zealous, with freedom and liberty enough.

The seat of the old Irish, who retained the rites, customs, manners, and ignorance of their ancestors, without any kind of reformation in either, was the province of *Ulster*; not the better cultivated by the neighbourhood of the Scots, who were planted upon them in great numbers, with circumstances of great rigour, if not of injustice. Here the rebellion was first contrived, cherished, and entered upon with that horrid barbarity, by the O'Neiles, the Macguyres, and the Macmahoons; and though it quickly spread itself, and was entertained in the other provinces, (many persons of honour and quality engaging themselves by degrees in it for their own security, as they

pretended, to preserve themselves from the undistinguishing severity of the lords justices, who denounced the war against all Irish equally, if not against all Roman catholics; which kind of mixture and confusion was carefully declined in all the orders and directions sent to them out of England, but so unskillfully pursued by the justices and council there, that as they found themselves without any employment or trust, to which they had cheerfully offered their service, they concluded, that the English Irish were as much in the jealousy of the state as the other, and so resolved to prevent the danger by as unwarrantable courses as the rest had done,) yet, I say, they were no sooner entered into the war, which was so generally embraced, but there appeared a very great difference in the temper and purposes of those who prosecuted it. They of the more moderate party, and whose main end was to obtain liberty for the exercise of their religion, without any thought of declining their subjection to the king, or of invading his prerogative, put themselves under the command of general Preston: the other, of the fiercer and more savage party, and who never meant to return to their obedience of the crown of England, and looked upon all the estates which had ever been in the possession of any of their ancestors, though forfeited by their treason and rebellion, as justly due to them, and ravished from them by the tyranny of the crown, marched under the conduct of Owen Roe O'Neile; both generals of the Irish nation; the one descended of English extraction through many descents; the other purely Irish, and of the family of Tyrone; both bred in the wars of Flanders, and both eminent commanders there, and of perpetual jealousy of each other; the one of the more frank and open nature; the other darker, less polite, and the wiser man; but both of them then in the head of more numerous armies apart, than all the king's power could bring into the field against either of them.

This disparity in the temper and humour of those people first disposed those of the most moderate to desire a peace shortly after the rebellion was begun, and produced the cessation that was first entered into, and the peace, which did not soon enough ensue upon it; and which, upon the matter, did provide only for the exercise of the Roman catholic religion; but did that in so immoderate and extravagant a manner, as made it obnoxious to all the protestants of the king's dominions.

Owen Roe O'Neile refused to submit to the conditions and articles of that peace, though transacted and confirmed by their catholic council at Kilkenny, which was the representative the Irish nation had chosen for the conduct of all the counsels for peace and war, and to which they all avowed, and had hitherto paid, an entire obedience. The pope's nuncio, who about that time came from Rome, and transported himself into that kingdom, applied himself to Owen O'Neile, and took that party into his protection; and so wrought upon their clergy, generally, that he broke that peace, and prosecuted those who had made it, with those circumstances which have been before remembered, and which necessitated the lord lieutenant to quit the kingdom, and to leave the city of Dublin in the hands of the parliament; the lord Inchiquin having likewise refused to consent,

and submit to that peace, and continued to make the war sharply and successfully against the Irish in the province of Munster; whereof he was president. But the nuncio was no sooner invested in the supreme command of that nation both by sea and land, as over a people subject to the pope, and of a dominion belonging to him, than, being a man of a fantastical humour, and of an imperious and proud nature, he behaved himself so insolently towards all, (and, having brought no assistance to them but the pope's bulls, endeavoured by new exactions to enrich himself,) that even the men of Ulster were weary of him; and they who had been the instruments of the former peace were not wanting to foment those jealousies and discontents, which had produced that application to the queen and prince at St. Germain's, and the resolution of sending the marquis of Ormond thither again, both which have been related before. And the marquis now having given the lord Muskerry (who had married his sister, and was the most powerful person and of the greatest interest in Munster of all the Irish) and other of his friends notice that the lord Inchiquin would serve the king, and therefore required them to hold secret correspondence with him, and to concur with him in what he should desire for the advancement of his service, they found means to hold such intercourse with him, that, before the marquis of Ormond arrived there, against all the opposition the nuncio could make, a cessation of arms was concluded between the confederate catholics and the lord Inchiquin; and the nuncio was driven into Waterford; and, upon the matter, besieged there by the catholic Irish; and the marquis arriving at the same time at Kinsale, and being received by the lord Inchiquin with all imaginable duty as the king's lieutenant, the forlorn and contemned nuncio found it necessary to transport himself into Italy, leaving the kingdom of Ireland under an excommunication, and interdict, as an apostate nation; and all the province of Munster (in which there are many excellent ports) became immediately and entirely under the king's obedience. All which being well known to the prince and the council, it was easily concluded, "that it was the best, if not the only place the fleet could repair to;" though the danger in conducting it thither was visible enough; and therefore they were glad that prince Rupert had made that advance towards the command of it, and well satisfied with the wariness of the answer [the chancellor of the exchequer gave to the attorney Herbert].

There was in truth nobody in view to whom the charge of the fleet could be committed but prince Rupert: for it was well known that the lord Wilmoughby, besides his being without much experience of the sea, was weary of it, and would by no means continue there; and the seamen were too much broke loose from all kind of order, to be reduced by a commander of an ordinary rank. It was as true, that prince Rupert, at that time, was generally very ungracious in England, having the misfortune to be no better beloved by the king's party, than he was by the parliament. This was an exception that was foreseen: and as there was no other choice of a place to which the fleet must be carried, but Munster; and the passage thither could not but be full of danger, in respect that the parliament was without question

master of the sea, (although the island of Scilly being then under the king's authority, and sir John Greenvil being the governor thereof, made that passage something the more secure,) so this purpose was to be concealed as the last secret; there being great danger that the seamen would rather carry all the ships back again to the parliament, than into Ireland; against which people they had made a war at sea with circumstances very barbarous, for they had never given any quarter, but the Irish, as well merchants and passengers, as mariners, which fell into their hands, as hath been said before, were bound back to back, and thrown into the sea; so that they could have no inclination to go into a country whose people had been handled so cruelly by them.

Here again appeared another objection against the person of prince Rupert, who would never endure to be subject to the command of the lord lieutenant of that kingdom: and yet it seemed most reasonable that the ships, whilst they stayed there, might be employed towards the reducing of the other parts, which were in rebellion: besides that there was cause to fear, that the prince would not live with that amity towards the marquis of Ormond, as was necessary for the public service. Notwithstanding all this, when the stratagem of having prince Rupert desired to take the command of the fleet upon him did not succeed, prince Rupert himself made the proposition to the prince to take the command of it upon him, and to carry it whither his royal highness would be pleased to direct. And then, the whole matter being debated, necessity made that to be counsellable, against which very many reasonable objections might be made. So it was resolved that prince Rupert should be admiral of that fleet, and that it should sail for Ireland. And the charge and expedition appeared to be the more hopeful by the presence of good officers, who had long commanded in the royal navy: sir Thomas Kettleby, whom the prince made captain of his own ship the *Antelope*; sir John Mennes, who had the command of the *Swallow*, a ship of which he had been captain many years before; and colonel Richard Fielding, who was made captain of the *Constant Reformation*; all worthy and faithful men to the king's service, of long experience in the service at sea, and well known and loved by the seamen. With these officers, and some other gentlemen, who were willing to spend their time in that service, prince Rupert went to Helvoetsluys, where the ships lay, and seemed to be received by the fleet with great joy. They all bestirred themselves in their several places to get the ships ready for sea, and all those provisions which were necessary, in making whereof there had not diligence enough been used.

When they took a strict survey of the ships, the carpenters were all of opinion, "that the *Con-vertine*, a ship of the second rank, that carried seventy guns, was too old and decayed to be now set out in a winter voyage, and in so rough seas, and that when a great deal of money should be laid out to mend her, she would not be serviceable or safe." And it did appear, that when the officers of the navy had fitted her out at the beginning of the summer, they had declared, "that, when she came in again, she would not be fit for more use, but must be laid upon the stocks." Whereupon the ship was brought into Helvoet-

sluys, upon the next spring tide, and examined by the best Dutch carpenters and surveyors; and all being of the same mind, information was sent by prince Rupert to the prince of the whole, who thereupon gave direction for the sale of the ordnance, and whatsoever else would yield money: all which was applied to the victualling and setting out the rest, without which no means could have been found to have done it; so much ill husbandry had been used, and so much direct cheating in the managing all the money that had been raised upon the prizes.

Prince Rupert remained all the time at Helvoetsluys, till all was ready to set sail, and had, with notable vigour and success, suppressed two or three mutinies, in one of which he had been compelled to throw two or three seamen overboard by the strength of his own arms. When he wanted any thing, he always writ to the chancellor, whom of all the council he most esteemed; and twice in that time he writ to the prince to send the chancellor to Helvoetsluys, to advise with him upon some particulars; who went accordingly in very cold seasons, and stayed a day or two with him, commonly to compose some differences between him and the officers. All subordinate officers were appointed, commissioners for the sale of all prize goods, and ships that should be taken, treasurers and paymasters for issuing and paying and receiving all monies; and an establishment for the whole too regular and strict to be observed: and though all persons employed were well known, and approved by prince Rupert, and most of them nominated by himself, yet he thought it fit after to change that constitution, and by degrees brought the whole receipts and issues under his own management, and sole government. When all was ready he came to the Hague to take leave of the prince, and returned, and about the beginning of December he set sail for Ireland, met with good prizes in the way, and arrived safely at Kinsale: nor had he been long gone out of Holland, when the prince had a shrewd evidence how unsecure a longer abode would have been there, by some parliament ships coming into that road, and sending their men on shore, who at noonday burnt the Convertine within the very town of Helvoetsluys, nor did the States make any expostulation, or do any justice for the affront offered to themselves, and their government.

In this calamitous state of affairs there seemed to be no hope left, but that by treaty the king might yet be restored to such a condition, that there might be those roots left in the crown, from whence its former power and prerogative might sprout out hereafter, and flourish. The commissioners for the treaty arrived in the Isle of Wight upon the fifteenth day of September, whilst Cromwell yet remained in his northern progress, and his army divided into several parts for the finishing his conquest; which was the reason that all they who wished ill to the treaty, and that it might prove ineffectual, had used and interposed all the delays they could, that he might return before it begun, as they who wished it might succeed well, were as solicitous, that it might be concluded before that time; which made them the less to insist upon many particulars both in the propositions and the instructions, which they hoped might be more capable of remedies in the treaty than before it.

They stayed three days in the island before the treaty begun, which was time little enough to prepare the house for the king's reception at Newport, and adjusting many circumstances of the treaty. In that time they waited several times on the king, with great show of outward duty and respect; and though none of them durst adventure to see the king in private, they communicated freely with some of those lords, and others, who, with the parliament's leave, were come to attend the king during the time of the treaty. And so they found means to advertise his majesty of many particulars, which they thought necessary for him to know; which made impressions upon him, as the information proceeded from persons better or worse affected to him. And many of those who had liberty to attend, were competent considerers of the truth of what they said.

The truth is, there were amongst the commissioners many who had been carried with the violence of the stream, and would be glad of those concessions which the king would very cheerfully have granted; an act of indemnity and oblivion being what they were principally concerned in. And of all the rest, who were more passionate for the militia, and against the church, there was no man, except sir Harry Vane, who did not desire that a peace might be established by that treaty. For as all the other lords desired, in their own natures and affections, no more than that their transgressions might never more be called to remembrance; so the lord Say himself (who was as proud of his quality, and of being distinguished from other men by his title, as any man alive) well foresaw what would become of his peerage, if the treaty proved ineffectual, and the army should make their own model of the government they would submit to, (as undoubtedly they resolved shortly to do,) and therefore he did all he could to work upon the king to yield to what was proposed to him, and, afterwards, upon the parliament, to be content with what his majesty had yielded. But the advice they all gave, of what inclinations or affections soever they were, was the same, "that his majesty should, forthwith, and without delaying "it to the expiration of the term assigned by the "parliament for the treaty," (which was forty days,) "yield to the full demands which were made "in the propositions." Their only argument was, "that, if he did not, or not do it quickly, the army "would proceed their own way, and had enough "declared, that they would depose the king, change "the government, and settle a republic by their "own rules and invention." And this advertisement was as well believed by those of the king's own party, as by the commissioners themselves.

Before the treaty begun, the commissioners made it known to the king, "that they could not admit "that any person should be present in the room "where the treaty should be, much less that any "man should presume to speak, or interpose his "opinion or advice, upon any matter that should "be in debate: that they were commissioners sent "from the parliament to treat with his majesty, "and with him alone; and that they might not "permit any particular and private persons to oppose or confer with them upon the demands of "the parliament." So that albeit the parliament had given leave to the several bishops, and other divines, and to many lawyers of eminency, to wait on his majesty, upon his desire, that they might



instruct and inform him in all difficult cases which related to religion or the law of the land, they were like to be of little use to him now they were come, if they might not be present at the debate, and offer such advice to his majesty, as upon emergent occasions he should stand in need of, or require from them. At last they were contented, and his majesty was obliged to be contented too, that they might stand behind a curtain, and hear all that was said, and when any such difficulty occurred as would require consultation, his majesty might retire to his chamber, and call those to him, with whom he would advise, to attend him, and might then return again into the room for the treaty, and declare his own resolution. This was the unequal and unreasonable preliminary and condition, to which the king was compelled to submit before the treaty could begin.

They who had not seen the king in a year's time (for it was little less from the time that he had left Hampton Court) found his countenance extremely altered. From the time that his own servants had been taken from him, he would never suffer his hair to be cut, nor cared to have any new clothes; so that his aspect and appearance was very different from what it had used to be: otherwise, his health was good, and he was much more cheerful in his discourses towards all men than could have been imagined, after such mortification of all kinds. He was not at all dejected in his spirits, but carried himself with the same majesty he had used to do. His hair was all gray, which, making all others very sad, made it thought that he had sorrow in his countenance, which appeared only by that shadow.

Upon Monday the 18th of September, the treaty begun, and the commissioners presented their commission to his majesty, to treat with him personally, upon the propositions presented formerly at Hampton Court, concerning the kingdom of England and Ireland only, and upon such propositions as should be offered either by his majesty, or the two houses of parliament, according to their instructions, &c. Though the king knew very well, that Cromwell had so totally subdued Scotland, that he had not left any man there in the least authority or power, who did so much as pretend to wish well to him, and that, in truth, Cromwell had as much the command there as Argyle himself had, who was but his creature, yet, either to recover their broken spirits, or to manifest his own royal compassion for them, he told the commissioners, "that, when the propositions had been delivered to him at Hampton Court, the Scottish interest was so involved in them, that it could be hardly separable from that of England: that it concerned him, as king of both kingdoms, to be just and equal between both; and that though they had no authority to treat for any thing but what related to England, yet he, who was to provide for the public peace, (which could hardly be provided for, except the Scots were comprehended in this treaty,) did desire, that they would send to the two houses of parliament, to give a pass for one of the servants to go into Scotland, to invite the council there to send some body authorized by that kingdom, who might treat with the commissioners of parliament:" and to that purpose his majesty delivered them a paper in writing to be sent by them to the parliament, telling them at the same time, "that it was

"never his desire or meaning, that they should meddle in the government of England, but only should treat concerning the peace, to the end that that might be durable." But the commissioners alleged, that "it was not in their power to receive and transmit that, or any other paper, to the parliament, that referred to that kingdom; and they besought him to give them leave, as an evidence of their duty, to inform him of what ill consequence the transmission of that paper at that time might be to the treaty itself." Whereupon he declined sending it by a messenger of his own for the present, (which he intended to have done,) being unwilling to give any occasion of dispute or jealousy so early, and believing that after he should have gotten a good understanding with the two houses, in what was of immediate concernment to England, he should more effectually transmit that, or any other paper, for the more easy composing the affairs of Scotland.

Then they presented their first proposition to his majesty; "that he would revoke all declarations, and commissions granted heretofore by him against the parliament." Whereupon his majesty desired, "that he might see all the propositions, they had to make to him, together; that he might the better consider what satisfaction he could give them upon the whole:" which they would not yield to without much importunity, and at last delivered them with reluctance, as a thing they were not sure they ought to do. And though their commission referred to instructions, and his majesty desired that he might have a view of those, they peremptorily refused to let him have a sight of them; and only told him, "that they were directed by their instructions, first to treat upon the proposition they had already presented to him, concerning the revocation of the declarations, &c. and in the next place, of the church, then of the militia, and fourthly of Ireland, and afterwards of the rest of the propositions in order;" and they declared likewise that, "by their instructions, they were not to enter upon any new propositions, before they should have received his majesty's final answer to what was first proposed."

Hereupon the king demanded of them, "whether they had power and authority to recede from any particular contained in their propositions, or to consent to any alterations, if his majesty should give them good reason so to do?" To which they answered very magisterially, "that they were ready to debate, to shew how reasonable their desires were, and that there could be no reason why they should alter or recede from them; but if his majesty did satisfy them, they should do therein as they were warranted by their instructions." These limitations and restrictions in a matter of that importance, which contained a new frame of government, and an alteration of all civil and ecclesiastical constitutions, almost damped and stifled all the hope his majesty had entertained of good from this treaty. However, he resolved to try if consenting to the substantial part of any proposition would give them satisfaction; and so, without taking notice of the preamble of that proposition, which they had delivered to him, he declared in writing, which he delivered to them, "that he was willing to grant the body of their proposition, that was to recall all declarations, &c." But they immediately returned another



paper to him, in which they said, "his majesty had left unanswered the most essential part of their proposition," repeating the words in the preamble, which recited, "that the two houses of parliament had been necessitated to enter into a war in their just and lawful defence; and that the kingdom of England had entered into a solemn league and covenant to prosecute the same;" and so justifying all that had been done, &c. To all which they very vehemently pressed "his majesty's approbation and consent, as the most necessary foundation of a lasting peace, and the indispensable expectation of the two houses and of the whole kingdom; and that the two houses, and the kingdom, could not decline this particular demand, without which they could not believe themselves to be in any security; since, by the letter of the law, they who had adhered to the parliament, might seem guilty of raising war against the king, and so to be guilty of high treason by the statute of the 25th year of king Edward the Third: whereas by the construction and equity thereof they were justified; and therefore that the consenting to this preamble was so essential, that without it the parliament would be thought guilty; which they hoped his majesty did not desire it should." And that this might make the deeper impression upon him, the lord Say, in the debate of it, twice repeated, with more passion than was natural to his constitution, "that he did tremble to think how sad the consequence would be, if what they now pressed should be denied." And others said, that "it was no more than his majesty had heretofore granted in the act of indemnity that he had passed in Scotland; and if he should now refuse to do it in England, there would be a speedy end put to the treaty, without entering upon any of the other propositions." The king was so much perplexed and offended with this impudent way of reasoning, that he told those with whom he consulted, and writ the same to the prince his son, "that the long restraint he had endured in the castle of Carisbrook, was not a greater evidence of the captivity of his person, nor was he more sensible of it, than this was of the captivity of his mind, by his being forced to decline those answers and arguments which were proper to the support of his cause, and which must have brought blushes over the faces of the commissioners, and to frame others more seasonable and fit to be offered to men in that condition from him who was to receive, and not give conditions."

However, this proposition was of so horrid and monstrous a nature, so contrary to the known truth, and so destructive to justice and government, that it seemed to naturalize rebellion, and to make it current in the kingdom to all posterity, that his majesty could not forbear to tell them, "that no act of parliament could make that to be true, which was notoriously known to be false; that this treaty must be the foundation of the future peace and security, and what was herein provided for both could never be called in question; that he was most willing, that it should be made very penal to every man to reproach another for any thing he had done during the late troubles, upon what provocation soever." He put them in mind, "that it was well known to some of them, that the act of indemnity in Scot-

land was passed when his majesty was not there, nor any commissioner appointed by him; that it was prepared and drawn by his attorney general of that kingdom, who was then of the party that was against his majesty; and therefore it was no wonder that he called those of his own side, loyal subjects, and good Christians, in the preamble of that act; which was never seen by his majesty, though it was confirmed indeed, with the other acts which had passed in that disorderly time, by his majesty upon the conclusion of the peace, and their return to their obedience; and that, when that should be the case here, he would give them all the appellations they should desire, and as unquestionable security as they could wish." To all which they made no other reply, and that unanimously, "but that they could not believe themselves secure, if that preamble was not entirely consented to."

This refractory obstinate adherence of the commissioners to their own will, without any shadow of reason, prevailed nothing upon the king; inso-much as he was inclined to run the hazard of the present dissolution of the treaty, and to undergo all the inconveniences and mischiefs which probably might attend it, rather than to sacrifice his honour, and the justice of his cause, to their insolent demand, until he had entered into a serious deliberation with those persons who were about him, of whose affections to him he had all assurance, and of the great abilities and understanding of most of them he had a very just esteem. They all represented to him, from the conference they had with such of the commissioners, who, they were confident, spoke to them as they thought and believed, "that if there were no expedient found out to give more satisfaction upon this first proposition, than his majesty had yet offered, as soon as the commissioners should give account of it to the two houses, they would be presently recalled; and the treaty be at an end: and then it would be universally declared and believed, how untrue soever the assertion was, that the king refused to secure the parliament, and all who had adhered to them, from a prosecution by law; upon which they thought it to no purpose to proceed farther in the treaty: whereas if his majesty had condescended to them in that particular, which concerned the lives and fortunes of the whole kingdom, they would have given him such satisfaction in all other particulars, as a full and happy peace must have ensued."

Then the lawyers informed him, "that his giving way to a recital in a new law, which was not a declaratory law of what the law was formerly in being, concerning the business in question, and only in a preamble to a law for recalling declarations, &c. did not make their actions lawful, if they were not so before; nor did it take away from those who had adhered to him, any defence or benefit the former laws had given to them; nor would his party be in a worse condition than they had always been: for his majesty had always offered, in all his declarations, that they who followed him, and who were by them called delinquents, should, at all times, submit to a trial by the laws of the land, and if they should be found guilty of any crime, they should not be protected by him. And it was evident, by their not prosecuting any one since they were fallen

"into their hands, in any legal way, that they do not think their transgressions can be punished by law."

Upon these reasons, and the joint advice and importunity of all about him, as well the divines as the lawyers, the king first delivered a paper in writing to the commissioners, in which he declared, "that nothing that should be put in writing concerning any proposition, or part of any proposition, should be binding, prejudicial, or made use of, if the treaty should break off without effect;" and the commissioners presented another paper in writing, in which they fully consented to that declaration, in the very terms of the said declaration. Thereupon the king consented to pass the first proposition, with the preamble to it, albeit, he said, "that he well foresaw the aspersions it would expose him to; yet he hoped his good subjects would confess that it was but a part of the price he had paid for their benefit, and the peace of his dominions."

The first proposition being thus consented to as they could wish, they delivered their second concerning religion and the church; which comprehended "the utter abolishing episcopacy, and all jurisdiction exercised by archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, and alienating their lands, which should be sold to the use and benefit of the commonwealth; the covenant; which was presented to his majesty to take himself, and to impose upon all others: the Common-Prayer and public Liturgy of the church to be abolished, and taken away; and that the reformation of religion, according to the covenant, in such manner as both houses had, or should agree, after consultation with divines, should be settled by act of parliament;" which, the king told them, "exceeded the implicit faith of the church of Rome; which only obliges her proselytes to what she does hold, than to what she shall." It required "the establishing the presbyterian government, the directory, the articles of Christian religion," (a body whereof they presented,) "the suppressing innovations in churches; the better advancement of preaching, the observation of the Lord's day; a bill against pluralities and non-residency; several acts against papists; and the taking and imposing the covenant."

This pregnant proposition, containing so many monstrous particulars, sufficiently warned his majesty, how impossible it would be to give them satisfaction in all; and therefore having, by consenting to the entire first proposition, put it out of their power to break off the treaty, and to tell the people, "that the king, at the entrance into it, had denied to give them any security for their lives and fortunes," he thought it now fit to offer to the commissioners a proposition of his own, that both the parliament, and the people, might clearly discern how much of his own right and dignity he would sacrifice for their peace; and which, he thought, might prevent the designs of those who might endeavour, upon one single proposition, or part of a proposition, to break the treaty.

His own proposition contained, in very few words, but three particulars: 1. "That he might enjoy his liberty: 2. That his revenue might be restored to him: 3. That an act of oblivion might pass;" which, he very well knew, would be most grateful to those who seemed to value it

least, as it would exempt his own friends from a world of illegal and unjust vexations.

The commissioners absolutely refused to send it to the houses, though they had no authority to answer it themselves. They said, "it rather contained an answer to all their propositions, than was a single proposition of his own; and that the sole end of making it was to cajole the people;" which, the king told them, "better became him to do than any body else." But when they peremptorily refused to transmit it to the houses, the king sent an express of his own to deliver it; which being done, after some days' deliberation, the houses returned no other answer to the king, "than that his proposition was not satisfactory." In the mean time the commissioners pressed for his answer to the first part of their proposition, for the abolishing of bishops. It would be very tedious and unnecessary to set down at large the dispute, and arguments which were used on both sides upon this subject. The commissioners, who would not suffer any of the king's servants to be so much as present when any thing of the treaty was agitated, thought fit now to let loose their own clergy upon the king; who was much better versed in the argument than they were.

That which they urged most, was the common allegations, "that bishop and presbyter in the scripture language signified one and the same thing: that, if the apostles exercised a larger jurisdiction, it had been granted to them as apostles, and concerned not their successors, to whom no such authority had been granted, nor any superiority over other presbyters, who were of the same function with them." Then they inveighed vehemently against "lords bishops; their pride, and lustre;" and as they all behaved themselves with that rudeness, as if they meant to be no longer subject to a king, as well as to a bishop; so two of them very plainly and fiercely told the king, "that if he did not consent to the utter abolishing of episcopacy, he would be damned;" with which his majesty was not moved. The men, Jenkins and Spurstow, lived after the return of king Charles the Second, and, according to the modesty of that race of people, came to kiss his majesty's hand, and continued the same zeal in all seditious attempts.

The king pressed them with those texts of scripture which have been constantly urged by those who maintain the *jus divinum* of bishops, the authority of the fathers, and the government of all Christian churches for fifteen hundred years, and particularly of the church of England, before and since the reformation, by constant and uniform practice and usage; which could not but be by themselves acknowledged to have been by bishops. The commissioners relieved their ill mannered clergy, and urged, "that whatsoever was not of divine institution might very lawfully be altered; for if it had its original from men, it might by men be changed, or reversed: that episcopacy as it was established in the church by the laws of England, was not that episcopacy that was mentioned or prescribed in scripture; and therefore the laws which supported it might be justly taken away; which, they said, was the reason that had induced many men who were not enemies to episcopacy, to take the covenant; which obliged them to take the present hierarchy away."

In a word they urged "the practice of other

"reformed churches, and that his majesty insisting upon the preservation of episcopacy, as essentially necessary, was to reproach and condemn them." To which he answered, "that both Calvin and Beza, and most learned men of the reformed churches, had approved and commended the episcopal government in England; and many of them had bewailed themselves, that they were not permitted to retain that government."

Besides all their arguments in public, which his majesty with wonderful acuteness fully answered, and delivered his answers in writing to them, (which none of them ever after undertook to reply unto,) they found means in private to advertise the king, that is, such of them who were known to wish well to him, "that they were of his majesty's judgment with reference to the government, which they hoped might yet be preserved, but not by the method his majesty pursued: that all the reasonable hope of preserving the crown, was in dividing the parliament from the army, which could be only done by his giving satisfaction in what was demanded with reference to the church; which would unite the parliament in itself, some few persons excepted, and the city to the parliament; where the presbyterians were most powerful; and this being done, the parliament would immediately have power to reform their army, and to disband those who would not be reformed: that then the king would be removed to London, to perfect that by his own presence in parliament, which should be prepared by this treaty; and then the wording those bills, and the formality of passing them, would give opportunity for many alterations; which, being now attempted, would destroy all, and reconcile the parliament to the army; which would destroy the king: but then, what the king urged as matter of conscience in himself would find respect, reverence, and concurrence." No doubt they, who did make these insinuations, did in truth believe themselves; and did think, as well as wish, that the sequel would be such as they foretold. But that which had more authority with the king, and which nobody about him could put him in mind of, because none of them had been privy to it, was the remembrance of what he had promised concerning the church to the Scots, in the engagement at the Isle of Wight; which he could not but conclude was well known to many of the presbyterians in England: and he thought, that whatever he had promised to do then, upon the bare hope and probability of raising an army, he might reasonably now offer when that army was destroyed, and no hope left of raising another. And thereupon he did, with much reluctance, offer the same he had then promised to do, because he hoped then it would not be in his power to do it; which was, "to suspend episcopacy for three years, and then upon consultation with divines, amongst which he would nominate twenty to be present, and to consult with them, such a government of the church as should be agreed upon might be established: that he would not force any man to take the covenant, and would have the privilege of his own chapel to use the Common-Prayer, and observe the same worship he had used to do; and that all persons, who desired it, might have liberty to take the covenant, and to use the directory: in fine, he consented to all that he had offered in

"that engagement with reference to the government of the church;" and likewise, "that money should be raised upon the sale of the church lands, and only the old rent should be reserved to the just owners and their successors." These, with some other concessions of less importance, which related to other branches of the same proposition, *magna inter suspiria*, he delivered to the commissioners as his final answer; which the major part of them did then believe would have preserved his majesty from farther importunity and vexation in that particular.

The next proposition was concerning the militia; which was their darling; and distinguished the Scots from the English presbyterians; the former never desiring to invade that unquestionable prerogative of the crown; the latter being in truth as fond of it (and as refractory without it) as of presbytery itself; and in that particular concurred even with Cromwell, and made little doubt of subduing him by it in a short time. In this demand they exercised their usual modesty, and, to abridge the substance of it in few words, they required "a power to keep up the present army, and to raise what other armies they pleased for the future; which gave them authority over the persons of all subjects, of what degree or quality soever. Secondly, a power to raise money for the use and maintenance of those forces, in such a manner, and by such ways and means as they should think fit." And hereby they had had the disposal of the estates and fortunes of all men without restraint or limitation. Thirdly, "all forces by land and sea to be managed and disposed as they should think fit, and not otherwise." All this modest power and authority must be granted to the lords and commons for twenty years." And, as if this had not been enough, they required farther, "that in all cases, when the lords and commons shall declare the safety of the kingdom to be concerned, unless the king give his royal assent to such a bill as shall be tendered to him for raising money, the bill shall have the force of an act of parliament, as if he had given his royal assent."

There were other particulars included, of power to the city of London over the militia, and for the Tower of London, of no importance to the king, if he once disposed, and granted the other as was required, nor need he take care to whom the rest belonged. Here the king was to consider whether he would wholly grant it, or wholly deny it, or whether he might reasonably hope so to limit it, that they might have authority enough to please them, and he reserve some to himself for his own security. The king had thought with himself, upon revolving all expedients, which he had too long warning to ruminate upon, to propose "that the inhabitants of every county should be the standing militia of the kingdom, to be drawn out of the counties upon any occasions which should occur;" which would prevent all excessive taxes and impositions, when they were to be paid by themselves. But he quickly discerned that such a proposition would be presently called a conspiracy against the army, and so put an end to all other expedients. Then he thought of limiting the extravagant power in such a manner, that it might not appear so monstrous to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and therefore proposed, "that none should be compelled to serve in the war against

"their wills, but in case of an invasion by foreign enemies: that the power concerning the land forces should be exercised to no other purposes, than for the suppressing of forces which might at any time be raised without the authority and consent of the lords and commons, and for the keeping up and maintaining the forts and garrisons, and the present army, so long as it should be thought fit by both houses of parliament: that what monies should at any time be thought necessary to be raised, should be raised by general and equal taxes, and impositions; and lastly, that all patents and commissions to the purposes aforesaid might be made in the king's name, by warrant signified by the lords and commons, or such other signification as they should direct and authorize."

These limitations were sent to the parliament, who, according to the method they had assumed, soon voted "that the message was unsatisfactory." Hereupon, that he might at least leave some monument and record of his care and tenderness of his people, (for, after his extorted concessions to the so great prejudice of the church, he never considered what might be dangerous to his own person,) he delivered his consent to the proposition itself to the commissioners, with a preamble to this purpose; "that whereas their proposition concerning the militia required a far larger power over the persons and estates of his subjects, than had been ever hitherto warranted by the laws and statutes of the kingdom, yet in regard the present distractions might require more, and trusting in his two houses of parliament, that they would make no farther use of the power therein mentioned, after the present distempers should be settled, than should be agreeable to the legal exercise thereof in times past, and for the purposes particularly mentioned in their proposition, and to give satisfaction to his two houses of parliament that he intends a full security to them, and to express his real desires to settle the peace of the kingdom, his majesty doth consent to the proposition concerning the militia as it was desired." This the commissioners did by no means like, nor would acquiesce in, and alleged, "that as the concession must be the subject of an act of parliament, so this preamble must be a part of it, and would administer occasion of difference and dispute upon the interpretation of it; which being so clearly foreseen, ought not to be admitted in any act of parliament, much less in such a one as is to be the principal foundation of a lasting peace of the kingdom." After much vexation of this kind, and importunity of friends, as well as of enemies, and being almost as weary of denying as of granting, he suffered the preamble to be left out, and his consent to be delivered without it.

It may be well wondered at, that, after having so far complied with these three propositions, there should be any pause or hesitation in the debate of the rest. For in that concerning the church, and the other concerning the militia, both the church and the militia of Ireland (though a kingdom distinct, and never subject to the parliament of England, but to the king alone) followed the fate of England, and were in effect comprehended in the same propositions: so that there remained nothing more with reference to that kingdom, "but declaring the peace that was made there

"with the Irish, to be void;" which they pressed with the same passion, as if they had obtained nothing; although his majesty referred the carrying on the war to them, and told them, "that he knew nothing of the peace, which had been made during his imprisonment, when he could receive no advertisement of what was doing, or done; and therefore he was content that it should be broken, and the war be carried on in such a manner as should please them;" which was all one to their ends and purposes, as what they desired. But this did by no means please them. If the peace were not declared to be actually void, they could not so easily take that vengeance of the marquis of Ormond as they resolved to do. Yet after all these general concessions, which so much concerned himself, and the public, and when the necessity that had obliged him to that unwilling compliance, might well have excused him for satisfying them in all the rest of their demands, when they pressed his consent to what only concerned private and particular persons, as the revoking all honours and grants of offices which he had conferred upon those who had served him faithfully, and to except many of them from pardon, and leave them to the unmerciful censure of the two houses, both for their lives and fortunes; to submit others to pay, for their delinquency in obeying and serving him, a full moiety of all they were worth; to deprive others of their practice in their several professions and functions, (which exposed all the lawyers and divines, who had been faithful to him, to utter ruin,) it cannot be expressed with what grief and trouble of mind he received those importunities; and, without doubt, he would at that time with much more willingness have died, than submitted to it; but the argument, "that he had done so much," was now pressed upon him, (by his friends, and those who were to receive as much prejudice as any by his doing it,) "that he should do more; and since he had descended to many things which gave himself no satisfaction, he would give so full satisfaction to the parliament, that he might receive that benefit, and the kingdom that peace and security he desired."

Many advertisements came from his friends in London, and from other places, "that it was high time that the treaty were at an end, and that the parliament had all his majesty's answers before them, to determine what they would do upon them, before the army drew nearer London, which, infallibly, it would shortly do, as soon as those in the north had finished their work, and Fairfax had reduced Ragland castle, which could not hold out much longer, and which was his last work to do." It was now near the end of October, and the appointed time for the conclusion of the treaty was the fourth of November; and so after all importunities, as well of those who were to suffer, as of those who were to triumph in their sufferings, his majesty's consent was procured to most that was demanded in the rest of the propositions; the king, and all men, conceiving the treaty to be at an end.

The king had, about the middle of October, again delivered his own proposition for his liberty, his revenue, and an act of oblivion, to the commissioners; which they received. And though, at the beginning of the treaty, they had refused to transmit it to the houses, yet now, after so

many concessions, they thought fit to send it; and did so as soon as they received it. But no answer was returned. Hereupon, when the treaty was within two days of expiring, his majesty demanded of them, "whether they had received any instructions to treat upon, or to give an answer to his own proposition, which he had delivered to them so long since? or whether they had received any order to prolong the treaty?" To which they answered, "they had not as to either." And when he asked them the same question, the very last hour of the limited time, they made the same answer. So that the whole forty days assigned for the treaty were expired, before they vouchsafed to return any answer to the single proposition the king had made to them. However they told him, "they had received new command to make fresh instance to his majesty, that he would forthwith publish a declaration against the marquis of Ormond; who had very lately declared, that he had authority to make a peace with the Irish rebels; and was then treating with them to that purpose." To which his majesty answered, "that it was not reasonable to press him to publish any declaration against the marquis; since that if the treaty should end happily, the desires of the two houses were satisfied by the concessions he had already made;" and so adhered to his first answer. And conceiving the treaty to be closed, he desired the commissioners, "that since he had departed from so much of his own right to give his two houses satisfaction, they would be a means that he might be pressed no farther; since the few things he had not satisfied them in had so near relation to his conscience, that, with the peace of that, he could not yield farther; and desired them to use the same eloquence and abilities, by which they had prevailed with him, in representing to the two houses the sad condition of the kingdom, if it were not preserved by this treaty." And so concluded with many gracious expressions for their personal civilities, and other kind expressions; which made impression upon all of them who had any bowels.

All this being past, and the king believing and expecting that the commissioners would take their leave of him the next morning, they came the same night to inform him, "that they had then received new orders and instructions for the continuing and enlarging the treaty for fourteen days longer;" for which his majesty was nothing glad; nor did they in the houses who wished well to him desire that prolongation. For it was easily discerned, that it was moved and prosecuted only by them who did not intend that the treaty itself should have any good effect; which they were not yet ready and prepared enough to prevent, the army not having yet finished what they were to do in all places; and was consented to unskilfully, by those who thought the continuance of the treaty was the best sign that both sides desired peace: and it quickly appeared, by the new instances they made, that delay was their only business. The commissioners, with new importunity and bitterness, begun upon their new instructions, "that the king would immediately publish the declaration against the marquis of Ormond," without any other reasons than those which he had answered before. His majesty answered, "there was no other difference between them but in point of time, whether pre-

sently, or at the conclusion of the peace: upon the peace, they had the substance of their desire already granted; and if there were no peace, they had reason to believe that no declaration he should make would be believed or obeyed;" and so adhered to what he had answered formerly.

Then they declared, "that the parliament was not satisfied with his concessions with reference to the church; that the presbyterian government could be exercised with little profit, or comfort, if it should appear to be so short-lived as to continue but for three years; and that they must therefore press the utter extirpating the function of bishops." Then, the perfect and entire alienation of their lands was insisted on; whereas by the king's concessions the old rent was still reserved to them. They said, "the parliament did not intend to force, but only to rectify his conscience;" and, to that end, they added more reasons to convince him in the several points. They repeated their old distinction between the scripture-bishop, and the bishop by law. For the absolute alienation of their lands, they urged many precedents of what had been done in former times upon convenience, or necessity, not so visible and manifest as appeared at present; and concluded with their usual threat, "that the consequence of his denial would be the continuance of the public disturbances."

To all which his majesty answered, "that, for the presbyterian government, they might remember that their own first order for the settling it was only for three years; which they then thought a competent time for a probationary law, that contained such an alteration in the state; and therefore they ought to think the same now: and that it might be longer lived than three years, if it would in that time bear the test and examination of it; and that nothing could be a greater honour to that discipline, than its being able to bear that test and examination." He said, "he was well pleased with their expression, that they did not intend to force his conscience; yet the manner of pressing him looked very like it, after he had so solemnly declared that it was against his conscience; that he did concur with them in their distinction of bishops, and if they would preserve the scripture-bishop, he would take away the bishop by law." He confessed, "that necessity might justify or excuse many things, but it could never warrant him to deprive the church of God of an order instituted for continual use, and for establishing a succession of lawful ministers in the church." For the point of sacrilege, he said, "the concurrent opinion of all divines was a much better information to his conscience, what is sacrilege, than any precedents or law of the land could be." Upon the whole matter, he adhered to his former answer in all the particulars, and concluded, "that he could with more comfort cast himself upon God's goodness to support him in, and defend him from, all afflictions, how great soever, that might befall him, than deprive himself of the inward tranquillity of his mind, for any political consideration that might seem to be a means to restore him."

It must not be forgotten, that the last day, when the treaty was to end, they delivered to the king the votes which the two houses had passed concerning and upon his own message, (which had

lain so long in their hands unanswered,) which were in effect, 1. "That from and after such time as the agreements upon this treaty should be ratified by acts of parliament, all his houses, manors, and lands, with the growing rents and profits thereof, and all other legal revenue of the crown should be restored to him, liable to the maintenance of those ancient forts, and castles, and such other legal charges as they were formerly charged withal, or liable to. 2. That he should be then likewise resettled in a condition of honour, freedom, and safety, agreeable to the laws of the land. 3. That an act of indemnity should be then passed with such exceptions and limitations as should be agreed upon, with this addition, that it should be declared by act of parliament, that nothing contained in his majesty's propositions should be understood or made use of to abrogate, weaken, or in any degree to impair any agreement in this treaty, or any law, grant, or commission agreed upon by his majesty and the two houses of parliament, in pursuance thereof;" in all which his majesty acquiesced.

The time limited for the prolongation of the treaty was to end upon the one and twentieth of November, and the commissioners believed it so absolutely concluded, that they took their leave of the king, and early the next morning went to Cowes harbour to embark themselves. But the tide not serving to transport them out of the island, that night a messenger arrived with directions to them to continue the treaty till the five and twentieth; which was four days more. So, the three and twentieth, they returned and acquainted his majesty with it.

At the same time, the thundering declaration of the army was published; which declared their full resolution "to change the whole frame of the government, and that they would be contented with no less an alteration;" which, as it was an argument to the king to endeavour all he could to unite the two houses, that they might be able to bear that shock, so it was expected that it would have been no less an argument to have prevailed with them to adhere to the king, since their interest was no less threatened than his.

The fresh instances the commissioners made were upon several votes which had passed the two houses against delinquents; and a new proposition concerning those who had engaged themselves against the parliament since the last January, and particularly against the marquis of Ormond. They proposed, "that there should be seven persons, the lord Newcastle, and six others," (who were named,) "who should be excepted from pardon, and their estates forfeited: that the delinquents, in the several classes mentioned in their proposition, should pay for their composition, some a moiety, others a third part of their estates, and other rates, as they were set down; and that all who had been engaged in the land or sea service since January 1647, should pay a full year's value of their whole estates more than the other delinquents; and that none who had been against the parliament should presume to come within either of the courts belonging to the king, queen, or prince, or be capable of any office or preferment, or of serving in parliament, for the space of three years; and that all clergymen who had been against the parliament should be deprived

of all their preferments, places, and promotions; which should be all void as if they were naturally dead." To these the king answered, that, "to the excepting the seven persons named from pardon, and the forfeiture of their estates, his answer was, that, if they were proceeded against according to the ancient established laws, and could not justify and defend themselves, he would not interpose on their behalf; but he could not, in justice or honour, join himself in any act for taking away the life or estate of any that had adhered to him. For the rates which were to be paid for composition, he referred it to the two houses of parliament, and to the persons themselves, who would be contented to pay it; and he did hope and desire, that they might be moderately dealt with." And for the clergymen, whose preferments he well knew were already disposed of, and in the hands of another kind of clergy, who had deserved so well of the parliament, that it would not be in his power to dispossess them, his majesty desired, "that they might be allowed a third part of what was taken from them, till such time that they, or the present incumbents, should be better provided for." As to the marquis of Ormond, against whom they pressed what they had before done with extraordinary animosity, the king answered, "that since what he had said before" (and which would bring all to pass that they desired) "did not give them satisfaction, he had written a letter," (which he delivered to them, to be sent, and read to them,) "in which he directed him to desist; and said, if he refused to submit to his command, he would then publish such a declaration against his power and his proceedings, as they desired."

And now the second limitation of time for the treaty was at an end. But that night came another vote; which continued it for a day longer, with a command to the commissioners to return on Tuesday morning; which was the eight and twentieth of November: and thereupon they presented two propositions to his majesty, which were to be despatched that day.

The two propositions they sent for one day's work were, the first, concerning Scotland; the other, concerning the church; which they did not think they had yet destroyed enough. For Scotland, they demanded "the king's consent, to confirm by act of parliament such agreements as should be made by both houses with that kingdom, in the security of such thereof who had assisted or adhered to those of the parliament of England, and for the settling and preserving a happy and durable peace between the two nations, and for the mutual defence of each other." The king put them in mind, "that at the beginning of the treaty they had informed him, that their commission was only to treat concerning England and Ireland; and that they had no authority to meddle in any thing that related to Scotland; and that they had thereupon refused to receive a paper from him, which was to preserve the interest of that kingdom; and demanded of them, whether their commission was enlarged;" which they confessed "was not; and that they had presented that paper only in obedience to the order they had received." So that the king easily understood that the end was only that they might have occasion to publish,

"that the king had rejected whatsoever was tendered to him on the behalf of the kingdom of Scotland." To prevent which, he answered, "that as he would join in any agreement, to be confirmed by act of parliament, for the settling and preserving a happy and durable peace between the two nations, and for their mutual defence of each other under him as king of both; so he would secure all who had been formerly engaged with them: but for any new engagement, or confederacy, which they would make hereafter, he would first know what it was, and be advised with in the making it, before he would promise to confirm it." The other business with reference to the church gave him much more trouble. The commissioners pressed him "to consider the exigence of time, and that there was not a whole day left to determine the fate of the kingdom; and that nothing could unite the counsels of those who wished and desired peace, and to live happily under his subjection and obedience, against the bold attempts of the army, which had enough declared and manifested what their intention was, but satisfying the houses fully in what they demanded in that particular." His own council, and the divines, besought him "to consider the safety of his own person, even for the church's and his people's sakes, who had some hope still left whilst he should be preserved, which could not but be attended with many blessings: whereas, if he were destroyed, there was scarce a possibility to preserve them: that the moral and unavoidable necessity that lay upon him, obliged him to do any thing that was not sin; and that, upon the most prudent thoughts which occurred to them, the order which he, with so much piety and zeal, endeavoured to preserve, was much more like to be destroyed by his not complying, than by his suspending it till his majesty and his two houses should agree upon a future government; which, they said, much differed from an abolition of it."

Hereupon he gave them his final answer, "that after such condescensions, and weighed resolutions in the business of the church, he had expected not to be farther pressed therein; it being his judgment, and his conscience." He said, "he could not, as he was then informed, abolish episcopacy out of the church; yet, because he apprehended how fatal new distractions might be to the kingdom, and that he believed his two houses would yield to truth, if it were made manifest to them, as he had always declared that he would comply with their demands, if he were convinced in his conscience, he did therefore again desire a consultation with divines, in the manner he had before proposed, and would in the mean time suspend the episcopal power, as well in point of ordination of ministers, as of jurisdiction, till he and the two houses should agree what government should be established for the future. For bishops' lands, he could not consent to the absolute alienation of them from the church, but would consent that leases for lives, or years, not exceeding ninety-nine, should be made for the satisfaction of purchasers or contractors." little differing from the answer he had formerly given to this last particular: and in all the rest he ad-

hered to his former answers. And the commissioners, having received this his final answer, took their leaves, and the next morning begun their journey towards London.

The king had begun a letter to the prince his son before the first forty days were expired, and continued it, as the treaty was lengthened, even to the hour it was concluded, and finished it the nine and twentieth of November, after the commissioners were departed, and with it sent a very exact copy of all the papers which had passed in the treaty, in the order in which they were passed, fairly engrossed by one of the clerks who attended. But the letter itself was all in his own hand, and contained above six sheets of paper; in which he made a very particular relation of all the motives and reasons which had prevailed with him, or over him, to make those concessions; out of which most of this relation is extracted. And it is almost evident, that the major part of both houses of parliament was, at that time, so far from desiring the execution of all those concessions, that, if they had been able to have resisted the wild fury of the army, they would have been themselves suitors to have declined the greatest part of them. That which seemed to afflict him most, next what referred to the church and religion, and which, he said, "had a large share in his conscientious considerations," was the hard measure his friends were subjected to; for whose interest he did verily believe he should better provide in the execution of the treaty, than he had been able to do in the preliminaries. For, he said, "he could not but think, that all who were willing that he should continue their king, and to live under his government, would be far from desiring in the conclusion to leave so foul a brand upon his party, of which they would all desire to be accounted for the time to come. However, he hoped that all his friends would consider, not what he had submitted to, but how much he had endeavoured to relieve them from;" and conjured the prince his son, "that the less he had been able himself to do for them, the more, if God blessed him, he should acknowledge and supply." He said, "he would willingly forget in how high degree some subjects had been disloyal, but never had prince a testimony in others of more loyalty than he had had; and however that God, for their and his punishment, had not blessed some of their endeavours, yet, he said more misguided persons were at last reduced to their loyalty, than could in any story be exemplified; and that, by that, subjects might learn how dangerous the neglect of seasonable duty is; and that men cannot easily fix when they please what they have unnecessarily shaken." The conclusion of the letter, as it was dated the five and twentieth of November, (what was added to it after, till the nine and twentieth, was but the additional passages upon the enlargement of time,) deserves to be preserved in letters of gold, and gives the best character of that excellent prince; and was in these words.

"By what hath been said, you see how long we have laboured in the search of peace: do not you be disheartened to tread in the same steps. Use all worthy ways to restore yourself to your right, but prefer the way of peace; shew the greatness of your mind, if God bless you, (and let us



"comfort you with that which is our own comfort, that though affliction may make us pass under the censures of men, yet we look upon it so, as if it procure not, by God's mercy, to us a deliverance, it will to you a blessing,) rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning, than punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristian the implacable disposition is in our willers, you would avoid that spirit. Censure us not for having parted with so much of our own right; the price was great, but the commodity was security to us, peace to our people: and we were confident, another parliament would remember how useful a king's power is to a people's liberty; of how much thereof we divested ourselves, that we and they might meet once again in a due parliamentary way, to agree the bounds of prince and people. And in this give belief to our experience, never to affect more greatness or prerogative, than that which is really and intrinsically for the good of subjects, not the satisfaction of favourites. If you thus use it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any you would be extraordinary gracious to. You may perceive all men intrust their treasure where it returns them interest; and if princes, like the sea, receive, and repay all the fresh streams the river intrusts with them, they will not grudge, but pride themselves to make them up an ocean. These considerations may make you as great a prince, as your father is now a low one; and your state may be so much the more established, as mine hath been shaken. For our subjects have learned (we dare say) that victories over their princes are but triumphs over themselves; and so will be more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter. The English nation are a sober people, however at present infatuated.

"We know not but this may be the last time we may speak to you, or the world, publicly: we are sensible into what hands we are fallen; and yet, we bless God, we have those inward refreshments the malice of our enemies cannot perturb. We have learned to busy ourselves by retiring into ourself; and therefore can the better digest what befalls us; not doubting but God's providence will restrain our enemies' power, and turn their fierceness to his praise.

"To conclude, if God gives you success, use it humbly and far from revenge. If he restore you to your right upon hard conditions, whatever you promise, keep. These men who have forced laws, which they were bound to preserve, will find their triumphs full of troubles. Do not think any thing in this world worth the obtaining by foul and unjust means.

"You are the son of our love, and as we direct you to weigh what we here recommend to you, so we assure you, we do not more affectionately pray for you, (to whom we are a natural parent,) than we do, that the ancient glory and renown of this nation be not buried in irreligion and fanatic humour; and that all our subjects (to whom we are a politic parent) may have such sober thoughts, as to seek their peace in the orthodox profession of the Christian religion, as was established since the reformation in this kingdom, and not in new revelations; and that the ancient laws, with the interpretation according to the known practice, may once again be

"a hedge about them; that you may in due time govern, and they be governed, as in the fear of God; which is the prayer of

"Your very loving father, C. R."

Newport, 25th Nov. 1648.

Whilst the treaty lasted, it was believed that his majesty might have made his escape; which most men who wished him well thought in all respects ought to have been attempted; and he himself was inclined to it, thinking any liberty preferable to the restraint he had endured. But he did receive some discouragement from pursuing that purpose, which both diverted him from it, and gave him great trouble of mind. It cannot be imagined how wonderfully fearful some persons in France were that he should have made his escape, and the dread they had of his coming thither; which, without doubt, was not from want of tenderness of his safety, but from the apprehension they had, that the little respect they would have shewed him there, would have been a greater mortification to him than all that he could suffer by the closest imprisonment. And sure there was, at that time, no court in Christendom so honourably or generously constituted, that it would have been glad to have seen him; and it might be some reason that they who wished him very well did not wish his escape, because they believed imprisonment was the worst his worst enemies intended towards him; since they might that way more reasonably found and settle their republican government; which men could not so prudently propose to bring to pass by a murder; which, in the instant, gave the just title to another who was at liberty to claim his right, and to dispute it. Before the treaty, and after the votes and declarations of no more addresses, when his treatment was so barbarous, his majesty had proposed to himself to make an escape, and was very near the perfecting it. He had none about him but such persons who were placed by those who wished worst to his safety; and therefore chose such instruments as they thought to be of their own principles. Amongst those there was a young man, one Osborne, by extraction a gentleman; who was recommended by the lord Wharton (one who deserved not to be suspected by Cromwell himself) to colonel Hammond, to be placed in some near attendance about the king; and he, from the recommendation, never doubting the fitness of the man, immediately appointed him to wait as gentleman usher; which gave him opportunity to be almost always in the presence of the king. This young man, after some months' attendance, was wrought upon by the dignity of the king's carriage, and the great affability he used towards those who were always about him, to have a tenderness and loyal sense of his sufferings; and did really desire to do him any service that might be acceptable. By his office of gentlemen usher he usually held the king's gloves when he was at meat, and first took that opportunity to put a little billet, in which he expressed his devotion, into one of the fingers of his glove. The king was not forward or over credulous of the professions of a person he knew so little, and who, he knew, would not be suffered to be about him, if he were thought to have those inclinations. However, after longer observation, and sometimes speaking to him whilst he was walking amongst others in the garden allowed for that purpose, his majesty began to be-



lieve that there was sincerity in him; and so frequently put some memorial into fingers of his glove, and by the same expedient received advertisement from him.

There was in the garrison one Rolph, a captain of a foot company, whom Cromwell placed there as a prime confident, a fellow of a low extraction, and very ordinary parts; who, from a common soldier, had been trusted in all the intrigues of the army, and was one of the agitators inspired by Cromwell to put any thing into the soldiers' minds, upon whom he had a wonderful influence, and could not contain himself from speaking maliciously and wickedly against the king, when dissimulation was at the highest amongst the great officers. This man grew into great familiarity with Osborne, and knowing from what person he came recommended to that trust, could not doubt but that he was well inclined to any thing that might advance him; and so, according to his custom of reviling the king, he wished "he were out of the world; for they should never make any settlement whilst he was alive. He said, "he was sure the army wished him dead, and that Hammond had received many letters from the army to take him away by poison, or any other way; but he saw it would never be done in that place; and therefore, if he would join with him, they would get him from thence; and then the work would easily be done." Osborne asked him, "how it could be possible to remove him from thence, without Hammond's or the king's own consent?" Rolph answered, that the king might be decoyed from thence, as he was from Hampton Court, by some letters from his friends, of some danger that threatened him, upon which he would be willing to make an escape; and then he might easily be despatched." Osborne shortly found an opportunity to inform the king of all this.

The king bid him "continue his familiarity with Rolph, and to promise to join with him in contriving how his majesty should make an escape;" and he hoped thereby to make Rolph's villainy the means of getting away. He recommended one of the common soldiers to Osborne, "who," he said, he thought might be trusted;" and wished him "to trust one Doucet;" whom the king had known before, and who was then placed to wait upon him at his back stairs, and was indeed an honest man; for it was impossible for him to make an escape, without the privacy of such persons, who might provide for him, when he was got out of the castle, as well as help him from thence. Osborne told Rolph, "he was confident he should in the end persuade the king to attempt an escape, though he yet seemed jealous and apprehensive of being discovered, and taken again." Doucet concurred very willingly in it, and the soldier who was chosen by the king proved likewise very honest, and wrought upon one or two of his companions who used to stand sentinels at the place where the king intended to get out. All things were provided; and the king had a file and saw; with which he had, with wonderful trouble, sawed an iron bar in the window, by which he could be able to get out; and being in this readiness, the night was appointed, and Osborne at the place where he was to receive the king. But one of the soldiers informed Rolph of all which Osborne had not done; by which he concluded that he was false,

and directed the soldier to proceed, and stand sentinel in the same place to which he had been assigned; and he, and some others trusted by him, were armed, and stood very near with their pistols. At midnight the king came to the window, resolving to go out; but as he was putting himself out, he discerned more persons to stand thereabout than used to do, and thereupon suspected that there was some discovery made; and so shut the window, and retired to his bed. And this was all the ground of a discourse, which then flew abroad, as if the king had got half out at the window, and could neither draw his body after, nor get his head back, and so was compelled to call out for help; which was a mere fiction.

Rolph acquainted Hammond with what the king had designed; who presently went into his chamber, and found the king in his bed, but the bar of the window cut in two, and taken out; by which he concluded his information to be true; and presently seized upon Doucet, but could not apprehend Osborne; who was either fled out of the island, or concealed in it that he could not be found. Rolph could not forbear to insult upon Doucet in prison, and scornfully asked him, "why his king came not forth when he was at the window?" and said, "he was ready with a good pistol charged to have received him." When Osborne had got into a place of present safety, he writ a letter to his patron the lord Wharton, informing him of the whole matter; and desired him, "to acquaint the house of peers of the design upon the king's life, and that he would be ready to appear and justify the conspiracy." The good lord, after he had kept the letter some time, sent it to Hammond, as the fittest person to examine the truth of the relation. Osborne was not discouraged with all this; but sent two letters to the speakers of both houses, and enclosed the letter he had formerly writ to the lord Wharton. In the house of commons the information was slighted, and laid aside; but it made more impression upon the house of peers; who sent, with more than ordinary earnestness, to the commons, "that Rolph might be sent for, and a safe-guard for forty days to Osborne to appear, and prosecute."

Rolph brought with him a large testimonial from Hammond of his "integrity, and of the many good services he had done to the state." Osborne appeared likewise at the lords' bar, and made good upon oath all that is before set down, and undertook to produce other evidence. The house of commons had no mind to have it examined farther; but the clamour of the people was so great, that, after many delays, they voted "that it should be tried at the general assizes at Winchester." And thither they sent their well-tried sergeant Wild, to be the sole judge of that circuit: before whom the major part of the same jury that had found captain Burley guilty was impanelled for the trial of Rolph. Osborne, and Doucet, who upon bail had liberty to be there, appeared to make good the indictment; and, upon their oaths, declared all that Rolph had said to them, as is set down before. The prisoner, if he may be called a prisoner who was under no restraint, had two lawyers assigned to be of council with him, contrary to the law and custom in those cases: but he needed not to have had any council but the judge himself; who told the jury, "that

"it was a business of great importance that was before them; and therefore that they should take heed what they did in it: that there was a time indeed when intentions and words were treason, but God forbid it should be so now: how did any body know but that those two men, Osborne and Doucet, would have made away the king, and that Rolph charged his pistol to preserve him? or, perhaps they would have carried him away to have engaged them in a second war." He told them, "they were mistaken who did believe the king in prison; the parliament did only keep him safe to save the shedding of more blood." Upon these good directions, the grand jury found an *ignoramus* upon the bill; and this was some months before the treaty.

When the commissioners, who had treated with the king at the Isle of Wight, were returned to the parliament, their report took up many days in the house of commons, where the resolution was first to be taken; which commonly was final, the lords rarely presuming to contradict what the others thought fit to determine. The question upon the whole was, "whether the answer that the king had made to their propositions was satisfactory?" which was debated with all the virulence and acrimony towards each other, that can fall from men so possessed as both sides were.

Young sir Harry Vane had begun the debate with the highest insolence and provocation; telling them, "that they should that day know and discover, who were their friends, and who were their foes; or, that he might speak more plainly, who were the king's party in the house, and who were for the people;" and so proceeded with his usual grave bitterness against the person of the king, and the government that had been too long settled; put them in mind, "that they had been diverted from their old settled resolution and declaration, that they would make no more addresses to the king; after which the kingdom had been governed in great peace, and begun to taste the sweet of that republican government which they intended and begun to establish, when, by a combination between the city of London and an ill affected party in Scotland, with some small contemptible insurrections in England, all which were fomented by the city, the houses had, by clamour and noise, been induced and compelled to reverse their former votes and resolution, and enter into a personal treaty with the king; with whom they had not been able to prevail, notwithstanding the low condition he was in, to give them any security; but he had still reserved a power in himself, or at least to his posterity, to exercise as tyrannical a government as he had done: that all the insurrections, which had so terrified them, were now totally subdued; and the principal authors and abettors of them in their custody, and ready to be brought to justice, if they pleased to direct, and appoint it: that their enemies in Scotland were reduced, and that kingdom entirely devoted to a firm and good correspondence with their brethren, the parliament of England; so that there was nothing wanting, but their own consent and resolution, to make themselves the happiest nation and people in the world; and to that purpose desired, that they might, without

"any more loss of time, return to their former resolution of making no more addresses to the king; but proceed to the settling the government without him, and to the severe punishment of those who had disturbed their peace and quiet, in such an exemplary manner, as might terrify all other men for the future from making the like bold attempts: which, he told them, they might see would be most grateful to their army, which had merited so much from them by the remonstrance they had so lately published."

This discourse appeared to be exceedingly disliked, by that kind of murmur which usually shews how the house stands inclined, and by which men make their judgments there, of the success that is like to be. And his preface, and entrance into the debate, were taken notice of with equal sharpness; and, "his presumption in taking upon himself to divide the house, and to censure their affections to the public, as their sense and judgment should agree, or disagree, with his own; and since he had, without example, taken so much upon him, he was not to take it ill, if the contrary was assumed by other men; and that it was as lawful for another man, who said he was no gainer by the troubles, to make another division of the house, and to say, that they should find in the debate of that day, that there were some who were desirous of peace; and that they were all losers, or, at least, no gainers by the war; and that others were against peace; and that they by the war had gained large revenues, and great sums of money, and much wealth; and therefore his motion was, that the gainers might contribute to the losers, if they would not consent that the one might enjoy what was left, and the other possess what they had got, by a peace that might be happy for both."

Whilst this was debating in the house, which continued several days, six officers, from the headquarters at Windsor, whither the army had been brought before, or at the time when the treaty ended at the Isle of Wight, brought their large remonstrance to the house; in which they desired, "that there might be no farther proceedings upon the treaty; but that they would return to their former determination of no farther addresses, and make what haste they could in settling the government: that the bargaining proposition on the behalf of delinquents, which was only upon a contract with the king, and not in any judicial way, might be laid aside, and that public justice might be done upon the principal actors in the late troubles, and that others, upon a true submission, might find mercy: that a peremptory day might be set, when the prince of Wales and the duke of York should be required to appear; which if they should not do, they should stand exiled as traitors; and if they should appear, yet they should be bound to make some satisfaction: that an end might be put to this parliament, and a new representative chosen of the people, for the governing and preserving the whole body of the nation. That no king might be hereafter admitted but upon election of the people, and as upon trust for the people, who should be likewise limited and restrained by the representative;" with many other impracticable particulars, which troubled the parliament the less for their incoherence, and impossibility to be reduced into practice.

But that which troubled most, and indeed which awakened them to the most dismal apprehensions, was, that they were advertised, that the king was taken away from Carisbrook castle by an officer of the army, and carried to Hurst castle, not far from the other, and in so vile and unwholesome an air, that the common guards there used to be frequently changed for the preservation of their health. Colonel Hammond had, before the expiration of the treaty, writ many letters to the parliament, to be discharged from that government, and from the care of the king's person; and the officers of the army seemed wonderfully offended with him for making the demand; and he got himself looked upon as under a cloud. But the treaty was no sooner ended, (and before the commissioners begun their report to the houses,) but he was discharged of the government, and another colonel sent to take the person of the king, and to carry him to Hurst castle.

This news being brought when they were in the heat of the debate upon the king's answer, they gave over that contest, and immediately voted, "that the seizing upon the king's person, and carrying him prisoner to Hurst castle, was without their advice and consent:" which vote had no contradiction, because no man would own the advice. Then they caused a letter to be written to the general, "that the orders and instructions to colonel Ewre" (the officer who had seized the king) "were contrary to their resolutions, and instructions to colonel Hammond; and therefore, that it was the pleasure of the house, that he should recall those orders; and that colonel Hammond should again resume the government of the Isle of Wight." But the general, without taking any notice of their complaint, or of their command, demanded the payment of the arrears due to the army; and told them, "that, unless there were present money sent to that purpose, he should be forced to remove the army, and to draw them nearer to London." And at the same time a new declaration was sent to the house from the army, in pursuance of their late remonstrance; which the house refused to take into consideration; and some sturdy members moved, "that the army might be declared traitors, if they presumed to march nearer London than they were at present; and that an impeachment of high treason might be drawn up against the principal officers of it." Hereupon, the general marches directly for London, and quarters at Whitehall; the other officers, with their troops, in Durham House, the Mews, Covent Garden, Westminster, and St. James's; and for the present necessity, that no inconvenience might fall out, they sent to the city without delay to supply forty thousand pounds, to be immediately issued out to satisfy the army. Notwithstanding all which monstrous proceeding, the house of commons retained its courage, and were resolute "to assert the treaty; and that the king's answers were satisfactory; or if they were not fully satisfactory, that the house might and ought to accept thereof, and proceed to the settlement of peace in church and state, rather than to reject them as unsatisfactory, and thereby continue the kingdom in war and distraction."

They who vehemently pressed this conclusion, and would be thought to be for the king, to make themselves popular, took upon them to make all

the invectives both against the king, and all the time of his government, that his bitterest enemies could do, only that they might shew how much the concessions he had now granted had provided remedies for all those evils, and made all the foundation of their future hope of happiness and peace to be in the no-power they had left him in: so that if he should have a mind to continue the distractions to-morrow, he would find nobody ready ever to join with him, having at this time sacrificed all his friends to the mercy of their mortal enemies. In conclusion, and when they had prosecuted the debate most part of the night, till almost five of the clock in the morning, on Monday night, they had first put the question, "whether the question should be put?" and carried it by a hundred and forty voices against one hundred and four: the main question, "That the answer of the king to the propositions of both houses was a ground for the houses to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom," was so clearly voted, that the house was not divided; and, that there might be no afterclaps, they appointed a committee "to confer with the general, for the better procuring a good intelligence and correspondence between the army and the parliament;" and then they adjourned the house to Wednesday morning, it being then near the morning of Tuesday.

The committee that was appointed to confer with the general waited that afternoon upon him in his lodging at Whitehall, that they might be able to give some account to the house the next morning. But they were forced to attend full three hours, before they could be admitted to his presence; and then he told them sullenly and superciliously, "that the way to correspond with the army, was to comply with their remonstrance;" and the next morning there was a guard of musketeers placed at the entry into and door of the house, and the officers thereof having a list in their hands of the names of those who should be restrained from going into the house, all those were stopped, one by one, as they came, and sent into the court of wards, where they were kept together for many hours, under a guard, to the number of near one hundred. Notwithstanding which, there were so many of the same opinion got into the house, through the inadvertency of the guard, or because they meant only to sequester the most notorious and refractory persons, that the debate, upon resuming the same question, continued very long; several members who observed the force at the entrance of the house, and saw their companions not suffered to come in, complained loudly of the violence and breach of privilege, and demanded remedy; but in vain; the house would take no notice of it. In the conclusion, after a very long debate, the major part of those who were present in the house voted the negative to what had been settled in the former debate, and "that the answer the king had given to their propositions was not satisfactory."

Those gentlemen who for some hours had been restrained in the court of wards were afterwards led in triumph through Westminster-hall, (except some few, who were suffered for affection, or by negligence, to go away,) by a strong guard, to that place under the exchequer which is commonly called Hell; where they might eat and drink, at their own charge, what they pleased. And here

they were kept in one room, till after twelve of the clock in the night: after which hour, in respect of the extreme cold weather, and the age of many of the members, they were carried to several inns; where they were suffered to lodge as prisoners, and remained under that confinement for two or three days. In which time, they published a protestation in print against the proceedings of the house of commons, declaring "the force and violence that had been used against them:" and then the house, with the remaining members, having determined what they thought fit, the other were at liberty to do what they pleased. Nobody owned this act of violence in the exclusion of so many members: there was no order made for it by the house. Fairfax the general knew nothing of it, and the guards themselves being asked "what authority they had," gave no other answer "but that they had orders." But afterwards there was a full and clear order of the house, without taking notice of any exclusion, "that none of them who had not been present that day when the negative vote prevailed should sit any more in the house, before they had first subscribed the same vote, as agreeable to their judgments; which if they subscribed, they were as well qualified members as before." Many of these excluded members, out of conscience or indignation, forbore coming any more to the house for many years; some, not before the revolution; others, sooner or later, returned to their old seats, that they might not be idle when so much business was to be done.

Then they renewed their old votes of no more addresses, and annulled and made void all those which introduced the treaty: and, that they might find no more such contradiction hereafter, they committed to several prisons major general Brown, (though he was then sheriff of London,) sir John Clotworthy, sir William Waller, major general Massey, and commissary general Copley, who were the most active members in the house of the presbyterian party, and who had all as maliciously advanced the service of the parliament in their several stations against the king as any men of their rank in the kingdom, and much more than any officer of the present army had then credit to do: of these, Massey made his escape, and transported himself into Holland; and there, according to the natural modesty of that sect, presented himself to the prince, with as much confidence (and as a sufferer for the king his father) as if he had defended Colchester.

The protestation that the secluded members had published and caused to be printed, with the narrative of the violence that had been exercised upon them, and their declaring all acts to be void which from that time had been done in the house of commons, made a great noise over the kingdom, and no less incensed those who remained and sat in the house, than it did the officers of the army; and therefore, to lessen the credit of it, the house likewise made a declaration against that protestation; and declared it "to be false, scandalous, and seditious, and tending to the destruction of the visible and fundamental government of the kingdom;" and to this wonderful declaration they obtained the concurrence of the small house of peers, and jointly ordained, "that that protestation should be suppressed, and that no man should presume to sell, or buy, or to read the same."

When they had in this manner mastered all contradiction and opposition, they begun more directly to consult what they were to do, as well as what they were not to do, and to establish some affirmative conclusions, as they had done negatives. They were told, "that it was high time to settle some form of government, under which the nation was to live: there had been much treasure and blood spent to recover the liberty of the people, which would be to no purpose if there were not provision made for their secure enjoying it; and there would be always the same attempts made, which had been of late, to disturb and to destroy the public peace, if there were not such exemplary penalties inflicted, as might terrify all men, of what condition soever, from entering upon such desperate undertakings." They resolved to gratify the army, by taking a view of a paper formerly digested by them as a model for a new government, which was called *the agreement of the people*, and for contriving and publishing whereof, one of the agitators had been, by Cromwell's directions, the year before, shot to death, when he found the parliament was so much offended with it. They declared now, as the most popular thing they could do to please both the people and the army, "that they would put an end to the parliament on the last day of April next; and that there should be a representative of the nation, consisting of three hundred persons chosen by the people; of which, for the term of seven years, no person who had adhered to the king, or who should oppose this agreement, or not subscribe thereunto, should be capable of being chosen to be one, or to have a voice in the election; and that, before that time, and before the dissolution of the present parliament, it would be necessary to bring those signal delinquents, who had lately disturbed the quiet and peace of the kingdom, and put it to so great an expense of blood and treasure, to exemplary punishment." And it was with great impudence very vehemently urged, "that they ought to begin with him who had been the cause of all the miseries, and mischiefs, which had befallen the kingdom, and whom they had already divested of all power and authority to govern them for the future; and they had already had near two years' experience, that the nation might be very happily governed without any recourse to him: that they had already declared, and the house of peers had concurred with them, that the king had been the cause of all the blood which had been spilt; and therefore, that it was fit that such a man of blood should be brought to justice, that he might undergo the penalty that was due to his tyranny and murders: that the people expected this at their hands; and that having the principal malfactor in their power, he might not escape the punishment that was due to him."

How new and monstrous soever this language and discourse was to all English ears, they found a major part still to concur with them: so that they appointed a committee for the present "to prepare a charge of high treason against the king, which should contain the several crimes and misdemeanours of his reign; which being made ready, they would consider of the best way and manner of proceeding, that he might be brought to justice."

This manner of proceeding in England was so unheard of, that it was very hard for any body to propose any way to oppose it that might carry with it any hope of success. However, the pain the prince was in would not suffer him to rest without making some effort. He knew too well how far the States of Holland were from wishing that success and honour to the crown of England, as it had deserved from them, and how much they had always favoured the rebellion; that his own presence was in no degree acceptable or grateful to them; and that they were devising all ways how they might be rid of him: yet he believed the way they were now upon in England would be so universally odious to all Christians, that no body of men would appear to favour it. His highness therefore sent to the States General, to desire them "to give him an audience the next day; and that he would come to the place where they sat;" which he did, being met by the whole body at the bottom of the stairs, and conducted into the room where they sat.

The prince was attended by four or five of his council; and when he had said a little to the States of compliment, he referred them to a paper which sir William Boswell, the king's resident there, was to deliver to them. The paper described shortly the ill condition the king his father was in; and the threats and menaces which his enemies used to proceed against him in such a manner as must be abominated by all Christians, and which would bring the greatest reproach and obloquy upon the protestant religion, that ever Christianity had undergone: and therefore desired them, "that they would interpose their credit, and authority, in such a manner as they thought fit, with the two houses at Westminster, that, instead of such an unlawful and wicked prosecution, they would enter into terms of accommodation with his royal father; for the observation whereof his royal highness would become bound."

The States assured his highness, "that they were very much afflicted at the condition of the king, and would be glad any interposition of theirs might be able to relieve him; that they would seriously consider in what manner they might serve him." And, that day, they resolved to send an extraordinary ambassador into England, who should repair to the prince of Wales, and receive his instructions to what friends of the king's he should resort, and consult with; who, being upon the place, might best inform him to whom to apply himself. And they made choice of Paw, the pensioner of Holland, for their ambassador; who immediately attended the prince with the offer of his service, and many professions of his desire that his journey might produce some good effect.

The council that was about the prince had looked upon Paw as a man that had always favoured the rebellion in England, and as much obstructed all civilities from the States towards the king, as was possible for him to do; and therefore they were very sorry that he was made choice of for ambassador in such a fatal conjuncture. But the prince of Orange assured the prince, "that he had used all his credit to compass that election; that he was the wisest man of their body; and that neither he, nor any of the rest, who had cherished the English rebellion more than he, ever desired it should prosper to that degree it had

done, as to endanger the changing the government;" and therefore wished "there might not appear any distrust of him, but that the prince would treat him with confidence, and some of the council would confer with him with freedom, upon any particulars which it would be necessary for him to be instructed in." But the wisdom of angels was not sufficient to give any effectual advice for such a negotiation, since the States could not be brought so much to interest themselves, as to use any menaces to the parliament as if they would embark themselves in the quarrel. So that the council could only wish, "that the ambassador would confer with such of the king's friends who were then at London, and whose relation had been most eminent towards his majesty; and receive advice from them, how he might most hopefully prevail over particular men, and thereby with the parliament." And so the ambassador departed for England, within less than a week after he was nominated for the employment.

At the same time, the queen of England, being struck to the heart with amazement and confusion upon the report of what the parliament intended, sent a paper to the agent who was employed there by the cardinal to keep a good correspondence; which she obliged him to deliver to the parliament. The paper contained a very passionate lamentation of the sad condition the king her husband was in; desiring "that they would grant her a pass to come over to him, offering to use all the credit she had with him, that he might give them satisfaction. However, if they would not give her leave to perform any of those offices towards the public, that she might be permitted to perform the duty she owed him, and to be near him in the uttermost extremity." Neither of these addresses did more than express the zeal of those who procured them to be made: the ambassador Paw could neither get leave to see the king, (which he was to endeavour to do, that he might from himself be instructed best what to do,) nor be admitted to an audience by the parliament, till after the tragedy was acted: and the queen's paper was delivered, and never considered in order to return any answer to it.

When the committee had prepared such a charge, which they called "an impeachment of high treason against Charles Stewart, king of England," digested into several articles, which contained all those calumnies they had formerly digested into that declaration of no more addresses to be made to him, with some additional reproaches, it was read in the house; and, after it was approved there, they sent it to the house of peers for their concurrence. That house had very little to do from the time that Cromwell returned from Scotland, and were few in number, and used to adjourn for two or three days together for want of business; so that it was believed, that they who had done so many mad things, rather than they would dissent from the house of commons, would likewise concur with them in this, rather than sever from them when they were so triumphant. But, contrary to this expectation, when this impeachment was brought up to the peers, it was so ill received, that there was not one person who concurred with them; which, considering the men and what most of them had done, might seem very strange. And when they had, with some warmth, rejected it,

they adjourned for a week; presuming they should thereby at least give some interruption to that career which the house of commons was upon, and, in that time, some expedient might be found to reconcile the proceedings in both houses. But they were as much deceived in this; the house of commons was very well pleased with it, and thought they had given them ease, which they could not so well have contrived for themselves. So they proceeded in their own method, and when the day came to which the lords had adjourned their house, they found their doors all locked, and fastened with padlocks, that there should then be no more entrance for them; nor did any of them ever after sit in that house as peers [above twice or thrice at most], till Cromwell, long after, endeavoured in vain to have erected a house of peers of his own creation; in which some of them then very willingly took their places.

The charge and accusation, upon which they resolved to proceed against the king, being thus settled and agreed upon, they begun to consider in what manner and form to proceed, that there might be some appearance of justice. Nothing could be found in the common or statute law, which could direct or warrant them; nor could the precedent of deposing Richard the Second (the sole precedent of that kind) be applied to their purpose: for, how foul soever the circumstances precedent had been, he had made a resignation of his royalty before the lords in parliament; so that his deposition proceeded from himself, and with his own consent, and would not agree in any particular with the case in question. So that they must make a new form to warrant their proceedings: and a new form they did erect, never before heard of. They constituted and erected a court that should be called "*the high court of justice*, to consist of so many judges, who should have authority to try the king, whether he were guilty of what he was accused of, or no; and, in order thereunto, to examine such witnesses as should be produced:" the number of the judges to be eight and forty, whereof the major part might proceed.

They could not have found such a number yet amongst themselves, after so many barbarities and impieties, upon whom they might depend in this last tragical act. And therefore they laid this for a ground; that if they should make only their own members to be judges in this case, they might appear in the eyes of the people to be too much parties, as having from the beginning maintained a war, though defensive, as they pretended, against the king, and so not so fit to be the only judges who were in the fault: on the other hand, if they should name none of themselves, it might be interpreted that they looked upon it as too dangerous a province to engage themselves in, and therefore they had put it off to others; which would discourage others from undertaking it. Wherefore they resolved, that the judges should be nominated promiscuously, as well of members of the house, as of such other of their good and godly men in the kingdom, as they should think fit to nominate. Whosoever would not be one himself when named, as there were yet many amongst them, who, out of conscience, or of fear, utterly protested against it, should take upon him to name another man; which sure he could not but think was equally unlawful: so that few took

upon them to nominate others, who would reject the province themselves.

All the chief officers of the army were named and divers accepted the office; and such aldermen and citizens of London, as had been most violent against peace, and some few country gentlemen, whose zeal had been taken notice of for the cause, and who were like to take such a preferment as a testimony of the parliament's confidence in them, and would thereupon embrace it. When such a number of men were nominated as were thought in all respects to be equal to the work, they were to make choice of a speaker, or prolocutor, who should be called lord president of that high court, who must manage and govern all the proceedings there, ask the witnesses all proper questions, and answer what the prisoner should propose. And to that office one Bradshaw was chosen, a lawyer of Gray's inn, not much known in Westminster-hall, though of good practice in his chamber, and much employed by the factious and discontented persons. He was a gentleman of an ancient family in Cheshire and Lancashire, but of a fortune of his own making. He was not without parts, and of great insolence and ambition. When he was first nominated, he seemed much surprised, and very resolute to refuse it; which he did in such a manner, and so much enlarging upon his own want of abilities to undergo so important a charge, that it was very evident he had expected to be put to that apology. And when he was pressed with more importunity than could have been used by chance, he required "time to consider of it;" and said, "he would then give his final answer;" which he did the next day; and with great humility accepted the office, which he administered with all the pride, impudence, and superciliousness imaginable. He was presently invested in great state, and many officers and a guard assigned for the security of his person, and the dean's house at Westminster given to him for ever for his residence and habitation, and a good sum of money, about five thousand pounds, was appointed to be presently paid to him, to put himself in such an equipage and way of living, as the dignity of the office which he held would require. And now, the lord president of the high court of justice seemed to be the greatest magistrate in England. And though it was not thought seasonable to make any such declaration, yet some of those whose opinions grew quickly into ordinances, upon several occasions, declared, "that they believed that office was not to be looked upon as necessary *pro hac vice* only, but for continuance; and that he who executed it deserved to have an ample and a liberal estate conferred upon him for ever:" which sudden mutation and exaltation of fortune could not but make a great impression upon a vulgar spirit, accustomed to no excesses, and acquainted only with a very moderate fortune. All this being done, they made choice of some lawyers (eminent for nothing but their obscurity, and that they were men scarce known) to perform the offices of attorney general, and solicitor general for the state, to prosecute the prisoner at his trial, and to manage the evidence against him. Other officers, of all kinds, were appointed to attend, and perform the several offices of their new court; which was ordered to be erected in Westminster-hall, for which such architects were ap-

pointed as were thought fit to give direction therein.

The king was now sent for from Hurst castle, and when he came out of the boat which transported him from thence he was received by colonel Harrison with a strong party of horse; by whom he was to be conducted to Windsor castle. Harrison was the son of a butcher near Nantwich in Cheshire, and had been bred up in the place of a clerk under a lawyer of good account in those parts; which kind of education introduces men into the language and practice of business, and, if it be not resisted by the great ingenuity of the person, imbues young men with more pride than any other kind of breeding; and disposes them to be pragmatical and insolent, though they have the skill to conceal it from their masters, except they find them (as they are too often) inclined to cherish it. When the rebellion first began, this man quitted his master, (who had relation to the king's service, and discharged his duty faithfully,) and put himself into the parliament army; where, having first obtained the office of a cornet, he got up, by diligence and sobriety, to the state of a captain, without any signal notice taken of him till the new model of the army; when Cromwell, who, possibly, had knowledge of him before, found him of a spirit and disposition fit for his service, much given to prayer and to preaching, and, otherwise, of an understanding capable to be trusted in any business; to which his clerkship contributed very much: and then he was preferred very fast; so that, by the time the king was brought to the army, he had been a colonel of horse, and looked upon as inferior to few, after Cromwell and Ireton, in the council of officers and in the government of the agitators; and there were few men with whom Cromwell more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the conduct of any thing committed to him. He received the king with outward respect, kept himself bare; but attended him with great strictness; and was not to be approached by any address; answering questions in short and few words, and, when importuned, with rudeness. He manifested an apprehension that the king had some thought of making an escape, and did all things in order to prevent it. Being to lodge at Windsor, and so to pass by Bagshot, the king expressed a desire to see his little park at Bagshot, and so to dine at the lodge there, a place where he had used to take much pleasure; and did not dissemble the knowing that the lord Newburgh, who had lately married the lady Aubigny, lived there; and said, "he would send a servant to let that lady know that he would dine with her, that she might provide a dinner for him." Harrison well knew the affection of that lord and lady, and was very unwilling he should make any stay there; but finding the king so fixt upon it, that he would not be otherwise removed from it than by not suffering him to go thither, he chose to consent, and that his majesty should send a servant; which he did the night before he intended to dine there.

Both lord and lady were of known duty and affection to the king; the lady, after her husband the lord Aubigny had been killed at Edge-hill, having so far incensed the parliament, that she had endured a long imprisonment, under a suspicion or evidence that she had been privy to the

design which had been discovered by Mr. Waller, upon which Tomkins and Challoner had been put to death, and had likewise herself been put to death, if she had not made her escape to Oxford. After the war was ended, she had, with the king's approbation, married the lord Newburgh; who had the same affections. They had, from the time of the king's being at Hampton Court, concerted with his majesty upon such means, that, in the strictest restraint he was under, they found a way to write to, and to hear from him. And most of the letters which passed between the king and the queen passed through their hands; who had likewise a cipher with the king, by which they gave him notice of any thing they judged of importance for him to know. They had given him notice that he would be sent for from Hurst castle, and advised him "to find some way that he might dine at the lodge at Bagshot; and that he should take occasion, if he could, to lame the horse he rode upon, or to find such fault with his going, that he might take another horse out of the lord Newburgh's stables to continue the rest of his journey upon." That lord much delighted in horses, and had, at that time, in his stables, the most notorious for fleetness that was in England; and the purpose was, to mount the king upon that horse, that, when he found a fit opportunity, he might, upon the sudden, set spurs to him; and, if he could get out of the company that encompassed him, he might, possibly, by the swiftness of his horse, and his own skill in the most obscure ways of that forest, convey himself to another place in their view; and so, three or four good horses were laid in several places. And this was the reason that the king had so earnestly insisted upon dining at Bagshot; which being in his way, and his custom being always to dine, they could not reasonably deny him that liberty.

Before the king came thither, Harrison had sent some horse with an officer to search the house, and all about the park, that he might be sure that no company lurked, which might make some attempt. And the king, all the morning, found fault with the going of his horse; and said, "he would change it, and procure a better." When his majesty came to the lodge, he found his dinner ready, but was quickly informed, "that the horse so much depended upon was, the day before, by the blow of another horse, so lamed, that he could not be of use to the purpose he was designed for." And though that lord had other good horses, which in such an exigent might be made use of, yet the king had observed so great difficulty to be in the attempt all his journey, when he was encompassed always in the middle of a hundred horse, the officers all exceedingly well horsed, and every man, officer and soldier, having a pistol ready spanned in one hand, that he resolved not to pursue that design. And Harrison had already told him, "that he had provided a better horse for him;" and it was believed he would never have permitted him to have made use of one of the lord Newburgh's. So that after having spent three or four hours there with very much satisfaction to himself, though he was not suffered to be in any room without the company of six or seven soldiers, who suffered little to be spoken, except it was so loud that they could hear it too, he took a sad farewell of them, appearing to



have little hope ever to see them again. The lord Newburgh rode some miles in the forest to wait upon the king, till he was required by Harrison to return. His majesty lodged that night at his castle of Windsor, and was soon after carried to St. James's. In this journey, Harrison observing that the king had always an apprehension that there was a purpose to murder him, and had once let fall some words of "the odiousness and wickedness of such an assassination and murder, which could never be safe to the person who undertook it;" he told him plainly, "that he needed not to entertain any such imagination or apprehension; that the parliament had too much honour and justice to cherish so foul an intention;" and assured him, "that whatever the parliament resolved to do would be very public, and in a way of justice; to which the world should be witness; and would never endure a thought of secret violence:" which his majesty could not persuade himself to believe; nor did imagine that they durst ever produce him in the sight of the people, under any form whatsoever of a public trial.

It hath been acknowledged since by some officers, and others who were present at the consultations, that from the time of the king's being at Hampton Court, and after the army had mastered both the parliament and the city, and were weary of having the king with them, and knew not well how to be rid of him, there were many secret consultations what to do with him. And it was generally concluded, "they should never be able to settle their new form of government whilst he lived:" and after he was become a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, they were more solicitous for a resolution and determination in that particular: and after the vote of no more addresses, the most violent party thought "they could do nothing in order to their own ends, till he should be first dead; and therefore, one way or other, that was to be compassed in the first place." Some were for an actual deposing him; which could not but be easily brought to pass, since the parliament would vote any thing they should be directed: others were for "the taking away his life by poison; which would make least noise;" or, "if that could not be so easily contrived, by assassination; for which there were hands enough ready to be employed." There was a third sort, as violent as either of the other, who pressed "to have him brought to a public trial as a malefactor; which," they said, "would be most for the honour of the parliament, and would teach all kings to know, that they were accountable and punishable for the wickedness of their lives."

Many of the officers were of the first opinion, "as a thing they had precedents for; and that he being once deposed, they could better settle the government than if he were dead; for his son could pretend no right whilst he was alive; whereas, if the father were dead, he would presently call himself king, and others would call him so too; and, it may be, other kings and princes would own him for such. If he were kept alive in a close prison, he might afterwards be made use of, or removed upon any appearance of a revolution."

There were as many officers of the second judgment, "that he should be presently despatched." They said, "it appeared by the experience they

"had, that whilst he was alive, (for a more strict imprisonment than he had undergone, he could never be confined to,) there would be always plots and designs to set him at liberty; and he would have parties throughout the kingdom; and, in a short time, a faction in their most secret councils, and it may be in the army itself; and, where his liberty would yield so great a price, it would be too great a trust to repose in any man, that he would long resist the temptation. Whereas, if he were confessedly dead, all those fears would be over; especially if they proceeded with that circumspection and severity towards all his party, as in prudence they ought to do." This party might probably have carried it, if Hammond could have been wrought upon to have concurred; but he had yet too much conscience to expose himself to that infamy; and without his privacy or connivance it could not be easily done.

The third party, which were all the levellers and agitators of the army, in the head of which Ireton and Harrison were, would not endure either of the other ways; and said, "they could as easily bring him to justice in the sight of the sun, as depose him; since the authority of the parliament could do one as well as the other: that their precedent of deposing had no reputation with the people; but was looked upon as the effect of some potent faction, which always oppressed the people more after, than they had been before. Besides, those depositions had always been attended with assassinations and murders, which were the more odious and detested, because nobody owned and avowed the bloody actions they had done. But if he were brought to a public trial, for the notorious ill things he had done, and for his misgovernment, upon the complaint and prosecution of the people, the superiority of the people would be hereby vindicated and made manifest; and they should receive the benefit, and be for ever free from those oppressions which he had imposed upon them, and for which he ought to pay so dear; and such an exemplary proceeding and execution as this, where every circumstance should be clear and notorious, would be the best foundation and security of the government they intended to establish; and no man would be ambitious to succeed him, and be a king in his place, when he saw in what manner he must be accountable to the people." This argumentation, or the strength and obstinacy of that party, carried it: and, hereupon, all that formality of proceeding, which afterwards was exercised, was resolved upon and consented to.

Whether the incredulity or monstrousness of such a kind of proceeding wrought upon the minds of men, or whether the principal actors took pains, by their insinuations, to have it so believed, but it is very strange that they who wished the king best, and stood nearest to the stage where these parts were acted, did not believe that there were those horrid intentions that shortly after appeared. The preachers, who had sounded the trumpets loudest to, and throughout the war, preached now as furiously against all wicked attempts and violence against the person of the king, and foolishly urged the obligation of the covenant (by which they had involved him in all the danger he was in) for the security of his person.



As soon as the prince heard of the king's being carried by Harrison to Windsor, and from thence to St. James's, though he had lately sent a servant on purpose to see his majesty, and to bring him an account of the state he was in, which servant was not permitted to see him, he sent now another with a letter to Fairfax and the council of war, (for he knew the parliament had no authority,) in which he told them, "that he had no other means to be informed of the health and condition of the king his royal father, but by the common prints, and general intelligences that arrived in those parts: he had reason by those to believe, that, after the expiration of the treaty in the Isle of Wight, (where he hoped the foundation for a happy peace had been laid,) his majesty had been carried to Hurst castle; and since, by some officers of the army, to Windsor, not without purpose of a more violent prosecution; the rumour whereof, though of so monstrous and incredible a nature, had called upon his piety to make this address to them; who had at this time the power to choose, whether they would raise lasting monuments to themselves of loyalty and piety, by restoring their sovereign to his just rights, and their country to peace and happiness, a glory which had been seldom absolutely vouchsafed to so small a number of men, or to make themselves the authors of endless misery to the kingdom, by contributing or consenting to an act which all Christians, into how different opinions soever divided, must abhor as the most inconsistent with the elements of any religion, and destructive to the security and being of any kind of government: he did therefore earnestly desire and conjure them, sadly to consider the vast and prodigious disproportion in that election; and then," he said, "he could not doubt but that they would choose to do that which is most just, safe, and honourable for them to do; make themselves the blest instruments to preserve, defend, and restore their king; to whom only their allegiance was due; by which every one of them might justly promise themselves peace of conscience, the singular good-will and favour of his majesty, the ample thanks and acknowledgment of all good men, and the particular and unalterable affection of the prince himself." This letter was, with much ado, delivered into the hands of Fairfax himself; but the messenger could never be admitted to speak with him; nor was there more known, than that it was read in the council of war, and laid aside.

From the time of the king's being come to St. James's, when he was delivered into the hands and custody of colonel Tomlinson, a colonel of foot, though the officer seemed to be a man of a better breeding, and of a nature more civil than Harrison, and pretended to pay much respect and duty to the king in his outward demeanour, yet his majesty was treated with more rudeness and barbarity than he had ever been before. No man was suffered to see or speak to him, but the soldiers who were his guard, some of whom sat up always in his bedchamber, and drank, and took tobacco, as if they had been upon the court of guard; nor was he suffered to go into any other room, either to say his prayers, or to receive the ordinary benefits of nature, but was obliged to do both in their presence and before them: and yet they were so jealous of these their janizaries, that they might

be wrought upon by the influence of this innocent prince, or by the remorse of their own conscience upon the exercise of so much barbarity, that they caused the guards to be still changed; and the same men were never suffered twice to perform the same monstrous duty.

When he was first brought to Westminster-hall, which was upon the twentieth of January, before their high court of justice, he looked upon them, and sat down, without any manifestation of trouble, never stirring his hat; all the impudent judges sitting covered, and fixing their eyes upon him, without the least show of respect. The odious libel, which they called a charge and impeachment, was then read by the clerk; which contained, "that he had been admitted king of England, and trusted with a limited power to govern according to law; and, by his oath and office, was obliged to use the power committed to him for the good and benefit of the people: but that he had, out of a wicked design to erect to himself an illimited and tyrannical power, and to overthrow the rights and liberties of the people, traitorously levied war against the present parliament, and the people therein represented." And then it mentioned his first appearance at York with a guard, then his being at Beverly, then his setting up his standard at Nottingham, the day of the month and the year in which the battle had been at Edge-hill, and all the other several battles which had been fought in his presence; "in which," it said, "he had caused and procured many thousands of the freeborn people of the nation to be slain: that after all his forces had been defeated, and himself become a prisoner, he had, in that very year, caused many insurrections to be made in England, and given a commission to the prince his son to raise a new war against the parliament; whereby many who were in their service, and trusted by them, had revolted, broken their trust, and betook themselves to the service of the prince against the parliament and the people: that he had been the author and contriver of the unnatural, cruel, and bloody wars; and was therein guilty of all the treasons, murders, rapines, burnings, and spoils, desolations, damage, and mischief to the nation, which had been committed in the said war, or been occasioned thereby; and that he was therefore impeached for the said treasons and crimes, on the behalf of the people of England, as a tyrant, traitor, and murderer, and a public implacable enemy to the commonwealth of England." And it was prayed, "that he might be put to answer to all the particulars, to the end that such an examination, trial, and judgment, might be had thereupon, as should be agreeable to justice."

Which being read, their president Bradshaw, after he had insolently reprehended the king "for not having stirred his hat, or shewed more respect to that high tribunal," told him, "that the parliament of England had appointed that court to try him for the several treasons, and misdemeanours, which he had committed against the kingdom during the evil administration of his government; and that, upon the examination thereof, justice might be done." And, after a great sauciness and impudence of talk, he asked the king, "what answer he had to make to that impeachment."

The king, without any alteration in his coun-

tenance by all that insolent provocation, told them, "he would first know of them, by what authority they presumed by force to bring him before them, and who gave them power to judge of his actions, for which he was accountable to none but God; though they had been always such as he need not be ashamed to own them before all the world." He told them, "that he was their king, they his subjects; who owed him duty and obedience: that no parliament had authority to call him before them; but that they were not the parliament, nor had any authority from the parliament to sit in that manner: that of all the persons who sat there, and took upon them to judge him, except those persons who being officers of the army he could not but know whilst he was forced to be amongst them, there were only two faces which he had ever seen before, or whose names were known to him." And, after urging "their duty, that was due to him, and his superiority over them," by such lively reasons, and arguments, as were not capable of any answer, he concluded, "that he would not so much betray himself, and his royal dignity, as to answer any thing they objected against him, which were to acknowledge their authority; though he believed that every one of themselves, as well as the spectators, did, in their own consciences, absolve him from all the material things which were objected against him."

Bradshaw advised him, in a very arrogant manner, "not to deceive himself with an opinion that any thing he had said would do him any good: that the parliament knew their own authority, and would not suffer it to be called in question or debated:" therefore wished him, "to think better of it, against he should be next brought thither, and that he would answer directly to his charge; otherwise, he could not be so ignorant, as not to know what judgment the law pronounced against those who stood mute, and obstinately refused to plead." So the guard carried his majesty back to St. James's; where they treated him as before.

There was an accident happened that first day, which may be fit to be remembered. When all those who were commissioners had taken their places, and the king was brought in, the first ceremony was, to read their commission; which was the ordinance of parliament for the trial; and then the judges were all called, every man answering to his name as he was called, and the president being first called and making answer, the next who was called being the general, lord Fairfax, and no answer being made, the officer called him the second time, when there was a voice heard that said, "he had more wit than to be there;" which put the court into some disorder, and somebody asking, who it was, there was no other answer but a little murmuring. But, presently, when the impeachment was read, and that expression used, of "all the good people of England," the same voice in a louder tone answered, "No, nor the hundredth part of them:" upon which, one of the officers bid the soldiers give fire into that box whence those presumptuous words were uttered. But it was quickly discerned that it was the general's wife, the lady Fairfax, who had uttered both those sharp sayings; who was presently persuaded or forced to leave the place, to prevent any new disorder. She was of a very noble extraction, one of

the daughters and heirs of Horace Lord Vere of Tilbury; who, having been bred in Holland, had not that reverence for the church of England, as she ought to have had, and so had unhappily concurred in her husband's entering into rebellion, never imagining what misery it would bring upon the kingdom; and now abhorred the work in hand as much as any body could do, and did all she could to hinder her husband from acting any part in it. Nor did he ever sit in that bloody court, though out of the stupidity of his soul he was throughout overwitted by Cromwell, and made a property to bring that to pass which could very hardly have been otherwise effected.

As there was in many persons present at that woful spectacle a real duty and compassion for the king, so there was in others so barbarous and brutal a behaviour towards him, that they called him tyrant and murderer; and one spit in his face; which his majesty, without expressing any trouble, wiped off with his handkerchief.

The two men who were only known to the king before the troubles, were sir Harry Mildmay, master of the king's jewel-house, who had been bred up in the court, being younger brother of a good family in Essex, and who had been prosecuted with so great favours and bounties by king James, and by his majesty, that he was raised by them to a great estate, and preferred to that office in his house, which is the best under those which entitle the officers to be of the privy council. No man more obsequious to the court than he, whilst it flourished; a great flatterer of all persons in authority, and a spy in all places for them. From the beginning of the parliament, he concurred with those who were most violent against the court, and most like to prevail against it; and being thereupon branded with ingratitude, as that brand commonly makes men most impudent, he continued his desperate pace with them, till he became one of the murderers of his master. The other was sir John Danvers, the younger brother and heir of the earl of Danby, who was a gentleman of the privy chamber to the king, and being neglected by his brother, and having, by a vain expense in his way of living, contracted a vast debt, which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud, formal, weak man, between being seduced and a seducer, became so far involved in their counsels, that he suffered himself to be applied to their worst offices, taking it to be a high honour to sit upon the same bench with Cromwell, who employed and contemned him at once: nor did that party of miscreants look upon any two men in the kingdom with that scorn and detestation, as they did upon Danvers and Mildmay.

The several unheard of insolences which this excellent prince was forced to submit to, at the other times he was brought before that odious judicatory, his majestic behaviour under so much insolence, and resolute insisting upon his own dignity, and defending it by manifest authorities in the law, as well as by the clearest deductions from reason, the pronouncing that horrible sentence upon the most innocent person in the world, the execution of that sentence by the most execrable murder that was ever committed since that of our blessed Saviour, and the circumstances thereof; the application and interposition that was used by some noble persons to prevent that woful murder, and the hypocrisy with which that inter-

position was eluded, the saint-like behaviour of that blessed martyr, and his Christian courage and patience at his death, are all particulars so well known, and have been so much enlarged upon in a treatise peculiarly writ to that purpose, that the farther mentioning it in this place would but afflict and grieve the reader, and make the relation itself odious as well as needless; and therefore no more shall be said here of that lamentable tragedy, so much to the dishonour of the nation, and the religion professed by it.

But it will not be unnecessary to add a short character of his person, that posterity may know the inestimable loss which the nation then underwent, in being deprived of a prince, whose example would have had a greater influence upon the manners and piety of the nation, than the most strict laws can have. To speak first of his private qualifications as a man, before the mention of his princely and royal virtues; he was, if ever any, the most worthy of the title of an honest man; so great a lover of justice, that no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful action, except it was so disguised to him that he believed it to be just. He had a tenderness and compassion of nature, which restrained him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing: and therefore he was so apt to grant pardon to malefactors, that the judges of the land represented to him the damage and insecurity to the public, that flowed from such his indulgence. And then he restrained himself from pardoning either murders or highway robberies, and quickly discerned the fruits of his severity by a wonderful reformation of those enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his devotions; he was never known to enter upon his recreations or sports, though never so early in the morning, before he had been at public prayers; so that on hunting days his chaplains were bound to a very early attendance. He was likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private cabinet devotions; and was so severe an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of religion, that he could never endure any light or profane word, with what sharpness of wit soever it was covered: and though he was well pleased and delighted with reading verses made upon any occasion, no man durst bring before him any thing that was profane or unclean. That kind of wit had never any countenance then. He was so great an example of conjugal affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular did not brag of their liberty: and he did not only permit, but direct his bishops to prosecute those scandalous vices, in the ecclesiastical courts, against persons of eminence, and near relation to his service.

His kingly virtues had some mixture and alloy, that hindered them from shining in full lustre, and from producing those fruits they should have been attended with. He was not in his nature very bountiful, though he gave very much. This appeared more after the duke of Buckingham's death, after which those showers fell very rarely; and he paused too long in giving, which made those, to whom he gave, less sensible of the benefit. He kept state to the full, which made his court very orderly; no man presuming to be seen in a place where he had no pretence to be. He saw and observed men long, before he received them about his person; and did not love strangers; nor very confident men. He was a patient

hearer of causes; which he frequently accustomed himself to at the council board; and judged very well, and was dexterous in the mediating part: so that he often put an end to causes by persuasion, which the stubbornness of men's humours made dilatory in courts of justice.

He was very fearless in his person, but not very enterprising. He had an excellent understanding, but was not confident enough of it; which made him oftentimes change his own opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of men that did not judge so well as himself. This made him more irresolute than the conjuncture of his affairs would admit: if he had been of a rougher and more imperious nature he would have found more respect and duty. And his not applying some severe cures to approaching evils proceeded from the lenity of his nature, and the tenderness of his conscience, which, in all cases of blood, made him choose the softer way, and not hearken to severe counsels, how reasonably soever urged. This only restrained him from pursuing his advantage in the first Scottish expedition, when, humanly speaking, he might have reduced that nation to the most slavish obedience that could have been wished. But no man can say he had then many who advised him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful indisposition all his council had to fighting, or any other fatigue. He was always an immoderate lover of the Scottish nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that people, and besieged by them always, having few English about him till he was king; and the major number of his servants being still of that nation, who he thought could never fail him. And among these, no man had such an ascendant over him, by the humblest insinuations, as duke Hamilton had.

As he excelled in all other virtues, so in temperance he was so strict, that he abhorred all debauchery to that degree, that, at a great festival solemnity, where he once was, when very many of the nobility of the English and Scots were entertained, being told by one who withdrew from thence, what vast draughts of wine they drank, and "that there was one earl, who had drank most of the rest down, and was not himself moved or altered," the king said, "that he deserved to be hanged;" and that earl coming shortly after into the room where his majesty was, in some gayety, to shew how unhurt he was from that battle, the king sent one to bid him withdraw from his majesty's presence; nor did he in some days after appear before him.

So many miraculous circumstances contributed to his ruin, that men might well think that heaven and earth and the stars designed it. Though he was, from the first declension of his power, so much betrayed by his own servants, that there were very few who remained faithful to him, yet that treachery proceeded not from any treasonable purpose to do him any harm, but from particular and personal animosities against other men. And, afterwards, the terror all men were under of the parliament, and the guilt they were conscious of themselves, made them watch all opportunities to make themselves gracious to those who could do them good; and so they became spies upon their master, and from one piece of knavery were hardened and confirmed to undertake another; till at last they had no hope of preservation but by

the destruction of their master. And after all this, when a man might reasonably believe that less than a universal defection of three nations could not have reduced a great king to so ugly a fate, it is most certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus wickedly murdered in the sight of the sun, he had as great a share in the hearts and affections of his subjects in general, was as much beloved, esteemed, and longed for by the people in general of the three nations, as any of his predecessors had ever been. To conclude, he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived produced. And if he were not the best king, if he were without some parts and qualities which have made some kings great and happy, no other prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice.

This unparalleled murder and parricide was committed upon the thirtieth of January, in the year, according to the account used in England, 1648, in the forty and ninth year of his age, and when he had such excellent health, and so great vigour of body, that when his murderers caused him to be opened, (which they did, and were some of them present at it with great curiosity,) they confessed and declared, "that no man had ever all his vital parts so perfect and unhurt: and that he seemed to be of so admirable a composition and constitution, that he would probably have lived as long as nature could subsist." His body was immediately carried into a room at Whitehall; where he was exposed for many days to the public view, that all men might know that he was not alive. And he was then embalmed, and put into a coffin, and so carried to St. James's; where he likewise remained several days. They who were qualified to look after that province declared, "that he should be buried at Windsor in a decent manner, provided that the whole expense should not exceed five hundred pounds." The duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, who had been of his bedchamber, and always very faithful to him, desired those who governed, "that they might have leave to perform the last duty to their dead master, and to wait upon him to his grave;" which, after some pauses, they were permitted to do, with this, "that they should not attend the corpse out of the town; since they resolved it should be privately carried to Windsor without pomp or noise, and then they should have timely notice, that, if they pleased, they might be at his interment." And accordingly it was committed to four of those servants, who had been by them appointed to wait upon him during his imprisonment, that they should convey the body to Windsor; which they did. And it was, that night, placed in that chamber which had usually been his bedchamber: the next morning, it was carried into the great hall; where it remained till the lords came; who arrived there in the afternoon, and immediately went to colonel Whitcot, the governor of the castle, and shewed the order they had from the parliament to be present at the burial; which he admitted: but when they desired that his majesty might be buried according to the form of the Common Prayer Book, the bishop of London being present with them to

officiate, he expressly, positively and roughly refused to consent to it; and said, "it was not lawful; that the Common Prayer Book was put down, and he would not suffer it to be used in that garrison where he commanded;" nor could all the reasons, persuasions, and entreaties, prevail with him to suffer it. Then they went into the church, to make choice of a place for burial. But when they entered into it, which they had been so well acquainted with, they found it so altered and transformed, all tombs, inscriptions, and those landmarks pulled down, by which all men knew every particular place in that church, and such a dismal mutation over the whole, that they knew not where they were: nor was there one old officer that had belonged to it, or knew where our princes had used to be interred. At last there was a fellow of the town who undertook to tell them the place, where, he said, "there was a vault, in which king Harry the Eighth and queen Jane Seymour were interred." As near that place as could conveniently be, they caused the grave to be made. There the king's body was laid without any words, or other ceremonies than the tears and sighs of the few beholders. Upon the coffin was a plate of silver fixed with these words only, *King Charles 1648*. When the coffin was put in, the black velvet pall that had covered it was thrown over it, and then the earth thrown in; which the governor stayed to see perfectly done, and then took the keys of the church, which was seldom put to any use.

I have been the longer and the more particular in this relation, that I may from thence take occasion to mention what fell out long after, and which administered a subject of much discourse: in which, according to the several humours and fancies of men, they who were in nearest credit and trust about the king underwent many very severe censures and reproaches, not without reflection upon the king himself. Upon the return of king Charles the Second with so much congratulation, and universal joy of the people, above ten years after the murder of his father, it was generally expected that the body should be removed from that obscure burial, and, with such ceremony as should be thought fit, should be solemnly deposited with his royal ancestors in king Harry the Seventh's chapel in the collegiate church of Westminster. And the king himself intended nothing more, and spoke often of it, as if it were only deferred till some circumstances and ceremonies in the doing it might be adjusted. But, by degrees, the discourse of it was diminished, as if it were totally laid aside upon some reasons of state, the ground whereof several men guessed at according to their fancies, and thereupon cast those reproaches upon the statesmen as they thought reasonable, when the reasons which were suggested by their own imaginations did not satisfy their understanding. For the satisfaction and information of all men, I choose in this place to explain that matter; which, it may be, is not known to many; and at that time was not, for many reasons, thought fit to be published. The duke of Richmond was dead before the king returned; the marquis of Hertford died in a short time after, and was seldom out of his lodging after his majesty came to Whitehall: the earl of Southampton and the earl of Lindsey went to Windsor, and took with them such of their own servants as

had attended them in that service, and as many others as they remembered had been then present, and were still alive; who all amounted to a small number; there being, at the time of the interment, great strictness used in admitting any to be present whose names were not included in the order which the lords had brought. In a word, the confusion they had at that time observed to be in that church, all things pulled down which distinguished between the body of the church and choir, and the small alterations which were begun to be made towards decency, so totally perplexed their memories, that they could not satisfy themselves in what place or part of the church the royal body was interred: yet, where any concurred upon this or that place, they caused the ground to be opened at a good distance, and, upon such inquiries, found no cause to believe that they were near the place: and, upon their giving this account to the king, the thought of that remove was laid aside; and the reason communicated to very few, for the better discountenancing farther inquiry.

Though this wicked and abominable action had to a degree satisfied their malice, it had not enough provided for their ambition or security. They had no sooner freed themselves from one, than another king was grown up in his place. And besides the old royal party, which continued still vigorous, notwithstanding their loss of so much blood, and (which weakens almost as much) of so great estates, they did apprehend that there were in the vast number of the guilty (who quietly looked on upon the removal of the old, whom they had so grievously offended) who would yet be very willing to submit, and be obedient to the new king; who was like to find more friends abroad, as well as at home, than his father had done. And therefore they made haste to prevent this threatening evil, by publishing a proclamation, "that no person whatsoever should presume to declare Charles Stuart, son of the late Charles, commonly called the prince of Wales, or any other person, to be king, or chief magistrate of England, or Ireland, or of any dominions belonging thereunto, by colour of inheritance, succession, election, or any other claim whatsoever; and that whoever, contrary to this act, presume to proclaim, &c. should be deemed and adjudged a traitor, and suffer accordingly."

In the next place, that their infant republic might be nursed, cherished, and brought up by those only who had begotten and brought it forth, they resolved to take away and abolish the house of peers, and voted, "that they would make no farther addresses to the house of lords, nor receive any more from them: that the house of peers, in parliament, was useless and dangerous; and that an act should be brought in for abolishing it: that the privilege of the peers, of being freed from arrests, should be declared null and void;" all which was done within few days. However, they declared, "that the peers should have the privilege to be elected knights, or burgesses;" of which gracious concession some of them took the benefit soon after, and sat upon their election into vacant places, in the house of commons.

There remained yet another provision to be made against their own ambition; for it was well known, that there were yet amongst them many who were not equally fond of a commonwealth;

and therefore they declared, "that it had been found by experience, that the office of a king in this nation, or to have the power thereof in any single person, was unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, and safety, and public interest of the nation; and therefore that it should be utterly abolished; and to that purpose an act should be forthwith prepared:" which was likewise done, and passed. And by this triple cord they believed their republic would be strongly compacted, and sufficiently provided for.

Their new great seal was by this time ready; whereon was engraven, on one side, the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription, *The great seal of England*; and on the other side the portraiture of the house of commons sitting, circumscribed, *In the first year of freedom by God's blessing restored*, 1648. The custody of this great seal was committed to three lawyers, whereof one had sat among the king's judges, and the others had contributed too much to their service. All things being now in this good order, they sent for their judges, to agree upon the formality and circumstances of proceedings. For it was declared by the parliament, "that they were fully resolved to maintain and uphold the fundamental laws of the nation, in order to the preservation of the lives, property, and liberty of the people, notwithstanding all the alterations made in the government for the good of the people:" and the writs were no more to run in the king's name, as they had always done, but the name, style, and test, to be *Custodes libertatis Angliæ, autoritate parliamenti*. If it were not a thing so notoriously known, it could not be believed, that of twelve judges, whereof ten were of their own making, and the other two had quietly submitted, from the beginning of the war, to the authority that governed, six laid down their places, and could not give themselves leave to accept commissions from the new established power. So aguish and fantastical a thing is the conscience of men who have once departed from the rule of conscience, in hope to be permitted to adhere to it again upon a less pressing occasion.

It will require, at least it may not be unfit, to rest and make a pause in this place, to take a view, and behold with what countenance the kings and princes of Christendom had their eyes fixed upon this woful bloody spectacle; how they looked upon that issue of blood, at which their own seemed to be so prodigally poured out; with what consternation their hearts laboured to see the impious hands of the lowest and basest subjects bathing in the bowels and reeking blood of their sovereign; a brother king, the anointed of the Lord, dismembered as a malefactor; what combination and union was entered into, to take vengeance upon those monsters, and to vindicate the royal blood thus wickedly spilt. Alas! there was not a murmur amongst any of them at it; but, as if they had been all called upon in the language of the prophet Isaiah, *Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from the beginning hitherto, to a nation meted out, and trodden down, whose lands the rivers have spoiled, they made haste, and sent over, that they might get shares in the spoils of a murdered monarch.*

Cardinal Mazarine, who, in the infancy of the French king, managed that sceptre, had long adored the conduct of Cromwell, and sought his

friendship by a lower and viler application than was suitable to the purple of a cardinal, sent now to be admitted as a merchant to traffic in the purchase of the rich goods and jewels of the rifled crown, of which he purchased the rich beds, hangings, and carpets, which furnished his palace at Paris. The king of Spain had, from the beginning of the rebellion, kept don Alonzo de Cardinas, who had been his ambassador to the king, residing still at London; and he had, upon several occasions, many audiences from the parliament, and several treaties on foot; and as soon as this dismal murder was over, that ambassador, who had always a great malignity towards the king, bought as many pictures, and other precious goods appertaining to the crown, as, being sent in ships to the Corunna in Spain, were carried from thence to Madrid upon eighteen mules. Christina, queen of Sweden, purchased the choice of all the medals, and jewels, and some pictures of a great price, and received Cromwell's ambassador with great joy and pomp, and made an alliance with them. The archduke Leopold, who was governor of Flanders, disbursed a great sum of money for many of the best pictures, which adorned the several palaces of the king; which were all brought to him to Brussels, and from thence carried by him into Germany. In this manner did the neighbour princes join to assist Cromwell with very great sums of money, whereby he was enabled to prosecute and finish his wicked victory over what yet remained unconquered, and to extinguish monarchy in this renowned kingdom; whilst they enriched and adorned themselves with the ruins and spoils of the surviving heir, without applying any part thereof to his relief, in the greatest necessities which ever king was subject to. And that which is stranger than all this, and more wonderful, (since most men, by recovering their fortunes, use to recover most of what they were before robbed of, many who joined in the robbery pretending that they took care to preserve it for the true owner,) not one of all these princes ever restored any of their unlawful purchases to the king, after his blessed restoration.

Whilst these perfidious wretches had their hands still reeking in the precious blood of their sovereign, they were put upon a new piece of butchery, as necessary to the establishment of their new tyranny. The king was no sooner dead, but they declared, as hath been said, "that from this time England should be governed as a commonwealth by the parliament;" that is, by that handful of men, who by their wisdom and power had wrought this wonderful alteration. And because the number of those appeared very small, and the number of those they had excluded was as visible, they made an order and declaration, "that as many of the members who had been excluded, as would under their hands approve all that had been done during the time they were excluded, should return to their seats in the house without any prejudice for the future." Hereupon very many went again into the house, satisfying themselves that they were not guilty of the innocent royal blood that had been spilt; and so their number increased. They had made a new great seal, as hath been said, and called the commissioners, who were entrusted with the keeping thereof, *the keepers of the liberties of England*. And the court of king's bench they called the *upper bench*, and ap-

pointed certain persons to consider of such alterations as were necessary to be made in the laws of England, in regard of so important a mutation. That they might have some obligation of obedience from their subjects for the future, who had broken all the former oaths which they had taken, a new oath was prepared and established, which they called an *engagement*; the substance whereof was, that every man should swear, "that he would be true and faithful to the government established without king or house of peers, and that he would never consent to the readmitting either of them again, or words to that effect:" and whosoever refused to take that engagement should be incapable of holding any place or office in church or state. The necessity of taking which oath did not only exclude all of the royal party, but freed them from very many who had offices in church and state, who, being of the presbyterian party, durst not sacrifice their beloved covenant to this new engagement. And so they filled many considerable places, both in the one and the other, with men thoroughly prepared for their service. But before they could model and finish all this, and whilst it was preparing, they had, in several parts of the kingdom, terrified the people with bloody spectacles, in the executing many of the persons who had been taken. And, that all hopes and pretences might be taken away from their subjects, the peers of England, that they should hereafter have any thing to do in declaring what the fundamental laws of the land were, a new high court of justice was appointed to sit for the trial of duke Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the earl of Norwich, the lord Capel, and another gentleman, one sir John Owen, (who, having been heretofore a colonel in the king's army, had in a late insurrection in Wales killed the high sheriff,) that they might see there should hereafter be no more distinction of quality in trials for life, but that the greatest lord and the meanest peasants should undergo the same judicatory, and form of trial. Nor could it be thought unreasonable, that all the creations of the crown should be determined by that jurisdiction to which the crown itself had been subjected.

Duke Hamilton could not well be thought other than a prisoner of war, and so not liable to a trial for his life. But his own conscience had given him a shrewd presage, when it tempted him to make an escape, which he had so luckily performed, that he was out of his enemies' hands full three days; but, being impatient to be at a greater distance from them, he was apprehended as he was taking horse in Southwark; and carried prisoner into the tower; from whence he was brought, with the others, before that high court of justice. He insisted upon "the right and privilege of the kingdom of Scotland; that it had not the least dependence upon the kingdom of England, but was entirely governed by its own laws: that he, being a subject of that kingdom, was bound to obey the commands thereof; and the parliament of that kingdom having thought it necessary to raise an army for the relief of their king, and constituted him general of that army, it was not lawful for him to refuse the command thereof; and whatever misfortune he had undergone with it, he could not be understood to be liable to any punishment but what a prisoner of war was bound to undergo." He was told, "that the rights and laws of the kingdom of Scotland









Engraved by W. Finden.

**JAMES, DUKE OF HAMILTON.**

**OB. 1649.**

**FROM THE ORIGINAL, OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF**

**HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.**



"were not called in question, nor could be violated by their proceedings against him, who was a subject of England; against which he was charged with rebellion and treason: that they did not proceed against him as duke Hamilton of Scotland, but as earl of Cambridge in England, and they would judge him as such." The earl of Holland was not at that time in a good disposition of health, and so answered little, as a man that would rather receive his life by their favour, than from the strength of his defence. The earl of Norwich behaved himself with great submission to the court, and with all those addresses as were most like to reconcile his judges to him, and to prevail over their affections: spoke of "his being bred up in the court from his cradle, in the time of queen Elizabeth; of his having been a servant to king James all his reign; of his dependence upon prince Harry; afterwards upon the late king; of the obligations he had to the crown, and of his endeavours to serve it;" and concluded as a man that would be beholding to them, if they would give him leave to live.

The lord Capel appeared undaunted, and utterly refused to submit to their jurisdiction; "that in the condition and capacity of a soldier and a prisoner of war, he said, the lawyers and gownmen had nothing to do with him, and therefore he would not answer to any thing which they had said against him;" (Prideaux having treated him with great rudeness and insolence;) but insisted upon "the law of nations, which exempted all prisoners, though submitting to mercy, from death, if it was not inflicted within so many days: which were long since expired." He urged "the declaration which Fairfax the general had made to him, and the rest of the prisoners, after the death of sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle; that no other of their lives should be in danger, which he had witnesses ready to prove, if they might be admitted;" and concluded, "that, if he had committed any offence worthy of death, he might be tried by his peers: which was his right by the laws of the land; the benefit whereof he required." Ireton, who was present, and sat as one of his judges, denied "that the general had made any such promise, and if he had, that the parliament's authority could not be restrained thereby;" and put him in mind of his carriage at that time, and how much he neglected then the general's civility. The other insisted still on the promise; and urged, "that the general might be sent for and examined," which they knew not how to deny; but, in regard of his indisposition of health, they said they could not expect he should come in person, but they would send to him for his testimony in writing, whilst they proceeded against sir John Owen, who was the other prisoner.

He answered them without any application, "that he was a plain gentleman of Wales, who had been always taught to obey the king; that he had served him honestly during the war, and finding afterwards that many honest men endeavoured to raise forces, whereby they might get him out of prison, he did the like; and the high sheriff endeavoured to oppose him, and so chanced to be killed; which he might have avoided, if he had stayed at home:" and concluded like a man that did not much care what they resolved concerning him.

Whether the question was well stated to Fairfax, or what was else said to him to dissuade him from owning his declaration and promise, he boggled so much in his answer, that they would be of opinion, "that he had not made such direct and positive promise; and that the same was never transmitted to the parliament; which it ought to have been; and that, at most, it could but exempt those prisoners from being tried before a court, or council of war, and could not be understood as an obligation upon the parliament, not to give direction to such a legal proceeding against them, as they should find necessary for the peace and safety of the kingdom." The president Bradshaw told the lord Capel, with many insolent expressions, "that he was tried before such judges as the parliament thought fit to assign him; and who had judged a better man than himself." So the sentence of death was pronounced against all five of them, "that they should lose their heads;" upon which sir John Owen made a low reverence, and gave them humble thanks; and being asked by a stander by, "what he meant?" he said aloud, "it was a very great honour to a poor gentleman of Wales to lose his head with such noble lords;" and swore a great oath, "that he was afraid they would have hanged him."

The prisoners were all carried to St. James's; where they were to remain till their execution two days after; which time their friends and relations had to endeavour to preserve their lives by the power and authority of the parliament; where there were so many sitting who had not sat in judgment upon them, and who were of several affections, and liable to several temptations, that there might be a reasonable hope to rescue them from the cruel and unjust judgment. Their wives, and children, and friends, left no way untried to prevail; offered and gave money to some who were willing to receive it, and made promises accordingly. But they who had the greatest credit, and most power to terrify others who should displease them, were inexorable; yet dead so much more honestly than the rest, that they declared to the ladies, who solicited for their husbands and their fathers, "that they would not endeavour to do them service." Ireton, above all men, continued his insolent and dogged humour, (*sevus ille vultus et robur a quo se contra pudorem muniebat*;) and told them, "if he had credit, they should all die." Others, who gave better words, had no better meaning than he.

All their petitions were read in order, being penned in such styles as the friends, who solicited for them, were advised. Duke Hamilton's petition being read, many, upon the motives of justice, and as they imagined his death might be the occasion of new troubles between the two nations, since Scotland could not but resent it, would have been willing he should live. But he had fewer friends to his person than any of the rest; and Cromwell knew well that his being out of the way would not be unacceptable to them upon whom the peace of that kingdom depended: so that when his petition was read, it was rejected by very much the major part of voices. The consideration of the earl of Holland took up a long debate: the interest and interposition of the earl of Warwick, his brother, was applied; and every presbyterian, to a man, was solicitous to preserve him. They urged "his

"merit towards the parliament in the beginning of the troubles; how much he had suffered in the court for his affection to them: his age and infirmities, which would not suffer him long to enjoy that life they should give him: and the consideration of his wife, and children, which were numerous." But these arguments stirred up others to inveigh against his backslidings with the more bitterness, and to undervalue the services he had ever done; to tax his vanities, and his breach of faith. So that when the question was put concerning him, they who were for the negative exceeded the number of the other by three or four votes; Cromwell having more than an ordinary animosity against him, for his behaviour in the beginning of the summer, and for some words of neglect and contempt he had let fall concerning himself. The earl of Norwich came next upon the stage; who, having always lived a cheerful and jovial life, without contracting many enemies, had many there who wished him well, and few who had animosity against him: so that when the question was put concerning him, the house was equally divided, the votes which rejected his petition, and those which would preserve his life, were equal: so that his life or death depended upon the single vote of the speaker; who told the house, "that he had received many obligations from that lord; and that once when he had been like to have incurred the king's displeasure, by some misformation, which would have been very penal to him, the lord Goring" (under which style he was treated, the additional of Norwich not being allowed by them upon their old rule) "had by his credit preserved him, and removed the prejudice that was against him; and therefore he was obliged in gratitude to give his vote for the saving him." By this good fortune he came to be preserved; whether the ground of it were true or no, or whether the speaker made it only as an excuse for saving any man's life who was put to ask it in that place.

The lord Capel, shortly after he was brought prisoner to the Tower from Windsor castle, had by a wonderful adventure, having a cord and all things necessary conveyed to him, let himself down out of the window of his chamber in the night, over the wall of the Tower; and had been directed through what part of the ditch he might be best able to wade. Whether he found the right place, or whether there was no safer place, he found the water and the mud so deep, that, if he had not been by the head taller than other men, he must have perished, since the water came up to his chin. The way was so long to the other side, and the fatigue of drawing himself out of so much mud so intolerable, that his spirits were near spent, and he was once ready to call out for help, as thinking it better to be carried back again to the prison, than to be found in such a place, from whence he could not extricate himself, and where he was ready to expire. But it pleased God, that he got at last to the other side; where his friends expected him, and carried him to a chamber in the Temple; where he remained two or three nights secure from any discovery, notwithstanding the diligence that could not but be used to recover a man they designed to use no better. After two or three days, a friend whom he trusted much, and who deserved to be trusted, conceiving that he might be more secure in a place to which there was less resort,

and where there were so many harboured who were every day sought after, had provided a lodging for him in a private house in Lambeth Marsh; and calling upon him in an evening, when it was dark, to go thither, they chose rather to take any boat they found ready at the Temple stairs, than to trust one of that people with the secret; and it was so late that there was one only boat left there. In that the lord Capel (as well disguised as he thought necessary) and his friend put themselves, and bid the waterman to row them to Lambeth. Whether, in their passage thither, the other gentleman called him *my lord*, as was confidently reported, or whether the waterman had any jealousy by observing what he thought was a disguise, when they were landed, the wicked waterman, undiscerned, followed them, till he saw into what house they went; and then went to an officer, and demanded, "what he would give him to bring him to the place where the lord Capel lay?" And the officer promising to give him ten pounds, he led him presently to the house, where that excellent person was seized upon, and the next day carried to the Tower.

When the petition, that his wife had delivered, was read, many gentlemen spoke on his behalf; and mentioned the great virtues which were in him; and "that he had never deceived them, or pretended to be of their party; but always resolutely declared himself for the king;" and Cromwell, who had known him very well, spoke so much good of him, and professed to have so much kindness and respect for him, that all men thought he was now safe, when he concluded, "that his affection to the public so much weighed down his private friendship, that he could not but tell them, that the question was now, whether they would preserve the most bitter and the most implacable enemy they had: that he knew the lord Capel very well, and knew that he would be the last man in England that would forsake the royal interest; that he had great courage, industry, and generosity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, what condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides; and therefore, for the good of the commonwealth, he should give his vote against the petition." Ireton's hatred was immortal; he spake of him and against him, as of a man of whom he was heartily afraid. Very many were swayed by the argument that had been urged against duke Hamilton, "that God was not pleased that he should escape, because he had put him into their hands again, when he was at liberty." And so, after a long debate, though there was not a man who had not a value for him, and very few who had a particular malice or prejudice towards him, the question being put, the negative was more by three or four voices: so that of the four lords, three were without the mercy of that unmerciful people. There being no other petition presented, Ireton told them, "there had been great endeavours and solicitation used to save all those lords; but that there was a commoner, another condemned person, for whom no one man had spoke a word, nor had he himself so much as petitioned them; and therefore he desired, that sir John Owen might be preserved by the mere motive and goodness of the house itself;" which found little opposition; whether they were satiated with blood, or that they were



Engraved by J. Cochin.

**HENRY RICH, EARL OF HOLLAND.**

**OB. 1649.**

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VAN DYKE IN THE COLLECTION OF

**HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH.**



willing, by this instance, that the nobility should see that a commoner should be preferred before them.

A scaffold was erected before Westminster-hall, and all the prisoners condemned were brought from St. James's, (as well the two who were reprieved, as the three who were to suffer,) upon the ninth of March, that was at the end of the year 1648, a little more than a month after the murder of the king, to sir Thomas Cotton's house, at the upper end of Westminster-hall; where they were suffered to repose themselves about the space of an hour, and then were led successively through the hall to the scaffold, duke Hamilton being first; who seemed yet to have some hope of a reprieve, and made some stay in the hall, till the earl of Denbigh came to him; and, after a short whisper, in which he found there was no hope, he ascended the scaffold. He complained much of "the injustice that was done him; and that he was put to death for obeying the laws of his country; which if he had not done, he must have been put to death there." He acknowledged the obligations he had to the king, and seemed not sorry for the gratitude he had expressed, how dear soever it cost him. His natural darkness, and reservation in his discourse, made him to be thought a wise man, and his having been in command under the king of Sweden, and his continual discourses of battles, and fortifications, made him be thought a soldier. And both these mistakes were the cause that made him be looked upon as a worse and a more dangerous man, than in truth he deserved to be.

The earl of Holland was brought next, who, by his long sickness, was so spent, that his spirits served not to entertain the people with long discourse. He spoke of "his religion, as a matter unquestionable, by the education he had had in the religious family of which he was a branch;" which was thought a strange discourse for a dying man, who, though a son, knew enough of the iniquity of his father's house, which should rather have been buried in silence, than, by such an unseasonable testimony, have been revived in the memory and discourse of men. He took more care to be thought a good friend to parliaments, than a good servant to his master, and was thought to say too little of his having failed so much in his duty to him, which most good men believed to be the source from whence his present calamity sprung. He was a very well bred man, and a fine gentleman in good times; but too much desired to enjoy ease and plenty, when the king could have neither; and did think poverty the most insupportable evil that could befall any man in this world. He was then so weak that he could not have lived long; and when his head was cut off, very little blood followed.

The lord Capel was then called; who walked through Westminster-hall, saluting such of his friends and acquaintance as he saw there, with a very serene countenance, accompanied with his friend Dr. Morley; who had been with him from the time of his sentence; but, at the foot of the scaffold, his lordship took his leave of him; and, embracing him, thanked him; and said, he should go no farther, having some apprehension that he might receive some affront by the soldiers after his death; the chaplains who attended the two other lords being men of the time, and the doctor being well known to be most contrary.

As soon as his lordship had ascended the scaffold, he looked very vigorously about, and asked, "whether the other lords had spoken to the people with their hats on?" and being told, that "they were bare;" he gave his hat to his servant, and then with a clear and a strong voice he said, "that he was brought thither to die for doing that which he could not repent of: that he had been born and bred under the government of a king, whom he was bound in conscience to obey; under laws, to which he had been always obedient; and in the bosom of a church, which he thought the best in the world: that he had never violated his faith to either of those, and was now condemned to die against all the laws of the land; to which sentence he did submit."

He enlarged himself in commending "the great virtue and piety of the king, whom they had put to death; who was so just and so merciful a prince;" and prayed to God, "to forgive the nation that innocent blood." Then he recommended to them the present king; "who," he told them, "was their true and their lawful sovereign; and was worthy to be so: that he had the honour to have been some years near his person, and therefore he could not but know him well;" and assured them, "that he was a prince of great understanding, of an excellent nature, of great courage, an entire lover of justice, and of exemplary piety; that he was not to be shaken in his religion; and had all those princely virtues, which could make a nation happy:" and therefore advised them "to submit to his government, as the only means to preserve themselves, their posterity, and the protestant religion." And having, with great vehemence, recommended it to them, after some prayers very devoutly pronounced upon his knees, he submitted himself, with an unparalleled Christian courage, to the fatal stroke, which deprived the nation of the noblest champion it had.

He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could discover very few faults, and whom his friends could not wish better accomplished; whom Cromwell's own character well described; and who indeed would never have been contented to have lived under that government. His memory all men loved and revered, though few followed his example. He had always lived in a state of great plenty and general estimation, having a very noble fortune of his own by descent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a lady of very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had a numerous issue of both sexes, in which he took great joy and comfort: so that no man was more happy in all his domestic affairs; and he was so much the more happy, in that he thought himself most blessed in them.

And yet the king's honour was no sooner violated, and his just power invaded, than he threw all those blessings behind him; and having no other obligations to the crown, than those which his own honour and conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his person and his fortune from the beginning of the troubles, as many others did, in all actions and enterprises of the greatest hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one false step, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a faction, that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that

might have excused him for some remission of his former warmth. But it made no other impression upon him, than to be quiet and contented, whilst they would let him alone, and, with the same cheerfulness, to obey the first summons when he was called out; which was quickly after. In a word, he was a man, that whoever shall, after him, deserve best of the English nation, he can never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear, that his courage, virtue, and fidelity, is laid in the balance with, and compared to, that of the lord Capel.

So ended the year one thousand six hundred forty-eight; a year of reproach and infamy above all years which had passed before it; a year of the

highest dissimulation and hypocrisy, of the deepest villainy and most bloody treasons, that any nation was ever cursed with, or under: a year, in which the memory of all the transactions ought to be razed out of all records, lest, by the success of it, atheism, infidelity, and rebellion, should be propagated in the world: a year, of which we may say, as the historian said of the time of Domitian, *Sicut vetus ætas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio, &c.*; or, as the same writer says of a time not altogether so wicked, *is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes patenterentur.*

END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

## THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

### BOOK XII.

2 CHRON. xxviii. 10. *And now ye purpose to keep under the children of Judah and Jerusalem for bondmen and bondwomen unto you: but are there not with you, even with you, sins against the Lord your God?* ISAIAH xvii. 12. *Woe to the multitude of many people, which make a noise like the noise of the seas; and to the rushing of nations, that make a rushing like the rushing of mighty waters.—xxix. 10. For the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes: the prophets and your rulers, the seers hath he covered.*

WHILST these tragedies were acting in England, and ordinances formed, as hath been said, to make it penal in the highest degree for any man to assume the title of king, or to acknowledge any man to be so, the king himself remained in a very disconsolate condition at the Hague. Though he had known the desperate state his father was long in, yet the barbarous stroke so surprised him, that he was in all the confusion imaginable, and all about him were almost bereft of their understanding. The truth is, it can hardly be conceived, with what a consternation this terrible news was received by all the common people of that country. There was a woman at the Hague, of the middling rank, who, being with child, with the horror of the mention of it, fell into travail, and in it died. There could not be more evidence of a general detestation, than there was, amongst all men of what quality soever. Within two or three days, which they gave to the king's recollection, the States presented themselves in a body to his majesty, to condole with him for the murder of his father, in terms of great sorrow and condolence, save that there was not bitterness enough against the rebels and murderers. The States of Holland, apart, performed the same civility towards his majesty; and the body of the clergy, in a very good Latin oration, delivered by the chief preacher of the Hague, lamented the misfortune, in terms of as much asperity, and detestation of the

actors, as unworthy the name of Christians, as could be expressed.

The desperateness of the king's condition could not excuse his sinking under the burden of his grief: but those who were about him besought him to resume so much courage as was necessary for his present state. He thereupon caused those of his father's council who had attended him to be sworn of his privy council, adding only Mr. Long his secretary: who, before, was not of the council. All which was done before he heard from the queen his mother; who, notwithstanding the great agony she was in, which without doubt was as great a passion of sorrow as she was able to sustain, wrote to the king, "that he could not do better, than to repair into France as soon as was possible, and, in the mean time, desired him not to swear any persons to be of his council, till she could speak with him." Whether it was, that she did not think those persons to be enough at her devotion; or that she would have them receive that honour upon her recommendation.

The king himself had no mind to go into France, where he thought he had not been treated with excess of courtesy; and he resolved to perform all filial respect towards the queen his mother, without such a condescension and resignation of himself, as she expected; and, to avoid all eclairsissements upon that subject, he heartily desired that any other course might be found more counsellable









Engraved by W. Emden.

**ARTHUR, LORD CAPEL.**

**OB. 1648.**

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JANSEN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

**THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF ESSEX.**



than that he should go into France. He himself lived with and upon the prince of Orange ; who supplied him with all things necessary for his own person, for his mourning, and the like : but towards any other support for himself and his family, his majesty had not enough to maintain them one day : and there were very few of them who could maintain themselves in the most private way : and it was visible enough, that they should not be long able to reside in the Hague ; where there was, at that very time, an agent for the parliament, Strickland ; who had been there some years, but pretended at that time to reside there with his wife, (who was a Dutch woman,) and without any public character, though he was still under the same credentials. And their advertisements from London assured them, that the parliament had nominated one, who was presently to be sent as their ambassador, or envoy to the States, to give them an account of their affairs, and to invite them to enter into an alliance with them. So that it was time to think of some other retreat for the king ; and none appeared then so seasonable in their view, as Ireland ; from whence they heard, " that prince Rupert was arrived safely at Kinsale with the fleet : that the lord Inchiquin had made a cessation with the Irish, before the lord lieutenant came thither ; and the Irish had deserted the pope's nuncio, who was driven away, and had embarked himself for France : that the marquis of Ormond was received by the lord Inchiquin with all the obedience imaginable, by which he became entirely possessed of the whole province of Munster ; and that the confederate Roman catholics had invited him to Kilkenny ; where he had made a full peace with them : so that they were preparing an army to march under his command against Dublin." This news made them hope, that every day would improve it so much, that it would be fit for the king to transport his own person thither in the spring.

In this conjuncture there arrived a gentleman, one sir Joseph Douglass, with a letter from the privy council of Scotland, by which they sent his majesty word, that they had proclaimed him king of Scotland ; and sent him the proclamation ; and wished " that he would prepare himself to repair into that his kingdom ; in order to which they would speedily send another invitation to him." And that invitation arrived at the same time with some commissioners deputed by the council, and three or four preachers sent from the commissioners of the kirk. The proclamation indeed declared, " for that as much as the late king was, contrary to the dissent and protestation of that kingdom, removed by a violent death, that, by the Lord's blessing, there was left unto them a righteous heir, and lawful successor, Charles, &c. who was become their true and lawful king ;" but upon condition of " his good behaviour, and strict observation of the covenant, and his entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men, and faithful to that obligation." A proclamation so strangely worded, that, though it called him their king, manifested enough to him, that he was to be subject to their determinations, in all the parts of his government. And the commissioners, both laity and clergy, spoke no other language ; and saving that they bowed their bodies, and made low reverences, they appeared more like ambassadors from a free state to an equal ally,

than like subjects sent to their own sovereign. At the same time, though not in the same ship, arrived likewise from Scotland the earl of Lanrick, and earl of Lautherdale ; the former not knowing, till he came into Holland, that he was duke Hamilton by the slaughter of his elder brother. But they two were so far from having any authority from their country, that they were fled from thence as proscribed persons and malefactors. The earl of Lautherdale, after his departure from the Hague, in that discontent that is mentioned before, bent his course for Scotland. But before he came thither, he was informed, that the state of all things had been reversed, and the engagement declared unlawful, and to what penalties himself was liable, if he should be taken. Whereupon, without suffering his ship to go into any port, he found means to send on shore to some friends, and so to concert all things, that, without being discovered, the earl of Lanrick, and some other persons, liable to danger if they were found, put themselves on board the same ship, and arrived in Holland about that time when the other messengers from the state and from the kirk came from Scotland, and when the news came of the execution of duke Hamilton.

Whereupon the new duke kept his chamber for some days, without so much as waiting on the king ; who sent a gracious message to him to condole for the loss of his brother ; and all the lords, and other persons of quality about the king, made their visits to him with all civility. This duke was not inferior in wisdom, and parts of understanding, to the wisest man of that nation, and was very much esteemed by those who did not like the complying and insinuating nature of his brother. He was a man of great honour, courage, and sincerity in his nature, and, which was a rare virtue in the men of that time, was still the same man he pretended to be ; and had very much to say in his own defence for the errors he had run into ; which he acknowledged always with great ingenuity, and abhorred the whole proceedings of his countrymen ; and, at this time, brought a heart and affection clearer and less clogged with scruples and reservations for the king's service, than any other of them did.

Though Cromwell, at his being in Scotland, had left Argyle in full possession of the government there, and had reduced and disbanded all those who were in arms against him, and promised him all necessary assistance to subdue those who should rise up in arms against him in that kingdom, and thereby compelled the committee of estates to convene and summon the parliament to assemble, which they had authority to do ; and so he had suppressed the party of Hamilton, driven the earl of Lanrick to hide himself in some obscure place, and condemned the engagement as unlawful and sinful, and all the persons who advanced and promoted it, as deserters of the covenant, and so to stand excommunicated, and not to be capable of serving in parliament, or in the council of estate ; so that he was sure to find no opposition in whatsoever he proposed ; yet, after the parliament had served him so far, when they heard that the parliament in England was broken, and their freedom and privileges were taken from them by the insolence and power of the army, (which they perfectly hated and detested, and all those sects and liberalism they heard were introduced in religion con-

trary to their covenant, which Cromwell himself had promised should be strictly observed,) they begun to examine, what the obligations were which were incumbent upon them even by the covenant itself. The delivery of the king's person into the hands of the parliament at Newcastle had been, in the instant it was done, the most unpopular and ungracious act to the whole nation of Scotland, that it had been ever guilty of, and to the army they had then on foot, which took itself to be deeply wounded by the infamy of it, and was therefore quickly disbanded by the wisdom of Argyle: and the general indignation against that action was the principal incitement to that general engagement with duke Hamilton, that the honour of the nation might in some degree be repaired, or redeemed. It was a gross oversight in the Hamiltonian party, and discerned then to be so by the earl of Lanrick, that, upon that popular advantage, in which he would have found an universal concurrence, Argyle himself and all his faction had not been sacrificed to the redemption of the honour of their country. But that duke's politics did not lie that way; and, so he might return to his old post of favour in England, of which he made little doubt, he was not willing to give a new beginning to those bloody enterprises in Scotland, which, he knew well, used not to be short-lived in that climate after once begun, but had always fresh sacrifices of blood to perpetuate the memory of them.

They had no sooner heard of the erection of a high court of justice, and of a purpose of trying the king for his life, than, notwithstanding all the artifices Argyle could use, they were all in a flame. As well the assembly of the kirk, as the parliament, renewed the sense they always had of reproach in the delivery of his person, of which the present danger he was in was the consequence. And the marquis of Argyle had had too deep a share in that wickedness, to endure the shock of a new dispute, and inquisition upon that subject; and therefore gave not the least opposition to their passion; but seemed equally concerned in the honour of the nation, to prosecute an high expostulation with those of England, for the breach of faith, and the promises, which had been made for the safety and preservation of the king's person, at the time he was delivered up; and therefore proposed "that commissioners should be forthwith sent to the parliament at London, to require the performance of what they had proposed, and to enter their dissent and protestation against all their proceedings against their king, in the name of the kingdom of Scotland." And the earl of Lothian, and two others, who were known to be most zealous for the covenant, and most enraged and incensed against the proceedings of the army, were made choice of, and presently sent away, that they might make all possible haste to Westminster, and were, immediately upon their arrival, to demand permission to wait upon the king, wherever he should be, and to receive from him such farther directions, as he should judge necessary for his service.

Thus far Argyle could not oppose; and therefore was as zealous as any man to advance it; knowing that the particular instructions must be prepared by a less number of men, and not subjected to the examination and perusal of so many. And in those, he was sure to prevent any incon-

venient powers to be granted to the commissioners, with whom he had credit enough, having made the earl of Lothian secretary of state, in the place of the earl of Lanrick, and the other two being (however solicitous for the due observation of the covenant, as he himself likewise pretended to be) known to be most averse from the Hamiltonian party. Their private instructions were, "that they should not, in their enlargements and aggravations upon the subject of their message, seem to take notice, or to imply, that any violence had been used against the parliament, or any member of it: that they should be so short in their amplifications, that they gave no occasion of offence: that nothing should proceed from them justifying the king's proceedings, nor in approbation of the late engagement, or which might import a breach, or give, or be ground of a new war: that they should urge, that the parliament would delay to meddle with the king's person, according to their several promises and declarations at Newcastle and at Holmby: that if they should proceed to sentence against the king, then they were to enter their dissent and protest, that this kingdom may be free from the miseries which will inevitably follow, without offering in their reasons, that princes are exempted from trial and justice: that none in the parliament of Scotland hath or had any hand in the proceedings against the king, or members of parliament in England. If they proceed, then to shew the calamities that will follow, and how grievous it must be to the kingdom of Scotland, considering his being delivered up at Newcastle: that if the papers which were entitled, *The agreement of the people*, appeared to be countenanced, and should import any thing concerning the processing of the prince, or changing the fundamental government of the kingdom, they should enter their dissent: that they should alter those their instructions, and manage their trust therein, according to the advice they should receive from their friends there: that they should prosecute their instructions concerning the covenant, and against any toleration: that they should shew, that the king's last concessions were unsatisfactory to those propositions which they had made in point of religion."

These were their private instructions; and who those friends at London were, by whose advice they were to alter their instructions, or manage their trust therein, can be understood of no other men but Cromwell, and young sir Harry Vane; with whom Argyle held close correspondence. The commissioners observed their instructions very faithfully, and, after the king had been twice brought before the high court of justice, they gave in their very calm protestation; in which they put them in mind, "that they had, near three weeks before, represented to them what endeavours had been used for taking away the king's life, and for the change of the fundamental government of the kingdom, and introducing a sinful and ungodly toleration in matters of religion; and that therein they had expressed their thoughts, and fears of the dangerous consequences, that might follow thereupon; and that they had farther earnestly pressed, that there might be no farther proceeding against his majesty's person, which would certainly continue the great distractions of the kingdom, and involve them in many evils, troubles, and confusions; but that, by the









*Engraved by H. Robinson*

**WILLIAM, DUKE OF HAMILTON.**

**OB. 1651.**

**FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MYTENS IN THE COLLECTION OF**

**HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.**



“ free counsels of both houses of parliament of England, and with the advice and consent of the parliament of Scotland, such course might be taken in relation to the king, as might be for the good and happiness of both kingdoms; both having an unquestionable and undeniable right in his person, as king of both; which duly considered, they had reason to hope, that it would have given a stop to all farther proceedings against his majesty's person. But now understanding that after the imprisonment and exclusion of divers members of the house of commons, and without and against the consent of the house of peers, by a single act of their own, and theirs alone, power was given to certain persons of their own members, of the army, and some others, to proceed against his majesty's person, in order whereunto he had been brought before that extraordinary new court; they did therefore in the name of the parliament of Scotland, for their vindication from false aspersions and calumnies, declare, that though they were not satisfied with his majesty's late concessions, in the treaty at Newport in the Isle of Wight, especially in the matters of religion, and were resolved not to crave his restoration to his government, before satisfaction should be given by him to that kingdom; yet they did all unanimously with one voice, not one member excepted, disclaim the least knowledge of, or accession to, the late proceedings of the army here against the king; and did sincerely profess that it would be a great grief to their hearts, and lie heavy upon their spirits, if they should see the trusting his majesty's person to the two houses of the parliament of England to be made use of to his ruin, contrary to the declared intentions of the kingdom of Scotland, and solemn professions of the kingdom of England: and to the end that it might be manifest to the world, how much they did abominate and detest so horrid a design against his majesty's person, they did, in the name of the parliament and kingdom of Scotland, declare their dissent from the said proceedings, and the taking away of his majesty's life; protesting, that as they were altogether free from the same, so they might be free from all the miseries, evil confusions, and calamities, that might follow thereupon to the distracted kingdoms.”

Whoever considers the wariness in the wording and timing this protestation, the best end whereof could be no other than the keeping the king always in prison, and so governing without him in both kingdoms, (which was thought to have been the purpose and agreement of Cromwell and Argyle when they parted,) must conclude that both the commissioners, and they who sent them, laboured and considered more, what they were to say in the future, than what they were to do to prevent the present mischief they seemed to apprehend. And the parliament best knew their temper, when they deferred taking notice of their protestation, till after they had executed their execrable villainy; and then they sent them an answer that might suit with all their palates. They said, “ they had heretofore told them, what power this nation had in the fundamentals of government: that if Scotland had not the same power and liberty, as they went not about to confine them, so they would not be limited by them, but leaving them to act in theirs as they should see cause, they resolved

“ to maintain their own liberties as God should enable them. And as they were very far from imposing upon them, so they should not willingly suffer impositions from them, whilst God gave them strength or lives to oppose them.” They said, “ the answer they made to their first and second letter was, that after a long and serious deliberation of their own intrinsical power, and trust, (derived to them by the providence of God, through the delegation of the people,) and upon the like considerations of what themselves and the whole nation had suffered from the misgovernment and tyranny of that king, both in peace, and by the wars, and considering, how fruitless and full of danger and prejudice the many addresses to him for peace had been, and being conscious how much they had provoked and tempted God, by the neglect of the impartial execution of justice, in relation to the innocent blood spilt and mischief done in the late wars, they had proceeded in such a course of justice against that man of blood, as they doubted not the just God (who is no respecter of persons) did approve and would countenance with his blessings upon the nation; and though perhaps they might meet with many difficulties before their liberties and peace were settled, yet they hoped they should be preserved from confusion, by the good-will of him who dwelt in the bush, which burned, and was not consumed; and that the course they had taken with the late king, and meant to follow towards others the capital enemies of their peace, was, they hoped, that which would be for the good and happiness of both nations; of which if that of Scotland would think to make use, and vindicate their own liberty and freedom, (which lay before them, if they gave them not away,) they would be ready to give them all neighbourly and friendly assistance in the establishing thereof; and desired them to take it into their most serious consideration, before they espoused that quarrel, which could bring them no other advantage than the entailing upon them, and their posterities, a lasting war, with all the miseries which attended it, and slavery under a tyrant and his issue.”

It cannot be denied, but that Scotland had by this a fair invitation to have made themselves a poor republic, under the shelter and protection of the other, that was already become terrible. But the commissioners, who well knew how unsuitable such a change would be to the constitution of their government, and that they might be welcome to their own country, whither they were now to repair, made a reply to this answer with more courage than they had yet expressed; for which, notwithstanding their qualification, they were imprisoned by the parliament; and, upon new instance from Scotland, set at liberty afterwards.

Matters being reduced to this state, the marquis of Argyle could not hinder the new king's being acknowledged and proclaimed king, nor from being invited home; which since he could not obstruct, it would be his masterpiece to clog the proclamation itself with such conditions as might terrify the new king from accepting the invitation; and therefore he caused this clause to be inserted in the body of the proclamation itself, “ because his majesty is bound, by the law of God and the fundamental laws of this kingdom, to rule in righteousness and equity to the honour of God,

"and the good of religion, and the wealth of the people; it is hereby declared, that before he be admitted to the exercise of his royal power, he shall give satisfaction to this kingdom in those things which concern the security of religion, the unity betwixt the kingdoms, and the good and peace of this kingdom, according to the national covenant and solemn league and covenant; for which end, they were resolved, with all possible expedition, to make their humble and earnest address to his majesty."

This was the proclamation that sir Joseph Douglass brought to the Hague, and the subject upon which the commissioners were to invite his majesty to go for Scotland, whose instructions were very suitable to the proclamation: and at the same time when the commissioners came from thence, Middleton, and some other officers, who had been in their last army, hearing that the prince was proclaimed king, thought it was seasonable to put themselves into a posture to serve him upon his arrival; and so assembled some of those troops which had formerly served under them in the north of Scotland; whereupon David Lesley was appointed forthwith, with a party of horse and foot, against those royalists, whom they knew to be real assertors of his cause, without any other interest or design than of their performing their duties, as loyal subjects ought to do: and the kirk at the same time declared, "that, before the king should be received, albeit they had declared his right by succession, he should first sign the covenant, submit to the kirk's censure, renounce the sins of his father's house, and the iniquity of his mother," with other things of the like nature. All which information arrived at the same time with the commissioners, that they who were about the king might not be too much exalted with their master's being declared king of one of his three kingdoms. And it was very manifest, by all that passed then and afterwards, that the marquis of Argyre meant only to satisfy the people, in declaring that they had a king, without which they could not be satisfied, but that such conditions should be put upon him, as he knew he would not submit to; and so he should be able, with the concurrence of the kirk, to govern the kingdom, till, by Cromwell's assistance and advice, he might reverse that little approach he had made towards monarchy by proclaiming a king.

It was a great misfortune to the king, and which always attends courts which labour under great wants and necessities, that, whilst the greatest union imaginable amongst the few friends he had was necessary, and of too little power to buoy him up from the distresses which overwhelmed him, there was yet so great a faction and animosity amongst them, that destroyed any the most probable design that could offer itself; as it now fell out with reference to Scotland, which, if united, might yet be able to give reputation at least, if not a vigorous assistance to the king's interest.

The marquis of Mountrose, who hath been mentioned before, had been obliged by the late king to lay down his arms; and after he had performed such wonderful actions in Scotland, and left that kingdom upon his majesty's first coming into the Scottish army to Newcastle, had first arrived in France, and had not such a reception from the queen of England, and those who were in credit with her, as he thought the notable services he had

performed for the king had merited. The truth is, he was somewhat elated with the great actions he had done; which, upon his first coming to Paris, he caused to be published in a full relation in Latin, dedicated to the prince of Wales; in which, as his own person, courage, and conduct was well extolled, so the reputation of all the rest of that nation (upon whose affections the queen at that time depended) was exceedingly undervalued and suppressed; which obliged the queen and the prince to look less graciously upon him; which he could not bear without expressing much disturbance at it. He was then a man of *eclat*, had many servants, and more officers, who had served under him, and came away with him, all whom he expected the queen should enable him to maintain with some lustre, by a liberal assignation of monies. On the other hand, the queen was in straits enough, and never openhanded, and used to pay the best services with receiving them graciously, and looking kindly upon those who did them. And her graces were still more towards those who were like to do services, than to those who had done them. So that, after a long attendance, and some overtures made by him to cardinal Mazarine, to raise an army for the service of that king, which he did not think were received with that regard his great name deserved, the marquis left France, and made a journey into Germany to the emperor's court, desiring to see armies, till he could come to command them; and was returned to Brussels, about the time that the prince came back into Holland with the fleet; and lay there very privately, and as *incognito*, for some time, till he heard of the murder of the late king. Then he sent a servant over to the king with the tender of his service, and to know, "if his majesty thought his attendance upon him might bring any prejudice to his majesty; and if so, that he would send over the chancellor of the exchequer to Sevenbergh, a town in Flanders, where he was at present to expect him, and had matters to communicate to him of much importance to his majesty's service." Whether he did this out of modesty, and that he might first know his majesty's pleasure, or out of some vanity that was predominant in him, that he might seem to come to the king, after the coldness he had met at Paris, by a kind of treaty, the king commanded the chancellor presently to go to him; and, "if he could, without exasperating him," (which he had no mind to do,) wished, "he might be persuaded rather for some time to suspend his coming to the Hague, than presently to appear there;" which was an injunction very disagreeable to the chancellor; who in his judgment believed his majesty should bid him very welcome, and prefer him before any other of that nation in his esteem.

The sudden violent frost, which shut up all the rivers in less than four and twenty hours, kept them at that time from meeting; but, within a short time after, and upon another message from him, they met at a village three or four miles off the Hague; whither the marquis had transported himself. The chancellor had never seen him from the time he had left Oxford, when he seemed to have very much modesty, and deference to the opinion and judgment of other men. But he had, since that time, done so many signal actions, won so many battles, and in truth made so great a

noise in the world, that there appeared no less alteration to be in his humour and discourse, than there had been in his fortune. He seemed rather to have desired that interview, that he might the better know what advice to give the king, and how to make a party that would be fast to him, than out of any doubt that his presence would not be acceptable to his majesty. There was yet no news from Scotland since the murder of the king, and he seemed to think of nothing but that the king would presently send him thither with some forces, to prepare the way for himself to follow after. They spent that night together in conference, and the next morning the chancellor prevailed with him, with great difficulty, that he would stay in that place, which did not abound with all things desirable, or somewhere else, until he might give him notice, what the king's sense should be of the matters discoursed between them; insisting principally, "that, if his going into Scotland should be thought presently to be necessary, it would then be as necessary, that he should not be taken notice of publicly to have been with the king;" with which reason he seemed satisfied; and promised "not to come to the Hague, till he should first receive advice from the chancellor." But when he heard of the commissioners being come from Scotland, and of the other lords' arrival there, he would no longer defer his journey thither, but came to the Hague well attended by servants and officers, and presented himself to the king; who received him with a very good countenance.

There were at this time in the Hague the commissioners who came from the council and the king to invite the king into Scotland, or rather to let him know upon what terms he might come thither, duke Hamilton, the earl of Lauderdale, and others of the nobility of that faction, who were now as odious, and as much persecuted by that party, which then governed Scotland, and which in that manner invited the king, as any men were who had served the king from the beginning. There was also the marquis of Mountrose, with more of the nobility, as the earls of Seaford, and Kinoul, and others, who adhered to Mountrose, and believed his clear spirit to be most like to advance the king's service. Of these three parties, it might reasonably have been hoped that the two last, being equally persecuted by the power that governed, should have been easily united to have suppressed the other. But it was a business too hard for the king to bring to pass; and he could as easily have persuaded the parliament to reject Cromwell, as the lords of the engagement, and those who had joined with duke Hamilton, to be reconciled to Mountrose: so that when the king hoped to have drawn all the Scottish nobility together, to have consulted what answer he should give to the messages he had received from the council and the kirk, with which they themselves were enough offended, those lords of the engagement did not only refuse to meet with the lord Mountrose, but, as soon as he came into the room where they were, though his majesty himself was present, they immediately withdrew, and left the room; and had the confidence to desire the king, "that the marquis of Mountrose" (whom they called James Graham) "might be forbidden to come into his majesty's presence, or court, because he stood excommunicated by the kirk of Scotland, and degraded and forfeited by the

"judicatory of that kingdom." This proposition and demand they made confidently in writing under their hands, and abounded so much in this sense, that a learned and worthy Scottish divine, Dr. Wishart, who was then chaplain to a Scottish regiment in the service of the States, being appointed to preach before the king on the Sunday following, they formally besought the king, "that he would not suffer him to preach before him, nor to come into his presence, because he stood excommunicated by the kirk of Scotland, for having refused to take the covenant;" though it was known, that the true cause of the displeasure they had against that divine was, that they knew he was the author of the excellent relation of the lord Mountrose's actions in Scotland. This carriage and behaviour of those lords appeared ridiculous to all sober men, that any men should have the presumption to accuse those who had served the king with that fidelity, and were only branded by those rebellious judicatories for having performed their duties of allegiance, and to demand that the king himself should condemn them for having served his father: which made those of his majesty's council full of indignation at their insolence, and his majesty himself declared his being offended, by using the marquis of Mountrose with the more countenance, and hearing the doctor preach with the more attention. But from this very absurd behaviour, besides his majesty's desire being frustrated, of receiving the joint advice of the nobility of that kingdom in an affair that so much concerned himself and them; and besides the displeasure, and distance, that it caused between them and the king's council, (who thought the Scottish lords might as reasonably move the king, that they might be removed, who lay under the same brand and reproaches in England for adhering to the crown, as the other did in Scotland,) the king had reason to be troubled with another apprehension, which was, that the marquis of Mountrose (who could not be ignorant of any thing which the other persons said or did) would, out of just indignation, take revenge upon those persons whom he contemned too much; and so that the peace of the country, where his majesty was but a guest, would be violated by his subjects, as it were in his own sight; which would make his absence from thence the more desired.

He, to whom this unreasonable animosity was most imputed, and who indeed was the great fomenter and prosecutor of it, was the earl of Lauderdale; whose fiery spirit was not capable of any moderation. One of the council conferring one day with him upon a subject that could not put him into passion, and so being in a very fair conversation, desired him "to inform him, what foul offence the marquis of Mountrose had ever committed, that should hinder those to make a conjunction with him, who, in respect of the rebels, were in as desperate a condition as himself, and who could not more desire the king's restitution than he did." The earl told him "calmly enough, that he could not imagine or conceive the barbarities and inhumanities Mountrose was guilty of, in the time he made a war in Scotland; that he never gave quarter to any man, but pursued all the advantages he ever got, with the utmost outrage and cruelty: that he had in one battle killed fifteen hundred of one family, of the Campbells, of the blood and name of Ar-

"gyle, and that he had utterly rooted out several names and entire noble families." The other told him, "that it was the nature and condition of that war, that quarter was given on neither side; that those prisoners which were taken by the Scots, as once they did take some persons of honour of his party, were afterwards in cold blood hanged reproachfully, which was much worse than if they had been killed in the field;" and asked him, "if Mountrose had ever caused any man to die in cold blood, or after the battle was ended; since what was done in it *flagrante*, was more to be imputed to the fierceness of his soldiers, than to his want of humanity." The earl confessed, "that he did not know he was guilty of any thing but what was done in the field;" but concluded with more passion, "that his behaviour there was so savage, that Scotland would never forgive him." And in other company, where the same subject was debated, he swore with great passion, "that though he wished nothing more in this world than to see the king restored, he had much rather that he should never be restored, than that James Graham should be permitted to come into the court:" of which declaration of his the king was informed by William Legg and sir William Armorer, who were both present at the Hague, and in the company, when he said it.

There was at that time in the Hague the lord Newburgh, who, after the murder of the late king, was compelled, together with his wife, the lady Aubigny, to fly out of England, Cromwell every day making discoveries of correspondences which had been between the king and them. And thereupon they made an escape from thence, and came to the Hague. The lady had, in the life of her former husband the lord Aubigny, and during the time of her widowhood, held much friendship with the chancellor, and was very willing it should continue with her new husband, whom he had not seen before; he having been too young to have had a part in the former war, had been then sent, by his majesty's direction, to be bred in France; from whence he returned not till his majesty was in the hands of the Scottish army; and from that time he performed all the offices of fidelity and duty to the king, that a generous and worthy person could find any opportunity for: with which his majesty was abundantly satisfied and pleased: and he now transported himself and his wife into Holland, that he might leave her there, and himself attend the king in any expedition.

This lady was a woman of a very great wit, and most trusted and conversant in those intrigues, which at that time could be best managed and carried on by ladies, who with less jealousy could be seen in all companies: and so she had not been a stranger to the most secret transactions with the Scots, and had much conversation with the lord Lanrick, during the time the king was at Hampton Court, and whilst he stayed afterwards in London, when the king was imprisoned in the Isle of Wight; and being now both in the Hague, they had much conversation together. She had likewise had long acquaintance and friendship with one of the council, who, she knew, had been as much trusted as any by the father, and was believed to have credit with the present king. She lamented those divisions amongst the Scots, which every body spoke of, and every body knew the disorder

they produced in the king's councils; and said, "she desired nothing more, than that there were a good understanding between duke Hamilton and him; which," she said, "she was sure would easily be, if they two had but once a frank conference together." The other, who indeed had an esteem for the duke, seemed very desirous of it: and she thereupon told him, that "the duke had expressed to her, that he would be willing to embrace the occasion:" and it was so concerted, that within a day or two they met as by chance at her lodgings. And she so dexterously introduced them to a civility towards each other, and to express their inclinations to a mutual freedom, that after an hour's general conversation there, to which she left them, and went herself abroad, they parted with fair professions of future good will; and the other promised to visit the duke the next morning early, that they might have the more time without being interrupted; and he was with him accordingly, and found him in his bed. They continued together near two hours, the duke having commanded his servant to tell any who came to visit him, that he was asleep. The other spoke of "the proclamation, and the manner of inviting the king into Scotland, and of the strange spirit that possessed those who governed there, and persuaded them not to imagine it possible, that the king could ever be persuaded to take the covenant, or that it could be of advantage to him to do so; since it could not but much alienate the affections of all that party in England that had served his father, upon whom he ought chiefly to depend for his restoration to the government of that kingdom." Then he spoke of "the differences and jealousies which were between those of that nation who had an equal desire to serve the king, and seemed to be equally prosecuted by the party that now prevailed, which had excluded both:" and wished that some expedient might be found out to unite all those; and particularly that his grace and the marquis of Mountrose might be reconciled; towards which," he said, "he was sure that the marquis had great inclination, and had always esteemed him a man of honour; which appeared by the book which was published, where he was always worthily mentioned, though he had not dealt so well with many others."

When the duke had heard him with very civil attention, he told him as to the first part, "concerning the proclamation, and the manner of inviting the king to come to them, he was not to make any other judgment by it, than only of the person of the marquis of Argyle; who, with the assistance of some few ministers, and others his creatures, did at present govern: that Argyle well knew there was an absolute necessity, in respect of the whole people, to proclaim the king after the murder of his father; and therefore he could find no other way to keep him from coming thither, but by clogging the proclamation and message with those unworthy expressions, which might deter him from putting himself into their hands; which Argyle did not wish he should do, because in his absence he was sure he should govern all, being well agreed with Cromwell how the government should be carried; and so the king might be kept out, Cromwell would support him against all other





Engraved by W. F. Mole.

**JOHN MAITLAND, DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.**

**OB. 1682.**

**FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF**

**THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.**





"parties; but that they both knew well enough, that, if his majesty were once there, the whole nation would stick to him and obey him." He confessed, "that there was generally so great a superstition for the covenant, that whosoever should speak against it for the present, would lose all credit, though he did acknowledge it had done much mischief, and would do more whilst it should be insisted upon; but," he said, "that must be a work of time, and an effect of the king's government: which would find it necessary, in many other respects, to lessen the power of the ministers; which being lessened, the reverence of the covenant would quickly fall too; and till then, he, and all men, must have patience. For the second," he said, "he wished heartily that there could be a union of all parties which desired the king's restoration, and that the animosity against the marquis of Mountrose might be extinguished. For his own part, that he had only one quarrel against him, which was that, by his unjust calumnies and prosecution, he had driven him into rebellion; which nothing else could have done. And for that he always asked God forgiveness from his heart, and desired nothing more than to repair his fault by losing his life for the king; and would, with all his heart, join to-morrow with the marquis of Mountrose, in carrying on the king's service, though he did believe, in that conjuncture, the animosity against the marquis was so great, that, if he should declare such an inclination, all his own friends would fall from him, and abhor him." He said, "his own condition was very hard; for that having been always bred up in the church of England, for which he had a great reverence, he was forced to comply with the covenant; which he perfectly detested, and looked upon it as the ruin of his nation; and would be as glad as any man of a good opportunity to declare against it. But," said he, "I dare not say this; and if I did, I should have no power or credit to serve the king. There is," said he, "a very worthy gentleman, who lodges in this house, the earl of Lautherdale, my friend and my kinsman; who, upon my conscience, loves me heartily; and yet I dare say nothing of this to him, either against the covenant, or for the marquis of Mountrose: and, if I should, I believe he would rather choose to kill me, than to join with me: so much he is transported with prejudice in both these particulars, and so incapable to hear reason upon either of those arguments, though, in all other things, few men have a better understanding, or can discourse more reasonably."

Whilst they continued in all possible freedom in this conference, the earl of Lautherdale, who it seems was informed of the other's being there, came in his nightgown into the chamber, and so broke off the discourse. The other, after sitting some time in general conversation, departed. And there continued afterwards all civility between the duke and him. But as himself told the lady Aubigny, who shortly after died there, "he could not, without giving jealousy to his friend Lautherdale, which he had no mind to do,

"spend so much time with the other in private as he could have been willing to have done;" and the death of that lady lessened the opportunities.

In this unsteady and irresolute condition of the king's council, it was very manifest, that, how long soever his majesty should defer the resolution, to what place he would remove, he should not be able to stay long in the place where he was. The States, especially those of Holland, let fall somewhat every day in their councils and consultations, "that the king's residing in the Hague would be very inconvenient to them;" and it was the great interest of the prince of Orange, not without much dexterity, that kept the States from sending a message directly to his majesty, to desire him, "that he would depart from that country, as soon as he could." And there happened an accident at this time, which made the resolution necessary, and would inevitably have drawn on that message, which had yet been kept back.

It was touched before, that there was a purpose at London, to send over an envoy from thence into Holland, to prepare the way for a farther good intelligence and negotiation, which might end in a firm peace, and a reciprocal alliance between the two republics. To that purpose one Dorilaus, a doctor in the civil law, was named; who, being born in Delph in Holland, had been bred at Leyden, and afterwards lived long in London, having been received into Gresham college as a professor in one of those chairs which are endowed for public lectures in that society, and had been, from the beginning of the troubles, in the exercise of the judge advocate's office in the earl of Essex's army. In this conjuncture this man arrived at the Hague, and took his lodging in a house where strangers used to repair, and were accommodated till they provided otherwise for their better accommodation. Whilst he was at supper, the same evening that he came to the town, in company of many others who used to eat there, half a dozen gentlemen entered the room with their swords drawn, and required those who were at the table "not to stir; for that there was no harm intended to any but the agent who came from the rebels in England, who had newly murdered their king." And one of them, who knew Dorilaus, pulled him from the table, and with a dagger killed him at his feet: and thereupon they all put up their swords, and walked leisurely out of the house, leaving those who were in the room, in much amazement and consternation. Though all who were engaged in the enterprise went quietly away, and so out of the town, inasmuch as no one of them was ever apprehended, or called in question, yet they kept not their own counsel so well, (believing they had done a very heroic act,) but that it was generally known they were all Scottish men, and most of them servants or dependants upon the marquis of Mountrose.

The king was exceedingly troubled and perplexed with this accident, which he could not foresee, and easily discerned that it would be applied to his prejudice; and that the States could not but highly resent it, in many respects;

that the man who was killed was in truth their own subject, and employed to them, as a public minister, by those with whom they had no mind to have any quarrel. Upon all which his majesty concluded, that his presence there would quickly appear more unacceptable than ever: besides, that there had been the same night some quarrels and fighting in the streets between some servants of the king and some gentlemen of the town; in which a son of one of the States was dangerously hurt, though he recovered afterwards.

It cannot be denied but that the States proceeded upon these disorders, to which they had not been accustomed, with great gravity, and more than ordinary respect to the king. They were highly offended with what was past, and sensible what expostulations and clamour for justice they must expect, and sustain from England, and what reproaches they must undergo for suffering all those who had been guilty of such a crime, to escape the ministers of justice; which could not but be imputed to them, as a great scandal to their government: yet they proceeded very slowly in their inquisition, and with such formalities as were usual, (and which could bring no prejudice to the offenders; who were either gone out of their dominions, or concealed themselves in other towns, where the same formalities were to be used, if they were discovered,) and without so much reflection upon the king, as if they believed that the guilty persons had any relation to his service: yet they took notice of "the multitude of strangers which were in the town, and how impossible it would be for them to preserve the peace and good government thereof, if such resort were not restrained." They aggravated exceedingly "the indignity that had been offered to the state itself, in the attempt that had been made upon a person under their protection, and for whose safety the public faith was, upon the matter, engaged;" with insinuation enough, "that it would be fit for the king to remove from thence." Of all which his majesty receiving advertisement, he thought it better himself to give them notice of his purpose to leave them, than to expect a plain injunction from them to do so. He found this the more necessary to be done, since from the time that the Scottish commissioners were come thither, they had taken great pains to infuse into the opinions of that people, "that they were sent from the kingdom of Scotland, that was entirely and unanimously at his majesty's disposal, to invite him to repair thither, and to take possession of his government there, where there was already an army preparing to assist him towards the recovery of his other dominions; but that there was a party of evil counsellors about his majesty, who dissuaded him from accepting that their invitation, except they would be content to change their government of their church, and to establish episcopacy there again." And by these insinuations they persuaded many of the States to believe, that the defence of bishops, for whom they had no regard, was the sole difference between the king and them, which kept the king from going into Scotland: so

that the king was not without some apprehension, that, by that mistake and false information, the States might give him advice to accept the Scots' invitation. And therefore he sent to the States of Holland, "that he had a desire to say somewhat to them, if they would assign him an audience the next day;" which they readily did.

The king was received in the same manner he had been formerly, and being conducted into the room of council, after a short compliment, he delivered a paper to them, which he desired might be read, and that he might receive their advice thereupon as soon as they pleased. The memorial contained, in the first place, his majesty's acknowledgment of the civilities he had received there, and his desire "that by them the States General" (who were not at that time assembled) "might be informed of such his majesty's sense of their favours; especially in the full and high detestation they had expressed of the impious and unparalleled murder of his royal father of blessed memory, their fast and unshaken ally, by which the forms and rules of all kind of government were no less violated and dissolved, than that of monarchy: that he came to inform them that he did intend, in a short time, so to dispose of his person, as might with God's blessing most probably advance his affairs; and that for the better doing thereof, and that he might in so important an affair receive their particular advice, he should impart to them the true state and condition of his several dominions. That he needed not inform them of the deplorable condition of his kingdom of England, where the hearts and affections of his loyal subjects were so depressed and kept under by the power and cruelty of those who had murdered their late sovereign, and who every day gave fresh and bloody instances of their tyranny, to fright men from their allegiance, that for the present no man could believe that miserable kingdom could be fit for his majesty to trust his person in: that in Scotland, it is very true, that his majesty is proclaimed king, but with such limitations and restrictions against his exercise of his royal power, that in truth they had only given him the name, and denied him the authority: that above five parts of six of the nobility and chief gentry of that kingdom were likewise excluded from their just right, and from any part in the administration of the public affairs; so that that kingdom seemed not sufficiently prepared for his majesty's reception; but that he hoped, and doubted not; that there would be in a short time a perfect union and right understanding between all his subjects of that his kingdom, and a due submission and obedience from them all to his majesty, for that he was resolved (and had never had the least purpose to the contrary) to preserve and maintain the government of church and state in that kingdom, as it is established by the laws thereof, without any violation or alteration on his part: so that there could be no difference between him and his subjects of that kingdom, except they should endeavour, and press his majesty to alter the

"laws and government of his other kingdoms ; " which as it would be very unreasonable to " desire, so it is not in his power to do if he " should consent, and join with his subjects of " Scotland to that purpose: which made him " confident, that, when they had thoroughly " weighed and considered what was good for " themselves, as well as for him, they would ac- " quiesce with enjoying the laws and privileges " of that kingdom, without desiring to infringe " or impose upon those of their brethren and " neighbours." And his majesty desired the States, " that if any persons had endeavoured " to make any impressions upon them, that he " hath or ever had any other intentions or desires, " with reference to his subjects of Scotland, than " what himself now expressed to them to have, " that they would give no credit to them : and " assured them, that they should always find him " constant to those resolutions, and especially, " that all ways and means which might lead to " the advancement and propagation of the pro- " testant religion should be so heartily embraced " by him, that the world should have cause to " believe him to be worthy of his title of *Defen-* " *der of the faith*, which he valued as his greatest " attribute."

This being the true present condition of his two kingdoms of England and Scotland, and it being necessary for his majesty, to give life to the afflicted state of his affairs by his own personal activity and vigour, he told them, "there remained only, that " he should impart to them the like state of his " other kingdom of Ireland ; which had likewise " sent to him, and desired him to repair thither " with great importunity : that the marquis of " Ormond, his lieutenant there, had concluded a " peace with the Roman catholics ; and that there- " by his majesty was entirely possessed of three " parts of four of that his large and fruitful king- " dom, and of the command of good armies, and " of many good ships to be joined to his own " fleet ; and that he had reason to hope and to " believe that Dublin itself, and the few other " places, which had submitted to the rebellious " power in England, either already were, upon the " knowledge of that odious parricide, returned to " their allegiance, or would speedily be reduced ; " of which he expected every day to receive ad- " vertisement ; which if it should fall out, yet he " foresaw many objections might be made against " his going thither, not only in regard of the diffi- " culty and danger of his passage, but of the " jealousies which would arise upon the large con- " cessions which were made unto the Roman " catholics of that kingdom ; which could not be " avoided." And having thus given them a clear " information of the state of his three kingdoms, his " majesty concluded with his desire, " that the States " would give him their advice as freely, to which " of them he should repair ; and that they would " give him all necessary assistance that he might " prosecute their counsel."

Many men had great fear that the king would have brought great prejudice to himself by this communication, and, upon the matter, obliged himself to follow their advice ; which they apprehended would be contrary to his own judgment. For nothing was more commonly discoursed among the Dutch, and by many of the States themselves, than " that the king ought, without delay, to

" throw himself into the arms of Scotland, and to " gratify them in all they desired : that bishops " were not worth the contending for ; and that the " supporting them had been the ruin of his father, " and would be his, if he continued in the same " obstinacy." But the king knew well that they would not so much concern themselves in his broken affairs, as to give him advice what to do : and it was necessary for him to get a little more time, upon some occurrences which would every day happen, before he took a positive resolution which way to steer : for though, in his own opinion, Ireland was the place to which he was to repair, yet he knew that, notwithstanding the peace that was made, there were several parties still in arms there, besides those who adhered to the parliament, who refused to submit to that peace. Though the general council at Kilkenny (which had been always looked upon as the representative of the confederate catholics of that kingdom, and to which they had always submitted) had fully consented to the treaty of peace with the lord lieutenant, yet Owen O'Neile, who had the command of all the Irish in Ulster, and who was looked upon as the best general they had, totally refused to submit to it, and positively protested against it, as not having provided for their interest ; and that council was not sorry for his separation, there being little less animosity between those of Ulster and the other Irish, than was between them both and the English : and they knew that O'Neile more insisted upon recompense in lands and preferments, than upon any provision that concerned religion itself. Then the Scots in Ulster, who were very numerous, and under good discipline, and well provided with arms and ammunition, would not submit to the commands of the lord lieutenant ; but were resolved to follow the example of their countrymen, and to see the king admitted and received, as well as proclaimed, before they would submit to his authority : which made the marquis of Ormond the less troubled at the obstinacy of O'Neile, (though he had used all the means he had to draw him in,) since he presumed the Scots and he would mortify each other, during the time that he should spend in making himself strong enough to suppress them both : for the Scots who would not join with the marquis were very vigorous in prosecuting the war against O'Neile, and the Irish of Ulster. These divisions, factions, and confusions in Ireland, made the king the more solicitous that his council should be unanimous for his going thither, at least that the Scots, how virulent soever against each other, should all concur in their advice, "that it was not " yet seasonable for him to go for Scotland ;" which made him labour so much to bring the Hamiltonians, and those who followed Mountrose, whom he believed both to be of that opinion, to meet together, and to own it jointly to the king in council : but it is said before how impossible it was to obtain that conjunction.

When the king found that it was not possible to bring the lords of the Scottish nation together to confer upon the affairs of that kingdom, he thought to have drawn them severally, that is, those of the engagement by themselves, and the marquis of Mountrose with his friends by themselves, to have given him their advice in the presence of his council, that so, upon debate thereof between them, his majesty might the more maturely have determined what he was to do. The marquis of Mountrose

expressed a great willingness to give his majesty satisfaction this or any other way, being willing to deliver his opinion concerning things, or persons, before any body, and in any place. But the lords of the engagement positively refused to deliver their opinion, but to the king himself, and not in the presence of his council; which, they said, "would be to confess a kind of subordination of the kingdom of Scotland, which was independent on the council of England;" and duke Hamilton told the counsellor, with whom he had before so freely conversed, and who expostulated with him upon it, "that it was the only ground of the heavy judgment in parliament against the earl of Traquair, that, having been the king's commissioner in Scotland, he gave account to the king of his transactions, and of the affairs of that kingdom, at the council table in England; whereof he was likewise a member; so jealous that kingdom was, and still is, of their native privileges;" and therefore desired, "that he might not be pressed to do what had been so penal to another in his own sight."

The king satisfied himself with having all their opinions delivered to himself, subscribed under all their hands, which every one consented to: though most of them would have been glad that the king would have gone into Scotland, upon what concessions soever; because they all believed his presence would quickly turn all, and that they should be quickly restored to their estates, which they cared most for; yet nobody presumed to give that advice, or seemed to think it seasonable. So that the king resumed the former debate of going directly for Ireland, and direction was given for providing ships, and all other things necessary for that voyage. There remained only one doubt, whether his majesty should take France in his way, that he might see his mother, who by letters and messages pressed him very earnestly so to do; or whether he should embark in Holland directly for Ireland; which would be less loss of time, and might be done so early in the spring, before the parliament's fleet should put to sea.

They who did not wish that the queen should exercise any power over the king, or have too much credit with him, were against his going into France, as "an occasion of spending more time than his affairs would permit, and an obligation to make a greater expense than he had, or knew where to have, means to defray;" and they thought it an argument of moment, "that, from the time of the murder of his father, the king had neither received letter of condolence from France, nor the least invitation to go thither." On the other side, they who wished and hoped that the queen would have such an influence upon the king that his council should have less credit with him, desired very much that his majesty would make France his way. The Scots desired it very much, believing they should find her majesty very propitious to their counsels, and inclined to trust their undertakings; and they were very sure that Mountrose would never go to Paris, or have credit with the queen.

The prince of Orange, and the princess royal his wife, had a great desire to gratify the queen, and that the king should see her in the way; and proposed, "that his majesty might appoint a place, where the queen and he might meet, without going to Paris; and, after three or four

days stay together, his majesty might hasten his journey to some convenient port, from whence he might embark for Ireland by a shorter passage than from Holland; and the prince of Orange would appoint two ships of war, to attend his majesty in that French port, before he should get thither." His majesty inclined this way, without positively resolving upon it; yet directed "that his own goods of bulk, and his inferior servants, should be presently embarked to take the quickest passage to Ireland;" and directed "that the rest, who were to wait upon his person, should likewise send their goods and baggage, and such servants who were not absolutely necessary for their present service, upon the same ships for Ireland;" declaring, "that, if he made France his way, he would make all possible haste, and go with as light a train as he could." Hereupon two ships were shortly after provided, and many persons (and great store of baggage) embarked for Ireland, and arrived there in safety; but most of the persons, and all the goods, miscarried in their return, when they knew that the king was not to come thither, upon the accidents that afterwards fell out there.

This resolution being taken, the lord Cottington, who had a just excuse from his age, being then seventy-five years old, to wish to be in some repose, considered with himself how to become disentangled from the fatigue of those voyages and journeys, which he saw the king would be obliged to make. In Holland he had no mind to stay, having never loved that people, nor been loved by them; and the climate itself was very pernicious to his health, by reason of the gout, which frequently visited him. France was as ungrateful to him, where he had not been kindly treated, and was looked upon as one who had been always addicted to Spain, and no friend to the crown of France; so that he was willing to find a good occasion to spend the remainder of his age where he had spent so much of his youth, in Spain, and where he believed that he might be able to do the king more service than any other way. And there was newly come to the Hague an English gentleman, who had been an officer in the king's army, and was at Madrid when the news came thither of the murder of the king: and he related many particulars of the passion and indignation of that court, upon that occasion, against the rebels; that "the king, and all the court, put themselves into solemn mourning;" (and he repeated some expressions which the king and don Lewis de Haro had made of tenderness and compassion for our king;) and that "the king of Spain spoke of sending an ambassador to his majesty."

These relations, and any thing of that kind, how weakly soever founded, were very willingly heard. And from hence the lord Cottington took occasion to confer with the chancellor of the exchequer (with whom he held a strict friendship, they living and keeping house together) of "the ill condition the king was in, and that he ought to think, what prince's kindness was like to be of most use and benefit to his majesty, and from whom he might hope to receive a sum of money; if not as much as might serve for a martial expedition, yet such an annual exhibition as might serve for his support: that he had already experience of France, and knew well the intelligence that the cardinal had at that very time with

"Cromwell: but he did verily believe, that if the king of Spain were dexterously treated with, and not more asked of him than could consist with his affairs to spare, a good yearly support might be procured there, and the expectation of it might be worth the king's sending an ambassador thither." He said, "he was more of that opinion since the king had taken the resolution of going for Ireland; where the king of Spain's credit might be of great benefit to him: that Owen O'Neile, with the old Irish of Ulster, were still in arms against the king; and would not submit to the conditions which the general council of the confederate catholics had consented to with the marquis of Ormond: that O'Neile had been bred in Spain, and had a regiment in Flanders, and so must have an absolute dependence upon his catholic majesty, for whom all the old Irish had ever had a particular devotion; and if it were only to dispose him and that people to the king's obedience, and to accept those conditions which might conveniently be given to them, it were well worth such a journey; and the king of Spain would never refuse to gratify the king to the utmost that could be desired in that particular." The chancellor thought this discourse not unreasonable, and asked him, "who would be fit to be sent thither?" not imagining that he had any thought of going thither himself. He answered, "that, if the king would be advised by him, he should send them two thither, and he did believe they should do him very good service;" at which the chancellor smiled, thinking he had only spoke in jest, and so the discourse ended.

The next day the lord Cottington resumed it again, and told him that he was not only in very good earnest in his former discourse, but that it was not sudden, nor without very serious deliberation. He said he might be thought principally to consider himself, that he might have the comfort of a friend whom he loved so well; but he assured him that did not prevail with him, but purely the consideration of the king's service, with a due regard to the person of the chancellor, who he thought ought to be pleased with the employment. That himself was old, and not fit to be relied on alone, in an affair of that weight; he might probably die upon the way, or shortly after his coming thither, and thus the whole affair, how hopeful soever, must miscarry; whereas if he were with him, the business would proceed upon all events, and he would have no occasion to repent the experience of such a negotiation and the knowledge of such a court, when he could not spend his time more pleasantly or more profitably: that he would take no great pleasure in France, nor find much grace with the queen; and if the king delayed his journey for Ireland so long as he was like to do, if he would be advised by his mother, they might make their journey into Spain, and with so good success, that the chancellor might embark in a convenient port from Spain, and arrive in Ireland as soon as the king, with those advantages of arms, ammunition, and other supplies, as would make him very welcome. These conferences continued for some days between themselves, when they were alone, and when they came tired from other consultations.

The chancellor was weary of the company he was in, and the business, which, having no prospect

but towards despair, was yet rendered more grievous by the continual contentions and animosities between persons. He knew he was not in the queen's favour at all, and should find no respect in that court. However, he was very scrupulous, that the king might not suspect that he was weary of his attendance, or that any body else might believe that he withdrew himself from waiting longer upon so desperate a fortune. In the end, he told the lord Cottington, "that he would only be passive in the point, and refer it entirely to him, if he thought fit to dispose the king to like it by all the arguments he could use; and if the king approved it so much as to take notice of it to the chancellor, and commend it as a thing he thought for his service, he would submit to his command, and very cheerfully accompany him through the employment;" with which Cottington was very well pleased, taking upon him what concerned the king.

The lord Cottington's heart was much set upon this employment, and he knew well, that if it took air before the king was well prepared and resolved, it would be much opposed as to the chancellor's part; because many who did not love him, yet thought his presence about the king to be of some use, therefore would do all they could to divert his going: and therefore he managed it so warily with the king, and presented the whole scheme to him so dexterously, that his majesty was much pleased with it, and approved it, and spake of it to the chancellor as a business he liked, and promised himself much good from it, and therefore persuaded him to undertake it cheerfully. Whereupon the chancellor desired him to think well of it, for he was confident many would dissuade his majesty from employing him that way; therefore he only besought him, that when he was so far resolved upon it as to publish it, he would not be afterwards prevailed with to change his purpose; which the king said he would not do; and shortly after declared his resolution publicly to send the lord Cottington and the chancellor of the exchequer his ambassadors extraordinary into Spain, and commanded them to prepare their own commission and instructions, and to begin their journey as soon as was possible. This was no sooner known, than all kinds of people, who agreed in nothing else, murmured and complained of this counsel, and the more, because it had never been mentioned or debated in council. Only the Scots were very glad of it, (Mountrose excepted,) believing that when the chancellor was gone, their beloved covenant would not be so irreverently mentioned, and that the king would be wrought upon to withdraw all countenance and favour from the marquis of Mountrose: and the marquis himself looked upon it as a deserting him, and complying with the other party; and from that time, though they lived with civility towards each other, he withdrew very much of his confidence, which he had formerly reposed in him. They who loved him were sorry for him and themselves; they thought he deserted a path he had long trod, and was well acquainted with, and was henceforward to move *extra spheram activitatis*, in an office he had not been acquainted with; and then they should want his credit to support and confirm them in the king's favour and grace. And there were many who were very sorry when they heard it, out of particular duty to the king, who being

young, they thought might be without that counsel and advisements which they knew well he would still administer to him. No man was more angry and offended with the counsel than the lord Colepepper, who would have been very glad to have gone himself in the employment, if he could have persuaded the lord Cottington to have accepted his company, which he could by no means do; and though he and the chancellor were not thought to have the greatest kindness for each other, yet he knew he could agree with no other man so well in business, and was very unwilling he should be from the person of the king. But the chancellor himself, from the time that the king had signified his own pleasure to him, was exceedingly pleased with the commission, and did believe that he should in some degree improve his understanding and very much refresh his spirits, by what he should learn by the one, and by his absence from being continually conversant with those wants which could never be severed from that court, and that company which would be always corrupted by those wants. And so he sent for his wife and children to meet him at Antwerp, where he intended they should reside whilst he continued in Spain, and where they were like to find some civilities, in respect of his employment.

Before the king could begin his own journey for France, and so to Ireland, and before his ambassadors for Spain could begin theirs, his majesty thought it necessary, upon the whole prospect of his affairs with reference to all places, to put his business into as good a method as he could, and to dispose of that number of officers, and soldiers, and other persons, who had presented themselves to be applied to his service, or to leave them to take the best course they could for their own subsistence. Of these, many were sent into Ireland with the ships which carried the king's goods, with recommendation to the marquis of Ormond, "to put them into his army till the king came thither." Since the Scots were no better disposed to serve, or receive the king for the present, his majesty was resolved to give the marquis of Mountrose all the encouragement he desired to visit them, and to incline them to a better temper.

There was then at the Hague Cornificius Wolfelte, ambassador extraordinary from the king of Denmark to the States General; who came with a great train and great state, and was himself a man of vanity and ostentation, and took pains to be thought so great a man by his own interest, that he did not enough extol the power of his master; which proved his ruin after his return. He had left Denmark before the news came thither of the murder of the king, and so he had no credentials for his majesty, by reason whereof he could not receive any public formal audience; but desired "the king's leave that he might, as by accident, be admitted to speak to him at the queen of Bohemia's court;" where his majesty used to be every day; and there the ambassador often spoke to him. The marquis of Mountrose had found means to endear himself much to this ambassador, who gave him encouragement to hope for a very good reception in Denmark, if the king would send him thither, and that he might obtain arms and ammunition there for Scotland. The ambassador told him, "that, if the king would write a letter to him to that purpose, he would presently supply him with some money and arms, in

"assurance that his master would very well approve of what he should do." The marquis of Mountrose well knew that the king was not able to supply him with the least proportion of money to begin his journey; and therefore he had only proposed, "that the king would give him several letters, in the form he prescribed, to several princes in Germany, whose affections he pretended to know;" which letters he sent by several officers, who were to bring the soldiers or arms they should obtain, to a rendezvous he appointed near Hamburg; and resolved himself to go into Sweden and Denmark, in hope to get supplies in both those places, both from the crowns, and by the contribution of many Scottish officers, who had command and estates in those countries; and so to have credentials, by virtue of which he might appear ambassador extraordinary from the king, if he should find it expedient; though he did intend rather to negotiate his business in private, and without any public character. All this was resolved before his confidence, at least his familiarity, with the ambassador was grown less. But, upon the encouragement he had from him, he moved the king "for his letter to the ambassador, to assist the marquis of Mountrose with his advice, and with his interest in Denmark, and in any other court, to the end that he might obtain the loan of monies, arms, and ammunition, and whatever else was necessary to enable the marquis to prosecute his intended descent into Scotland." The king, (who was exceedingly tired with his importunities,) glad that he did not press for ready money, which he was not able to supply him with, gave him such letters as he desired to all persons, and particularly to the ambassador himself, who, having order from his master to present the king with a sum of money for his present occasions, never informed the king thereof, but advised Mountrose to procure such a letter from his majesty to him; which being done, the marquis received that money from him, and likewise some arms; with which he begun his unfortunate enterprise; and prosecuted his journey to Hamburg; where he expected to meet his German troops, which he believed the officers he had sent thither with the king's letters would be well able to raise, with the assistance of those princes to whom they had been sent. But he was carried on by a stronger assurance he had received from some prophecies and predictions, to which he was naturally given, "that he should by his valour recover Scotland for the king, and from thence conduct an army that should settle his majesty in all his other dominions."

There had been yet nothing done with reference to England since the murder of the king; nor did there appear any thing, of any kind, to be attempted as yet there: there was so terrible a consternation, that still possessed the spirits of that people, that though men's affections were greater, and more general for the king, out of the horror and detestation they had of the late parricide, yet the owning it was too penal for their broken courage; nor was it believed possible for any man to contribute any thing, at present, for their deliverance. However, most men were of opinion, "that it was necessary for the king to publish some declaration, that he might not seem utterly to give over his claim there; and to keep up the spirits of his friends." And many from England,

who in the midst of their despair would give some counsel, advised, "that there might be somewhat published by the king that might give some check to the general submitting to the engagement, which was so universally pressed there." The king being every day advertised, how much this was desired and expected, and the Scottish lords being of the same opinion, hoping that somewhat might be inserted in it that might favour the presbyterians, his majesty proposed at the council, "that there might be some draught prepared of a proclamation, or declaration, only with reference to the kingdom of England;" and the chancellor of the exchequer, who had been most conversant in instruments of that nature, was appointed to make one ready; though he had declared, "that he did not know what such a declaration could contain, and therefore that he thought it not seasonable to publish any." The prince of Orange was present at that council, and, whether from his own opinion, or from the suggestion of the Scottish lords, who were much favoured by him, he wished, "that, in regard of the great differences which were in England about matters of religion, the king would offer, in this declaration, to refer all matters in controversy concerning religion to a national synod; in which there should be admitted some foreign divines from the protestant churches;" which, he thought, would be a popular clause, and might be acceptable abroad as well as at home: and the king believed no objection could be made against it; and so thought fit such a clause should be inserted.

Within a short time after the council was parted, the prince of Orange sent for the lord Cottington, and told him, "he was not enough acquainted with the chancellor of the exchequer, but desired him to entreat him not to be too sharp in this declaration, the end whereof was to unite and reconcile different humours; and that he found many had a great apprehension, that the sharpness of his style would irritate them much more." The chancellor knew well enough that this came from the lord Lauderdale, and he wished heartily that the charge might be committed to any body else, protesting, "that he was never less disposed in his own conceptions and reflections to undertake any such task in his life; and that he could not imagine how it was possible for the king to publish a declaration at that time, (his first declaration,) without much sharpness against the murderers of his father;" which nobody could speak against; nor could he be excused from the work imposed upon him: and the prince of Orange assured him, "it was not that kind of sharpness which he wished should be declined;" and though he seemed not willing farther to explain himself, it was evident that he wished that there might not be any sharpness against the presbyterians, for which there was at that time no occasion.

There was one particular, which, without a full and particular instruction, the chancellor could not presume to express. The great end of this declaration was to confirm the affection of as many as was possible for the king, and, consequently, as few were to be made desperate as might consist with the king's honour, and necessary justice; so that how far that clause, which was essential to a declaration upon this subject, concerning the indemnity of persons, should extend, was the ques-

tion. And in this there was difference of opinions; the most prevalent was, "that no persons should be excepted from pardon, but only such who had an immediate hand in the execrable murder of the king, by being his judges, and pronouncing that sentence, and they who performed the execution." Others said, they "knew that some were in the list of the judges, and named by the parliament, who found excuses to be absent;" and others, that "some who were not named, more contrived and contributed to that odious proceeding, than many who were actors in it." But the resolution was, that the former should be only comprehended.

When the declaration was prepared, and read at the board, there was a deep silence, no man speaking to any part of it. But another day was appointed for the second reading it, against which time every man might be better prepared to speak to it: and in the mean time the prince of Orange, in regard he was not a perfect master of the English tongue, desired he might have a copy of it, that he might the better understand it. And the chancellor of the exchequer desired, "that not only the prince of Orange might have a copy, but that his majesty would likewise have one, and, after he should have perused it himself, he would shew it to any other, who he thought was fit to advise with;" there being many lords and other persons of quality about him, who were not of the council: and he moved, "that he might have liberty himself to communicate it to some who were like to make a judgment, how far any thing of that nature was like to be acceptable, and agreeable to the minds of the people;" and named Herbert the attorney general, and Dr. Steward, who was dean of the chapel to the king; whose opinion, in all things relating to the church, the king had been advised by his father to submit to. All which was approved by the king; and, for that reason, a farther day was appointed for the second reading. The issue was, that, except two or three of the council, who were of one and the same opinion of the whole, there were not two persons who were admitted to the perusal of it, who did not take some exception to it, though scarce two made the same exception.

Doctor Steward, though a man of a very good understanding, was so exceedingly grieved at the clause of admitting foreign divines into a synod that was to consult upon the church of England, that he could not be satisfied by any arguments that could be given of "the impossibility of any effect, or that the parliament would accept the overture; and that there could be no danger if it did, because the number of those foreign divines must be still limited by the king;" but came one morning to the chancellor, with whom he had a friendship, and protested "he had not slept that night, out of the agony and trouble, that he, who he knew loved the church so well, should consent to a clause so much against the honour of it;" and went from him to the king, to beseech him never to approve it. Some were of opinion, "that there were too few excepted from pardon; by which the king would not have confiscations enough to satisfy and reward his party;" and others thought, "that there were too many excepted; and that it was not prudent to make so many men desperate; but that it would be sufficient to except Cromwell, and



"Bradshaw, and three or four more of those whose malice was most notorious; the whole number not to exceed six."

The Scots did not value the clause for foreign divines, who, they knew, could persuade little in an English synod; but they were implacably offended, that the king mentioned the government of the church of England, and the Book of Common Prayer, with so much reverence and devotion; which was the sharpness they most feared of the chancellor's style, when they thought now the covenant to be necessary to be insisted upon more than ever. So that, when the declaration was read at the board the second time, most men being moved with the discourses, and fears which were expressed abroad of some ill effects it might produce, it was more faintly debated, and men seemed not to think that the publishing any, at this time, was of so much importance, as they formerly had conceived it to be. By all which men may judge, how hard a thing it was for the king to resolve, and act with that steadiness and resolution, which the most unprosperous condition doth more require than the state that is less perplexed and entangled. The declaration slept without farther proposition to emit any.

All things being now as much provided for as they were like to be, the two ambassadors for Spain were very solicitous to begin their journey, the king being at last resolved not to give his mother the trouble of making a journey to meet him, but to go himself directly to St. Germain's, where her majesty was. The prince of Orange, to advance that resolution, had promised to supply the king with twenty thousand pounds; which was too great a loan for him to make, who had already great debts upon him, though it was very little for the enabling the king to discharge the debts he and his family had contracted at the Hague, and to make his journey. Out of this sum the lord Cottington and the chancellor were to receive so much as was designed to defray their journey to Paris: what was necessary for the discharge of their embassy, or for making their journey from Paris, was not yet provided. The king had some hope, that the duke of Lorraine would lend him some money; which he designed for this service; which made it necessary that they should immediately resort to Brussels, to finish that negotiation, and from thence to prosecute their journey.

In the soliciting their first despatch at the Hague, they made a discovery that seemed very strange to them, though afterwards it was a truth that was very notorious. Their journey having been put off some days, only for the receipt of that small sum, which was to be paid out of the money to be lent by the prince of Orange, and Hemflet, the prince's chief officer in such affairs of money, had been some days at Amsterdam to negotiate that loan, and no money was returned, they believed that there was some affected delay; and so went to the prince of Orange, who had advised, and was well pleased with that embassy, to know when that money would be ready for the king, that he might likewise resolve upon the time for his own journey. The prince told them, he believed, "that they, who knew London so well, and had heard so much discourse of the wealth of Holland, would wonder very much that he should have been endeavouring above ten days to borrow twenty thousand pounds; and that the richest men in

Amsterdam had promised him to supply him with it, and that one half of it was not yet provided." He said, "it was not that there was any question of his credit, which was very good; and that the security he gave was as good as any body desired, and upon which he could have double the sum in less time, if he would receive it in paper, which was the course of that country; where bargains being made for one hundred thousand pounds to be paid within ten days, it was never known that twenty thousand pounds was paid together in one town; but by bills upon Rotterdam, Harlem, the Hague, and Antwerp, and other places, which was as convenient, or more, to all parties; and he did verily believe, that though Amsterdam could pay a million within a month, upon any good occasion, yet they would be troubled to bring twenty thousand pounds together into any one room; and that was the true reason, that the money was not yet brought to the Hague; which it should be within few days;" as it was accordingly.

They took their leave of the king at the Hague before the middle of May, and had a yacht from the prince of Orange, that expected them at Rotterdam, and transported them with great convenience to Antwerp, where the chancellor's wife and his family were arrived ten days before, and were settled in a good and convenient house; where the lord Cottington and he both lodged whilst they stayed in that city. There they met the lord Jermyn in his way towards the king, to hasten the king's journey into France, upon the queen's great importunity. He was very glad they were both come away from the king, and believed he should more easily prevail with his majesty in all things, as indeed he did. After two or three days stay at Antwerp, they went to Brussels to deliver their credentials both to the archduke and the duke of Lorraine, and to visit the Spanish ministers, and, upon their landing at Brussels, they took it for a very good omen, that they were assured, "that Le Brune, who had been one of the plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Munster, on the behalf of the king of Spain, was then in that town with credentials to visit the king, and to condole with him." They had an audience, the next day, of the archduke: they performed the compliments to him from the king, and informed him of their embassy into Spain, and desired his recommendation, and good offices in that court; which he, according to his slow and formal way of speaking, consented to: and they had no more to do with him, but received the visits from the officers, in his name, according to the style of that court. Their main business was with the duke of Lorraine, to procure money for their journey into Spain.

The duke was a prince that lived in a different manner from all other sovereign princes in the world: from the time, that he had been driven out of his country by France, he had retired to Brussels with his army, which he kept up very strong, and served the king of Spain with it against the French, upon such terms and conditions as were made, and renewed every year between them; by which he received great sums of money yearly from the Spaniard, and was sure very rich in money. He always commanded apart in the field; his officers received no orders but from himself: he always agreed at the council of war what he



should do, and his army was in truth the best part of the Spanish forces. In the town of Brussels he lived without any order, method, or state of a prince, except towards the Spaniards in his treaties, and being present in their councils, where he always kept his full dignity: otherwise, he lived in a jolly familiarity with the bourgeois and their wives, and feasted with them, but scarce kept a court, and no number of servants, or retinue. The house wherein he lived was a very ordinary one, and worse furnished; nor was he often there, or easy to be found; so that the ambassadors could not easily send to him for an audience. He received them in a lower room with great courtesy and familiarity; and visited them at their own lodging. He was a man of great wit, and presence of mind, and, if he had not affected extravagancies, no man knew better how to act the prince. He loved his money very much; yet the lord Cottington's dexterity and address prevailed with him to lend the king two thousand pistoles; which was all that was in their view for defraying their embassy. But they hoped they should procure some supply in Spain, out of which their own necessary expenses must be provided for.

There were two Spaniards, by whom all the councils there were governed and conducted, and which the archduke himself could not control; the conde of Pignoranda (who was newly come from Munster, being the other plenipotentiary there; and stayed only at Brussels, in expectation of renewing the treaty again with France; but, whilst he stayed there, was in the highest trust in all the affairs) and the conde of Fuensaldagna, who was the governor of the arms, and commanded the army next under the archduke; which was a subordination very little inferior to the being general. They were both very able and expert men in business, and if they were not very wise men, that nation had none. The former was a man of the robe, of a great wit, and much experience, proud, and, if he had not been a little too pedantic, might very well be looked upon as a very extraordinary man, and was much improved by the excellent temper of Le Brune, (the other plenipotentiary,) who was indeed a wise man, and by seeming to defer in all things to Pignoranda, governed him. The conde of Fuensaldagna was of a much better temper, more industry, and more insinuation than Spaniards use to have: his greatest talent lay to business; yet he was the best general of that time to all other offices and purposes, than what were necessary in the hour of battle, when he was not so present and composed as at all other seasons.

Both these received the ambassadors with the usual civilities, and returned their visits at their own lodging, but seemed not pleased with their journey to Madrid, and spoke much of the necessities that crown was in, and its disability to assist the king; which the ambassadors imputed to the influence don Alonzo de Cardinas had upon them both; who remained still under the same character in England he had done for many years before. The same civilities were performed between Le Brune and them; who treated them with much more freedom, and encouraged them to hope well from their negotiation in Spain; acquainted them with his own instructions, "to give the king all assurance of the affection of his catholic majesty, and of his readiness to do any thing for him that

"was in his power." He said, "he only deferred his journey, because he heard that the king intended to spend some time at Breda; and he had rather attend him there, than at the Hague."

When the ambassadors had despatched all their business at Brussels, and received the money from the duke of Lorraine, they returned to Antwerp; where they were to negotiate for the return of their monies to Madrid; which required very much wariness, the bills from thence using to find now more difficulties at Madrid, than they had done in former times.

What was imagined fell out. By the letters my lord Jermyn brought, and the importunity he used, the king resolved to begin his journey sooner than he thought to have done, that is, sooner than he thought he should have been able, all provisions being to begin to be made both for his journey into France, and from thence into Ireland, after the money was received that should pay for them. But the queen's impatience was so great to see his majesty, that the prince of Orange, and the princess royal his wife, were as impatient to give her that satisfaction. Though her majesty could not dislike any resolution the king had taken, nor could imagine whither he should go but into Ireland, she was exceedingly displeased that any resolution had been taken before she was consulted. She was angry that the counsellors were chosen without her directions, and looked upon all that had been done, as done in order to exclude her from meddling in the affairs; all which she imputed principally to the chancellor of the exchequer: and yet she was not pleased with the design of the negotiation in Spain. For though she had no confidence of his affection to her, or rather of his complying with all her commands, yet she had all confidence in his duty and integrity to the king, and therefore wished he should be still about his person, and trusted in his business; which she thought him much fitter for than such a negotiation, which she believed, out of her natural prejudice to Spain, would produce no advantage to the king.

That the queen might receive some content, in knowing that the king had begun his journey, the prince of Orange desired him, "whilst his servants prepared what was necessary at the Hague, that himself, and that part of his train that was ready, would go to Breda, and stay there till the rest were ready to come up to him;" that being his best way to Flanders, through which he must pass into France. Breda was a town of the prince's own, where he had a handsome palace and castle, and a place where the king might have many diversions. Hither the Spanish ambassador, Le Brune, came to attend his majesty, and delivered his master's compliments to his majesty, and offered his own services to him, whilst he should remain in those provinces; he being at that time designed to remain ambassador to the United Provinces; as he did; and died shortly after at the Hague, with a general regret. He was born a subject to the king of Spain, in that part of Burgundy that was under his dominion; and having been from his cradle always bred in business, and being a man of great parts and temper, he might very well be looked upon as one of the best statesmen in Christendom, and who best understood the true interest of all the princes of Europe.

As soon as the lord Cottington and the chancellor heard of the king's being at Breda, and that he intended to hasten his journey for France, they resolved, having in truth not yet negotiated all things necessary for their journey, to stay till the king passed by, and not to go to St. Germain's till the first interview, and éclaircissements were passed between the king and queen, that they might then be the better able to judge what weather was like to be.

The king was received at Antwerp with great magnificence: he entered in a very rich coach with six horses, which the archduke sent a present to him when he came into the Spanish dominions: he was treated there, at the charge of the city, very splendidly for two days: and went then to Brussels, where he was lodged in the palace, and royally entertained. But the French army, under the command of the conte de Harcourt, was two days before set down before Cambray; with the news whereof the Spanish council was surprised, and in so much disorder, that the archduke was gone to the army to Mons, and Valenciennes, whilst the king was in Antwerp; so that the king was received only by his officers; who performed their parts very well.

Here the conde of Pignoranda waited upon the king in the quality of an ambassador, and covered. And his majesty stayed here three or four days, not being able suddenly to resolve which way he should pass into France. But he was not troubled long with that doubt; for the French thought to have surprised that town, and to have cast up their line of circumvallation before any supplies could be put in; but the conde Fuensaldagna found a way to put seven or eight hundred foot into the town; upon which the French raised the siege; and so the king made his journey by the usual way; and, near Valenciennes, had an interview with the archduke; and, after some short ceremonies, continued on his journey, and lodged at Cambray; where he was likewise treated by the conde de Garcies, who was governor there, and a very civil gentleman.

About a week after the king left Brussels, the two ambassadors prosecuted their journey for Paris; where they stayed only one day, and then went to St. Germain's; where the king and the queen his mother, with both their families, and the duke of York's, then were; by whom they were received graciously. They had no reason to repent their providence in staying so long behind the king, for they found the court so full of jealousy and disorder, that every body was glad that they were come. After the first two or three days that the king and queen had been together, which were spent in tears and lamentations for the great alteration that had happened since their last parting, the queen begun to confer with the king of his business, and what course he meant to take; in which she found him so reserved, as if he had no mind she should be conversant in it. He made no apologies to her; which she expected; nor any professions of resigning himself up to her advice. On the contrary, upon some expostulations, he had told her plainly, "that he would always perform his duty towards her with great affection and exactness, but that in his business he would obey his own reason and judgment;" and did as good as desire her not to trouble herself in his affairs: and finding her passions strong, he fre-

quently retired from her with some abruptness, and seemed not to desire to be so much in her company as she expected; and prescribed some rules to be observed in his own retirement, which he had not been accustomed to.

This kind of unexpected behaviour gave the queen much trouble. She begun to think, that this distance, which the king seemed to affect, was more than the chancellor of the exchequer could wish; and that there was somebody else, who did her most disservice: insomuch as to the ladies who were about her, whereof some were very much his friends, she seemed to wish, that the chancellor were come. There was a gentleman, who was newly come from England, and who came to the Hague after the chancellor had taken his leave of the king, and had been ever since very close about him, being one of the grooms of his bedchamber, one Mr. Thomas Elliot, a person spoken of before; whom the king's father had formerly sent into France, at the same time that he resolved the prince should go for the west; and for no other reason, but that he should not attend upon his son. And he had given order, "that if he should return out of France, and come into the west, the council should not suffer him to be about the prince;" with whom he thought he had too much credit, and would use it ill; and he had never seen the prince from the time he left Oxford till now. He was a bold man, and spoke all things confidently, and had not that reverence for the late king which he ought to have had; and less for the queen; though he had great obligations to both; yet being not so great as he had a mind to, he looked upon them as none. This gentleman came to the king just as he left the Hague, and both as he was a new comer, and as one for whom his majesty had formerly much kindness, was very well received; and being one who would receive no injury from his modesty, made the favour the king shewed him as bright, and to shine as much in the eyes of all men, as was possible. He was never from the person of the king, and always whispering in his ear, taking upon him to understand the sense and opinion of all the loyal party in England: and when he had a mind that the king should think well, or ill, of any man, he told him, "that he was much beloved by, or very odious to, all his party in England." By these infusions, he had prevailed with him to look with less grace upon the earl of Bristol, who came from Caen (where he had hitherto resided) to kiss his hands, than his own good nature would have inclined him to; and more to discountenance the lord Digby, and to tell him plainly, "that he should not serve him in the place of secretary of state;" in which he had served his father, and from which men have seldom been removed upon the descent of the crown; and not to admit either father or son to be of his council; which was more extraordinary. He told the king, "it would be the most unpopular thing he could do, and which would lose him more hearts in England, if he were thought to be governed by his mother." And in a month's time that he had been about the king, he begun already to be looked upon as very like to become the favourite. He had used the queen with wonderful neglect when she spoke to him, and had got so much interest with the king, that he had procured a promise from his majesty to make colonel Windham, whose daughter Mr.

Elliot had married, secretary of state; an honest gentleman, but marvellously unequal to that province; towards which he could not pretend a better qualification, than that his wife had been nurse to the prince, who was now king.

In these kinds of humour and indisposition they found the court, when they came to St. Germain's. They had, during their stay at Paris, in their way to court, conferred with the earl of Bristol, and his son the lord Digby; who breathed out their griefs to them; and the lord Digby was the more troubled to find that Mr. Elliot, who was a known and declared enemy of his, had gotten so much credit with the king, as to be able to satisfy his own malice upon him, by the countenance of his majesty; in whom, he knew, the king his father desired, that he should of all men have the least interest. After they had been a day or two there, the chancellor of the exchequer thinking it his duty to say somewhat to the queen in particular, and knowing that she expected he should do so, and the king having told him at large all that had passed with his mother, and the ill humour she was in, (all which his majesty related in a more exalted dialect than he had been accustomed to,) and his majesty being very willing that he should clearly understand what the queen thought upon the whole, the chancellor asked a private audience; which her majesty readily granted. And after she had easily expostulated upon the old passages at Jersey, she concluded with the mention of the great confidence the king her husband had always reposed in him, and thereupon renewed her own gracious professions of good-will towards him. Then she complained, not without tears, of the king's unkindness towards her, and of his way of living with her, of some expressions he had used in discourse in her own presence, and of what he had said in other places, and of the great credit Mr. Elliot had with him, and of his rude behaviour towards her majesty, and lastly of the incredible design of making Windham secretary; "who, besides his other unfitness," she said, "would be sure to join with the other to lessen the king's kindness to her all they could." The chancellor, after he had made all the professions of duty to her majesty which became him, and said what he really believed of the king's kindness and respect for her, asked her, "whether she would give him leave to take notice of any thing she had said to him, or, in general, that he found her majesty unsatisfied with his kindness?" The queen replied, "that she was well contented he should take notice of every thing she had said; and, above all, of his purpose to make Windham secretary:" of which the king had not made the least mention, though he had taken notice to him of most other things the queen had said to him.

The chancellor, shortly after, found an opportunity to inform the king of all that had passed from the queen, in such a method as might give him occasion to enlarge upon all the particulars. The king heard him very greedily, and protested, "that he desired nothing more than to live very well with the queen; towards whom he would never fail in his duty, as far as was consistent with his honour, and the good of his affairs; which, at present, it may be, required more reservation towards the queen, and to have it believed that he communicated less with her than he did, or than he intended to do; that, if he did not seem to

"be desirous of her company, it was only when she grieved him by some importunities, in which he could not satisfy her; and that her exception against Elliot was very unjust; and that he knew well the man to be very honest, and that he loved him well; and that the prejudice the king his father had against him was only by the malice of the lord Digby, who hated him without a cause, and had likewise informed the queen of some falsehoods, which had incensed her majesty against him;" and seemed throughout much concerned to justify Elliot, against whom the chancellor himself had no exceptions, but received more respects from him than he paid to most other men.

When the chancellor spoke of making Windham secretary, the king did not own the having promised to do it, but "that he intended to do it." The chancellor said, "he was glad he had not promised it; and that he hoped, he would never do it: that he was an honest gentleman, but in no degree qualified for that office." He put him in mind of secretary Nicholas, who was then there to present his duty to him; "that he was a person of such known affection and honesty, that he could not do a more ungracious thing than to displace him." The king said, "he thought secretary Nicholas to be a very honest man; but he had no title to that office more than another man: that Mr. Windham had not any experience, but that it depended so much upon forms, that he would quickly be instructed in it: that he was a very honest man, for whom he had never done any thing, and had now nothing else to give him but this place; for which he doubted not but, in a short time, he would make himself very fit." All that the chancellor could prevail with his majesty was, to suspend the doing it for some time, and that he would hear him again upon the subject, before he took a final resolution. For the rest, he promised "to speak upon some particulars with the queen, and to live with her with all kindness and freedom, that she might be in good humour." But he heard her, and all others, very unwillingly, who spoke against Mr. Windham's parts for being secretary of state.

One day the lord Cottington, when the chancellor and some others were present, told the king very gravely, (according to his custom, who never smiled when he made others merry,) "that he had an humble suit to him, on the behalf of an old servant of his father's, and whom, he assured him upon his knowledge, his father loved as well as he did any man of that condition in England; and that he had been for many years one of his falconers; and he did really believe him to be one of the best falconers in England;" and thereupon enlarged himself (as he could do excellently in all the terms of that science) to shew how very skilful he was in that art. The king asked him, "what he would have him do for him?" Cottington told him, "it was very true that his majesty kept no falconers, and the poor man was grown old, and could not ride as he had used to do; but that he was a very honest man, and could read very well, and had as audible a voice as any man need to have;" and therefore besought his majesty, "that he would make him his chaplain;" which speaking with so composed a countenance, and somewhat of earnestness, the king looked upon him with a smile to know

what he meant; when he, with the same gravity, assured him, "the falconer was in all respects as "fit to be his chaplain, as colonel Windham was "to be secretary of state;" which so surprised the king, who had never spoken to him of the matter, all that were present being not able to abstain from laughing, that his majesty was somewhat out of countenance: and this being merrily told by some of the standers by, it grew to be a story in all companies, and did really divert the king from the purpose, and made the other so much ashamed of pretending to it, that there was no more discourse of it.

Whilst all endeavours were used to compose all ill humours here, that the king might prosecute his intended voyage for Ireland, and that the two ambassadors might proceed in their journey towards Spain, there came very ill news from Ireland. As soon as the marquis of Ormond was arrived, as hath been said before, the confederate catholics, who held their assembly, as they had always done, at Kilkenny, sent commissioners to him to congratulate his arrival, and to enter upon a treaty of peace, that they might all return to their obedience to the king. But the inconstancy of that nation was such, that, notwithstanding their experience of the ruin they had brought upon themselves by their falling from their former peace, and notwithstanding that themselves had sent to Paris to importune the queen and the prince to send the marquis of Ormond back to them, with all promises and protestations that they would not insist upon any unreasonable concessions; now he was come upon their invitation to them, they made new demands in point of religion, and insisted upon other things, which if he should consent to, would have irreconciled all the English, who were under the lord Inchiquin, upon whom his principal confidence was placed: by this means so much time was spent, that the winter passed without any agreement; whereby they might have advanced against the parliament forces, which were then weak, and in want of all manner of supplies, whilst the distractions continued in England between the parliament and the army, the divisions in the army, and the prosecution of the king; during which the governors there had work enough to look to themselves; and left Ireland to provide for itself; and if that unfortunate people would have made use of the advantages that were offered, that kingdom might indeed have been entirely reduced to the king's obedience.

That the lord lieutenant might even compel them to preserve themselves, he went himself to Kilkenny, where the council sat, about Christmas, after three months had been spent from his arrival, that no more time might be lost in their commissioners' coming and going, and that the spring might not be lost as well as the winter. And at last a peace was made and concluded; by which, against such a day, the confederate catholics obliged themselves "to bring into the field a body "of horse and foot, with all provisions for the "field, which should be at the disposal of the lord "lieutenant, and to march as he should appoint." The treaty had been drawn out into the more length, in hope to have reduced the whole nation to the same agreement. And the general assembly, to which they all pretended to submit, and from which all had received their commissions, as hath been said, sent to Owen O'Neile, who remained

in Ulster with his army, and came not himself to Kilkenny, as he ought to have done, upon pretence of his indisposition of health. He professed "to submit to whatsoever the general assembly "should determine;" but when they sent the articles, to which they had agreed, to be signed by him, he took several exceptions, especially in matters of religion; which he thought was not enough provided for; and, in the end, positively declared, "that he would not submit, or be bound "by them;" and at the same time he sent to the marquis of Ormond, "that he would treat with "him apart, and not concern himself in what "the assembly resolved upon."

The truth is, there was nothing of religion in this contention; which proceeded from the animosity between the two generals, O'Neile and Preston, and the bitter faction between the old Irish and the other, who were as much hated by the old, as the English were; and lastly, from the ambition of Owen O'Neile; who expected some concessions to be made to him in his own particular, which would very much have offended and incensed the other party, if they had been granted to him: so that the assembly was well pleased to leave him out, and concluded the peace without him.

Hereupon the lord lieutenant used all possible endeavours that the army might be formed, and ready to march in the beginning of the spring. And though there was not an appearance answerable to their promise, yet their troops seemed so good, and were so numerous, that he thought fit to march towards Dublin; and, in the way, to take all the castles and garrisons, which were possessed by the parliament: in which they had very good success. For many of the parliament soldiers having served the king, they took the first opportunity, upon the marquis of Ormond's approach within any distance, to come to him; and by that means several places surrendered likewise to him. Colonel Monk, who had formerly served the king, and remained for the space of three or four years prisoner in the Tower, had been at last prevailed with by the lord Lisle to serve the parliament against the Irish; pleasing himself with an opinion that he did not therein serve against the king. He was at this time governor of Dundalk, a garrison about thirty miles from Dublin; which was no sooner summoned (Tredagh and those at a nearer distance being taken) but he was compelled by his own soldiers to deliver it up; and if the officer, who commanded the party which summoned him, had not been his friend, and thereby hoped to have reduced him to the king's service, his soldiers would have thrown him over the walls, and made their own conditions afterwards; and most of that garrison betook themselves to the king's service.

Upon all these encouragements, before the troops were come up to make the army numerous enough, the marquis was persuaded to block up Dublin at a very little distance; having good reason to hope, from the smallness of the garrison, and a party of well affected people within the town, that it would in a short time have been given up to him. In the mean time, he used all the means he could to hasten the Irish troops, some whereof were upon their march, and others not yet raised, to come up to the army. By all their letters from London (with which, by the way of Dublin, and the ports

of Munster, there was good intelligence) they understood, that there were fifteen hundred or two thousand men shipped for Ireland: and the wind having been for some time against their coming for Dublin, there was an apprehension that they might be gone for Munster: whereupon the lord Inchiquin, who was not confident of all his garrisons there, very unhappily departed with some troops of horse to look after his province; there being then no cause to apprehend any sally out of Dublin, where they were not in a condition to look out of their own walls. But he was not gone above two days, when the wind coming fair, the ships expected came into the port of Dublin; and landed a greater number of soldiers, especially of horse, than was reported; and brought the news that Cromwell himself was made lieutenant of Ireland, and intended to be shortly there with a very great supply of horse and foot. This fleet that was already come had brought arms, and clothes, and money, and victuals; which much exalted the garrison and the city; which presently turned out of the town some of those who were suspected to wish well to the marquis of Ormond, and imprisoned others. The second day after the arrival of the succours, Jones, who had been a lawyer, and was then governor of Dublin, at noon-day marched out of the city, with a body of three thousand foot, and three or four troops of horse, and fell upon that quarter which was next the town; where they found so little resistance that they adventured upon the next; and in short so disordered the whole army, one half whereof was on the other side the river, that the lord lieutenant, after he had, in the head of some officers whom he drew together, charged the enemy with the loss of many of those who followed him, was at last compelled to draw off the whole army, which, though the loss was not great, was so discomfited, that he did not think fit to return again to their posts, till both the troops which he had were refreshed, and composed, and their numbers increased by the levies which ought to have been made before, and which were now in a good forwardness.

It may be remembered, that the general insurrections in the last year, the revolt of the navy, and the invasion of the Scots, encouraged and drawn in by the presbyterian party, had so disturbed and obstructed the counsels both in the parliament, and in the army, that nothing had been done in all that year towards the relief of Ireland, except the sending over the lord Lisle as lieutenant, with a commission that was determined at the end of so many months, and which had given (so little relief to the English,) that it only discovered more their weakness, and animosity towards each other, than obstructed the Irish in making their progress in all the parts of the kingdom; and the more confirmed the lord Inchiquin to pursue his resolutions of serving the king, and of receiving the marquis of Ormond, how meanly soever attended, and to unite with the Irish; the perfecting of which conjunction, with so general a success, brought so great reproach upon the parliament, with reference to the loss of Ireland, that the reproach and noise thereof was very great: so that Cromwell thought it high time, in his own person, to appear upon a stage of so great action. There had been always men enough to be spared out of the army to have been sent upon that expedition,

when the other difficulties were at highest; but the conducting it then was of that importance, that it was, upon the matter, to determine which power should be superior, the presbyterian or the independent. And therefore the one had set up and designed Waller for that command, and Cromwell, against him and that party, had insisted, that it should be given to Lambert, the second man of the army, who was known to have as great a detestation of the presbyterian power, as he had of the prerogative of the crown: and the contests between the two factions, which of these should be sent, had spent a great part of the last year, and of their winter counsels. But now, when all the domestic differences were so composed by their successes in the field, and the bloody prosecution of their civil counsels, so that there could be little done to the disturbance of the peace of England, and when Waller's friends were so suppressed, that he was no more thought of, Cromwell began to think that the committing the whole government of Ireland, with such an army as was necessary to be sent thither, was too great a trust even for his beloved Lambert himself, and was to lessen his own power and authority, both in the army which was commanded by Fairfax, and in the other, that, being in Ireland, would, upon any occasion, have great influence upon the affairs of England. And therefore, whilst there appeared no other obstructions in the relief of Ireland (which was every day loudly called for) than the determining which of the two persons named for the command of it should take that charge, some of his friends, who were always ready upon such occasions, on a sudden proposed, as a good expedient to put an end to that debate, wherein two persons of great merit were concerned, and who might possibly think that it would be some prejudice for either of them to be preferred before the other, to nominate a third person, who might reasonably be preferred before them both, and thereupon named Cromwell the lieutenant general, to conduct that expedition.

Cromwell himself was always absent when such overtures were to be made; and whoever had proposed Lambert, had proposed it as a thing most agreeable to Cromwell's desire; and therefore, when they heard Cromwell himself proposed for the service, and by those who they were sure intended him no affront, they immediately acquiesced in the proposition, and looked upon the change as a good expedient: on the other side, the presbyterian party was no less affected, and concluded that this was only a trick to defer the service, and that he never did intend to go thither in person; or that if he did, his absence from England would give them all the advantages they could wish, and that they should then recover entirely their general Fairfax to their party; who was already much broken in spirit upon the concurrence he had been drawn to, and declared some bitterness against the persons who had led him to it. And so in a moment both parties were agreed, and Oliver Cromwell elected and declared to be lord lieutenant of Ireland, with as ample and independent a commission, as could be prepared.

Cromwell, how surprised soever with this designation, appeared the next day in the house full of confusion and irresolution; which the natural temper and composure of his understanding could hardly avoid, when he least desired it; and there-

fore, when it was now to his purpose, he could act it to the life. And after much hesitation, and many expressions of "his own unworthiness, and disability to support so great a charge, and of the entire resignation of himself to their commands, and absolute dependence upon God's providence and blessing, from whom he had received many instances of his favour," he submitted to their good will and pleasure; and desired them, "that no more time might be lost in the preparations which were to be made for so great a work; for he did confess that kingdom to be reduced to so great straits, that he was willing to engage his own person in this expedition, for the difficulties which appeared in it; and more out of hope, with the hazard of his life, to give some obstruction to the successes which the rebels were at present exalted with," (for so he called the marquis of Ormond, and all who joined with him,) "that so the commonwealth might retain still some footing in that kingdom, till they might be able to send fresh supplies, than out of any expectation, that, with the strength he carried, he should be able, in any signal degree, to prevail over them."

It was an incredible expedition that he used from this minute after his assuming that charge, in the raising of money, providing of shipping, and drawing of forces together, for this enterprise. Before he could be ready himself to march, he sent three thousand foot and horse to Milford Haven, to be transported, as soon as they arrived there, to Dublin; all things being ready there for their transportation; which troops, by the contrary and adverse winds, were constrained to remain there for many days. And that caused the report in Ireland, by the intelligence from London, that Cromwell intended to make a descent in Munster; which unhappily divided the lord Inchiquin, and a good body of his men, from the lord lieutenant, as hath been said, when he marched towards Dublin. Nor did the marquis of Ormond in truth at that time intend to have marched thither with that expedition, until his army should be grown more numerous, and more accustomed to discipline; but the wonderful successes of those troops, which were sent before, in the taking of Trim, Dundalk, and all the out-garrisons, and the invitation and intelligence he had from within Dublin, made him unwilling to lose any more time, since he was sure that the crossness of the wind only hindered the arrival of those supplies, which were designed thither out of England: and the arrival of which supplies, the very day before his coming before Dublin, enabled the governor thereof to make that sally which is mentioned before; and had that success which is mentioned.

The marquis of Ormond, at that time, drew off his whole army from Dublin to Tredagh, where he meant to remain till he could put it into such a posture, that he might prosecute his farther design. And a full account of all these particulars met Cromwell at his arrival at Milford Haven, when he rather expected to hear of the loss of Dublin, and was in great perplexity to resolve what he was then to do. But all those clouds being dispersed, upon the news of the great success his party had that he had sent before, he deferred not to embark his whole army, and, with a very prosperous wind, arrived at Dublin within

two or three days after the marquis of Ormond had retired from thence; where he was received with wonderful acclamation; which did not retard him from pursuing his active resolutions, to prosecute those advantages which had already befallen him. And the marquis of Ormond was no sooner advertised of his arrival, than he concluded to change his former resolution, and to draw his army to a greater distance, till those parties which were marching towards him from the several quarters of the kingdom might come up to him; and in the mean while to put Tredagh into so good a posture, as might entertain the enemy, till he might be able to relieve them. And so he put into that place, which was looked upon, besides the strength of the situation, to be in a good degree fortified, the flower of his army, both of soldiers and officers, most of them English, to the number of three thousand foot, and two or three good troops of horse, provided with all things; and committed the charge and command thereof to sir Arthur Aston, who hath been often mentioned before, and was an officer of great name and experience, and who at that time made little doubt of defending it against all the power of Cromwell, for at least a month's time. And the marquis of Ormond made less doubt, in much less time, to relieve and succour it with his army; and so retired to those parts where he had appointed a rendezvous for his new levies.

This news coming to St. Germain's broke all their measures, at least as to the expedition: the resolution continued for Ireland; but it was thought fit that they should expect another account from thence, before the king begun his journey; nor did it seem counsellable that his majesty should venture to sea whilst the parliament fleet commanded the ocean, and were then about the coast of Ireland; but that he should expect the autumn, when the season of the year would call home or disperse the ships. But where to stay so long was the question; for it was now the month of August; and as the king had received no kind of civility from France, since his last coming, so it was notorious enough that his absence was impatiently desired by that court; and the queen, who found herself disappointed of that dominion which she had expected, resolved to merit from the cardinal by freeing him from a guest that was so unwelcome to them, though he had not been in any degree chargeable to them; and so was not at all solicitous for his longer stay. So his majesty considered how he should make his departure; and, upon looking round, he resolved, that he would make his journey through Normandy, and embark himself for his island of Jersey; which still continued under his obedience, and under the government of sir George Carteret; who had in truth the power over the place, though he was but the lieutenant of the lord Jermyn; who, in those straits the king was in, and the great plenty he himself enjoyed, was wonderfully jealous that the king's being there would lessen some of the profit, which he challenged from thence; and therefore, when it was found, in order to the king's support, whilst he should stay there, necessary to sell some of the king's demesnes in that island, the yearly rent whereof used to be received by that lord towards the discharge of the garrisons there, he insisted, with all possible importunity, "that some of the money,

"which should be raised upon that sale, should be paid to him, because his receipt, for the time to come, would not remain so great as it had been formerly;" and though this demand appeared so unjust and unreasonable, that the council could not admit it, yet he did prevail with the king in private, to give him such a note under his hand, as enabled him to receive a good sum of money, after the return of his majesty into England, upon that consideration. This resolution being taken for Jersey, the king sent to the prince of Orange, "that he would cause two ships of war to ride in the road before St. Maloes," (which they might do without notice,) "and that he might have a warrant remain in his hands, by which the ships might attend his majesty, when he should require them;" which they might do in very few hours; and in these he meant to transport himself, as soon as it should be seasonable, into Ireland. These ships did wait his pleasure there accordingly.

\* France had too good an excuse at this time for not giving the king any assistance in money, which he might expect, and did abundantly want, by the ill condition their own affairs were in. Though the sedition, which had been raised in Paris the last winter, was at present so much appeased by the courage and conduct of the prince of Condé, (who brought the army, which he commanded in Flanders, with so great expedition before Paris, that the city yielded to reason,) so that his most Christian majesty, the queen his mother, and the whole court, were at this present there; yet the wound was far from being closed up. The town continued still in ill humour; more of the great men adhered to them than had done before; the animosities against the cardinal increased, and, which made those animosities the more terrible, the prince of Condé, who surely had merited very much, either unsatisfied, or not to be satisfied, broke his friendship with the cardinal, and spoke with much bitterness against him: so that the court was far from being in that tranquillity, as to concern itself much for the king our master, if it had been otherwise well inclined to it.

All things standing thus, about the middle of September, the king left St. Germain's, and begun his journey towards Jersey; and the queen, the next day, removed from thence to Paris, to the Louvre. The two ambassadors for Spain waited upon her majesty thither, having nothing now to do but to prepare themselves for their journey to Spain, where they longed to be, and whither they had sent for a pass to meet them at St. Sebastian's, and that they might have a house provided for them at Madrid, against the time they should come thither: both which they recommended to an English gentleman, who lived there, to solicit, and advertise them in their journey of the temper of that court.

They thought it convenient, since they were to desire a pass to go from Paris into Spain, that they should wait upon the queen-mother of France, and the cardinal; and likewise upon the duke of Orleans, and the prince of Condé; who were then in a cabal against the court. The prince of Condé spoke so publicly and so warmly against the cardinal, that most people thought the cardinal undone; and he himself apprehended some attempt upon his person; and therefore had not in many days gone out of his house, and admitted few to

come to him, and had a strong guard in every room; so that his fear was not dissembled.

In this so general disorder, the ambassadors declined any formal audiences; for which their equipage was not suitable: so the lord Cottington went privately to the queen regent, who received him graciously, and desired him "to recommend her very kindly to her brother the king of Spain," without enlarging upon any thing else. From her he went to the duke of Orleans, whom he found in more disorder; and when the ambassador told him, "he came to know whether he had any service to command him into Spain," the duke, who scarce stood still whilst he was speaking, answered aloud, "that he had nothing to do with Spain;" and so went hastily into another room; and the lord Cottington then withdrew. They intended both to have gone together to the prince of Condé, and to the cardinal. But when they sent to the prince, he wisely, but with great civility, sent them word, "that they could not be ignorant of the disorder that court was in, and of the jealousies which were of him;" and therefore desired them "to excuse him, that he did not see them."

The cardinal appointed them an hour; and met them in an outer room, and conducted them into his inward room, where they sat down and conferred about half an hour, the lord Cottington speaking Spanish, and the cardinal and he conferring wholly in the same language. The cardinal acknowledged the apprehension he was in, in his looks; and took occasion in his discourse to mention "the unjust displeasure, which monsieur le prince had conceived against him." He seemed earnestly to desire a peace between the two crowns; and said, "that he would give a pound of his blood to obtain it;" and desired the ambassadors "to tell don Lewis de Haro from him, that he would with all his heart meet him upon the frontiers; and that he was confident, if they two were together but three hours, they should compose all differences:" which message he afterwards disavowed, when don Lewis accepted the motion, and was willing to have met him. When they took their leave of him, he brought them to the top of the stairs in disorder enough, his guards being very circumspect, and suffering no stranger to approach any of the rooms.

When they had provided all things for their journey, and contracted with Blavett, the sole person who could furnish coaches for the transportation of themselves, their baggage, and family, which consisted of twenty persons, and no more, to the Rayo of Spain, within twenty days, for which they paid him in hand, before they left Paris, four hundred pistoles, their whole share of their journey to that place being to be defrayed, as it was very handsomely, they began their journey from Paris upon Michaelmas day, and continued it, without resting one day, till they came to Bourdeaux; which was then in rebellion against the king. The city and the parliament had not only sent several complaints and bitter invectives against the duke of Espernon, their governor, for his acts of tyranny in his government, but had presumed, in order to make his person the more ungracious, to asperse his life and manners with those reproaches which they believed would most reflect upon the court. And the truth is, their greatest quarrel against him was, that he was a



fast friend to the cardinal, and would not be divided from his interest. They had driven the duke out of the town, and did not only desire the king, "that he might no more be their governor; but that his majesty would give the government to the prince of Condé;" which made their complaints the less considered as just. And it was then one of the most avowed exceptions that prince had against the cardinal, that he had not that government upon the petition of Bourdeaux, since he offered to resign his of Burgundy, which was held to be of as much value, to accommodate and repair the duke of Espernon. At Blay, the ambassadors were visited by the marshal of Plessy Praslin, who was sent by the court to treat with the parliament of Bourdeaux, but could bring them to no reason, they positively insisting upon the remove of their old governor, and conferring the command upon the prince. When they came to Bourdeaux they found the Chateau Trompette, which still held for the king, shooting at the town, the town having invested it very close, that no succour could be put into them, the duke of Espernon being at his house at Cadillac, from whence his horse every day infested the citizens when they stirred out of the town. Here the ambassadors were compelled to stay one whole day, the disorders upon the river, and in the town, not suffering their coaches and baggage to follow them so soon as they should have done. They were here visited by some counsellors and presidents of the parliament; who professed duty to their king, but irreconcilable hatred to the duke of Espernon; against whom they had published several remonstrances in print, and dedicated them to the prince of Condé. After a day's rest there, which was not unwelcome to them, they continued their journey to Bayonne; and were delivered, after they had broken their fast at St. Jean de Luce, upon the twentieth day from their leaving Paris, at the Taio; where they took boat, and in an hour or two they arrived at Girona, where they lay that night, and sent away to the governor of St. Sebastian's, that they would be there the next day. In their passage upon the river, they had the view of Fuentarabia, which had been so lately besieged by the prince of Condé, and the duke de la Valette, who was duke of Espernon; and they saw the ruins the French army had made in all the places adjacent, the greatest part of Girona itself having been burned, and still remaining unrepared; and it was very manifest to them, by the discourses of all the people of that country, that so great a consternation had seized upon the hearts of all that people, upon the approach of the French army, that if it had advanced to St. Sebastian's, that important place was so ill provided to make resistance, that it would have been presently quitted to them, after which Fuentarabia had not been worth the contending for. Here they found an old priest, who governed the town, and was master of the posts, which office he had held when the lord Cottington had been last there, which was when the prince was in Spain, who was a jolly talking man, and glad to remember old stories. They were no sooner in their lodging, but the inquisitors came to examine what books they brought into their country; and at first, with some rudeness, the chief of them being a priest of a large size and a very barbarous aspect and behaviour, they urged to have the view of all the books they

had, but afterwards were contented with a catalogue of the names of them, subscribed by one of their secretaries; and received a piece of eight very thankfully. The next day they went by the river to Passage, and when they came out of their boats, which were rowed by women, according to their privilege there, they found mules, sent from St. Sebastian's to carry them thither. About half a mile from the town they were met by the governor of Guipuscoa, don Antonio de Cardinas, an old soldier, and a knight of the order, the corregidor and all the magistrates of St. Sebastian's, and the English merchants which inhabited there; and were conducted by the governor to one of the best houses in the town, which was provided for their reception; where they no sooner were, than the governor, and the rest of the magistrates, took their leave of them, and left them to their repose.

They had not been half an hour in their lodging, conferring with the English merchants, about conveniences to prosecute their journey, when the corregidor came to them, and desired to speak with them in private, and after some compliment and apology, he shewed them a letter, which he had received from the secretary of state; the contents whereof were, "that when the ambassadors of the prince of Wales should arrive there, they should be received with all respect; but that he should find some means to persuade them to stay and remain there, till he should give the king notice of it, and receive his farther pleasure." And at the same time an English merchant of the town, who had told them before, that he had letters from Madrid for them, and had gone home to fetch them, brought them a packet from sir Benjamin Wright: who was intrusted by them to solicit at Madrid for their pass, and for a house to be prepared for them. In this letter their pass was enclosed, under the same style, as ambassadors from the prince of Wales; which he had observed, and desired to have it mended, but could procure no alteration, nor could he obtain any order for the providing a house for them; but was told, "that it should be done time enough." This was an unexpected mortification to them; but they seemed not to be troubled at it, as if they had intended to stay there a month, to refresh themselves after their long journey, and in expectation of other letters from the king their master. The corregidor offered to send away an express the same night, if they would write by him, or that he should stay a day or two for their letters, if they were not yet ready to write; but they desired that the messenger might be despatched away with all diligence, and they writ their letters presently. They writ to don Lewis de Haro, "that the king their master had sent them his ambassadors to his catholic majesty, upon affairs of the highest importance: that they were come so far on their way, but had, to their great wonder, met there with a significant of the king's pleasure, that they should stay and remain there, till they should receive his majesty's pleasure; which troubled them not so much, as to find themselves styled the ambassadors of the prince of Wales, which they thought very strange, after his catholic majesty had sent an ambassador to the king their master before they left him: they desired therefore to know, whether their persons were unaccept-



"able to his catholic majesty, and if that were the case, they would immediately return to their master; otherwise, if his majesty were content to receive them, they desired they might be treated in that manner as was due to the honour and dignity of the king their master." And they writ to sir Benjamin Wright, "to attend don Lewis, and if he found that they were expected at Madrid, and that they reformed the errors they had committed, he should then send two letters to meet them at Victoria, and use those importunities, which were necessary for the providing a house for them against they should come."

Though the court was then full of business, being in daily expectation of their new queen; who was landed, and at that time within few days journey of Madrid; yet the very next day after the letter was delivered to don Lewis de Haro, he returned an answer full of civility, and imputed the error that was committed to the negligence or ignorance of the secretary; and sent them new passes in the proper style; and assured them, "that they should find a very good welcome from his majesty." And sir Benjamin Wright sent them word, "that he had received the warrant for the providing the house; and the officer, to whom it was directed, had called upon him to view two or three houses; and that don Lewis told him, that, as soon as he had found a house that pleased him, orders should be given to the king's officers of the wardrobe to furnish it; and then when the ambassadors came, there should be one of the king's coaches to attend them whilst they stayed." Hereupon they made haste in their journey, with some satisfaction and confidence that they should find a court not so hard to treat with, that could begin to receive them with so barefaced and formed an affront, and then so easily recede from it with weak apologies. And it was plain enough, that they heartily wished that they had not come; and imagined that this might put them to return again, and then were ashamed of their own expedient, and being pressed, chose rather to decline than avow it: so unnatural a thing is it for that nation to stoop to any ugly action, without doing it so ungraciously, as to confess it in their own countenance, and quickly receding from it.

It was about the middle of November when they left St. Sebastian's, the weather yet continuing fair; and a gentleman of quality of the country was appointed to accompany them out of the jurisdiction of Guipuscoa, which was to the city of Victoria; and from thence they entered into Castile. When they came to Burgos the magistrates invited them to see the *toros*, which was performed the next day to celebrate the arrival of the queen, who was now come to Madrid, and all the country making their *fiestas*. They stayed that day to see that fight, which was new to all but the lord Cottington. The rains began to fall, which made their journey forward less pleasant, yet not with any great violence, as they seldom do in that country in the beginning.

When they came to Alcavendas, a little town belonging to the conde de Prono en rostro, within three leagues of Madrid, they discharged all their mules and litters, resolving to stay there till they sent notice to the court of their arrival, and sir Benjamin Wright to know what house was pro-

vided for them: he came to them, and told them, "all things were in the same state they were when he writ to them to St. Sebastian's: that though don Lewis gave him very good words when he came to him, and seemed much troubled and angry with the officers that the house was not ready, and the officers excused themselves upon the jollities the town was in [during] the *fiestas*, which were held every day for the queen's arrival, that nobody could attend any particular affair, yet it was evident there was not that care taken from the court that there ought to have been, and that don Alonzo de Cardinas from England had done the ambassadors all the ill offices possible, as if their good reception in Spain would incense the parliament, and make them more propitious to France, which valued itself upon having driven all the royal family from thence."

Upon this new mortification, they writ again from thence to don Lewis, to desire, "that they might not be put to stay there for want of a house, and so be exposed to contempt." Nor were they accommodated in that place in any degree. He always answered their letters with great punctuality, and with courtesy enough, as if all things should be ready by the next day. The English merchants, who resided at Madrid, came every day to visit them, but still brought them word, that there was no appearance of any provision made to receive them; so that, after a week's stay in that little town, and ill accommodation, they accepted the civil offer and invitation which sir Benjamin Wright made them, of reposing themselves *incognito* in his house; which would only receive their persons with a valet de chambre for each; and the rest of their family was quartered in the next adjacent houses for the reception of strangers; and so they went privately in the evening into Madrid in sir Benjamin Wright's coach, having sent all their servants before, and came to his house, where they were very conveniently lodged, and where there were good rooms handsomely furnished for the reception of visitants; and if, by his generosity, they had not been thus accommodated, they must have been exposed to reproach and infamy, by the very little respect they received from the court. Sir Benjamin Wright was a gentleman of a good family in Essex; and being a younger brother, had been bred a merchant in Madrid; where, as a merchant, he had great business and great reputation, but was of a nature and spirit above that employment, and affected another and a higher, after he had lived there above twenty years, and was become a perfect Spaniard, not only in the language, but in the generous part of their nature and customs, affected horsemanship, and the use of his weapon, and excelled in both, and gave several testimonies of his courage upon particular encounters, most with his countrymen, who, in respect of his being a merchant, exercised some insolencies towards him. So that he accustomed himself to the outward *fausto* of a Spaniard abroad, and kept the custom and manner of his own country at home, by living plentifully and splendidly in his house, very contrary to the custom of that nation. He resolved to give over that profession of a merchant; and having got a very plentiful estate by it, he entered into treaties with the ministers of state to supply the king's affairs upon such *asientos* as

were usually made, with providing ships, and supplying monies for those parts of Italy and Flanders where the public affairs required it; an adventure that the merchants of Genoa were most conversant in, and wherein many had gotten very great estates, whilst the crown prospered, and made good its contracts; and in his first entrance into that kind of commerce, he had performed some very acceptable services to that king, and got very well himself, according to which he always increased the expense and port of his living. He married into the family of Toledo, a young lady who brought little more than her noble blood into his house; and he willingly took care that she should live in an expense equal to her birth. He had always performed great duty to his own king, and made himself still grateful to the English ambassadors, by his paying all respects to them, and behaving himself always for the honour of his nation; and by the ambassador's interposition his own king made him a baronet; the patent whereof no sooner came to his hands, than he entered it with the *consejo de los ordines*, and with much difficulty and contest he procured it to be registered; and then was treated with the style of *don* in all places, which wiped out the memory of the merchant; but in these contests, and the rhodomontadoes which accompanied them in the presents he made, and in the whole course and expense of his living, he stirred up the envy of the Spaniard, and lost the affection of his own countrymen, that is, of the merchants, for of all others he was well beloved.

About the year 1640, when the crown was very much declined in credit, and its necessities increased by the anticipation of all their revenue, they had no more security to give for any money they borrowed, but such as brought in nothing, till the present lease which had been granted should be expired; so that to make such a security to be accepted, they were obliged to grant interest, and other too advantageous conditions; and by this temptation many were drawn in to venture their estates. The affairs of Flanders were in great distress, for supplying whereof sir Benjamin Wright, upon assurance from his friends in England and Flanders, that they would join with him, and assist him, made an assiento to the ministers, that he would presently pay so much money by the month in Flanders, upon such a branch of the revenue being assigned by the king to him for so many years, to begin three years after, when the lease that was on foot would be expired; so that he was to be out of his money near three years before he should receive any thing towards his reimbursement; but then he should enter upon a revenue which would abundantly satisfy him with principal and interest. He performed his part very punctually, expecting to enter at his time upon his assignation; and by this means, and by the same kinds of security, the necessities of that time had been provided for. When the expiration of the term drew near, by which the new assentistas were to enter upon their several bargains, the necessities of the state appeared to be greater than before, by the unprosperousness of their affairs in all places; and there was now no possible way in view to provide for the future proportionable supplies. Hereupon the king did make a junto of divines, whereof his confessor was one, and other eminent prelates

were some, who were to consider and certify the king, whether he might with a good conscience break his contract with those men, whose money he had received already, and make them satisfaction some other way, according as should be judged reasonable; whereby he might, by taking those farms into his own hands, upon which others ought to enter, be able to borrow and provide money to supply the crying necessities of the crown. This consultation was held without calling any of the parties concerned before them; but upon the information of the ministers of state of the public necessity, and the computation of the immoderate gain the assentistas would receive, if they enjoyed their bargain, and had the benefit of all their covenants, the divines (not without great deliberation, and contests between themselves) gave it under their names, "That the king might with a good conscience resume those parts of his revenue, which he had granted to others, into his own hands, if he first gave satisfaction to those to whom such grants had been made." And when the king's conscience was thus satisfied, a decree was made, that all those persons (who were all named) to whom the king had granted such parts of his revenue, (which were likewise named,) and upon which they were to enter upon a day to come, should receive full satisfaction, and repayment of the monies they had advanced, with interest, upon the *juros* of the crown, which should be assigned and made over to them by a good form in the law; and that all other persons, who would advance monies for the king's service, upon those parts of his revenue which he took into his hands, should immediately enter into the receipt. The *juros* are of the nature of our tenures, or of our fee-farm rents, for they are not all of one kind nor of one value. So that men knew not how to treat for them; nor could be morally sure that the same might not be suddenly taken from them again, at least by a new king. However, many, who only looked for a competent revenue for their money, made tolerable bargains, and rested contented; but they who had laid out more money than their own, or who knew how to employ their money better, were undone by the overture, and utterly refused to receive them in satisfaction; but the decree left them no election, but determined both points positively, that they should not enjoy the benefit of their contracts, but that they should accept satisfaction by the *juros*. By these means poor sir Benjamin was reduced into great straits, when the king owed him very near two hundred thousand pounds sterling, according to the account then stated; and some friends of his, both in England and Flanders, were exceedingly damnified, and others utterly ruined by this decree. He himself, though fallen from his usual splendour, and his wife being likewise very seasonably dead, still enjoyed a good house, into which he received the ambassadors, kept good horses, and a coach with six mules; and retained so much of his natural generosity, that there appeared no want in the condition of his living; and he hoped and expected, by the interposition of the ambassadors, to receive some justice from the king in some extraordinary way.

The court well enough knew of their arrival, but took no notice of it. The lord Cottington therefore sent to don Lewis, to desire that he might have a private audience of him *incognito*;

which he presently consented to, and appointed, the next morning, to meet in the king's garden; which was at such a distance from the court, that it was not in the view of it. There they met at the hour: don Lewis was a man of little ceremony, and used no flourishes in his discourses, which made most men believe that he said all things from his heart; and he seemed to speak so cordially, that the lord Cottington, who was not easy to be imposed upon, did think that they should have a house very speedily, and that he had a good inclination to favour them in what they came about. He spoke, with more commotion than was natural to him, in the business of the murder of the king; excused all the omissions towards the ambassadors; "which should be repaired out of hand, after the few days, which yet remained to be spent in *fiestas* for the queen; during which time, he said, no officers would obey any orders which diverted them from the sight of the triumphs; and wished that the ambassadors would see the masquerade that afternoon, and the *toros* the day following."

The lord Cottington returned home very well satisfied; and had not been half an hour in the house, when a gentleman came from don Lewis to invite the ambassadors to see those exercises, which are mentioned before; and sent them word that there should be places provided for them. The chancellor went that afternoon to the place assigned, where he saw the masquerade and running of the course. That of the masquerade is an exercise they learned from the Moors, performed by squadrons of horse, seeming to charge each other with great fierceness, with bucklers in their left hands, and a kind of cane in their right; which, when they came within little more than a horse length, they throw with all the strength they can, and against them they defend themselves with very broad bucklers; and as soon as they have thrown their darts, they wheel about in a full gallop, till they can turn to receive the like assault from those whom they had charged; and so several squadrons of twenty or five and twenty horse run round and charge each other. It hath at first the appearance of a martial exercise; the horses are very beautiful, and well adorned, the men richly clad, and must be good horsemen, otherwise they could not obey the quick motion and turns of their horses. All the rest is too childish: the darts are nothing else but plain bulrushes of the biggest growth. After this they run the course; which is like our running at the ring, save that two men run still together, and the swifter hath the prize, a post dividing them at the end. From the start they run their horses full speed about fifty paces, and the judges are at that post to determine who is first at the end. There the king and don Lewis ran several courses, in all which don Lewis was too good a courtier to win any prize, though he always lost it by very little. The appearance of the people was very great, and the ladies in all the windows made a very rich show, otherwise the show itself had nothing wonderful. Here there happened to be some sudden sharp words between the admirante of Castile, a haughty young man, and the marquis de Liche, the eldest son of don Lewis de Haro; the which being taken notice of, they were both dismissed the squadrons wherein they were, and committed

to their chambers. The next day, and so for two or three days together, both the ambassadors had a box prepared for them, to see the *toros*; which is a spectacle very wonderful, different from what they had seen at Burgos, where the bulls were much tamer, and where they were not charged by men on horseback, and little harm done.

Here the place was very noble, being the market-place, a very large square, built with handsome brick houses, which had all balconies, which were adorned with tapestry and very beautiful ladies. Scaffolds were built round to the first story, the lower rooms being shops, and for ordinary use; and in the division of those scaffolds, all the magistrates and officers of the town knew their places. The pavement of the place was all covered with gravel, (which in summer time was upon these occasions watered by carts charged with hogheads of water.) As soon as the king comes, some officers clear the whole ground from the common people, so that there is no man seen upon the plain but two or three alguazils, magistrates with their small white wands. Then one of the four gates which leads into the streets is opened, at which the *torreadors* enter, all persons of quality richly clad, and upon the best horses of Spain, every one attended by eight or ten or more lackeys, all clinkant with gold and silver lace, who carry the spears, which their masters are to use against the bulls; and with this entry many of the common people break in, for which sometimes they pay very dear. The persons on horseback have all cloaks folded upon their left shoulder, the least disorder of which, much more the letting it fall, is a very great disgrace; and in that grave order they march to the place where the king sits, and after they have made their reverences, they place themselves at a good distance from one another, and expect the bull. The bulls are brought in the night before from the mountains by the people used to that work, who drive them into the town when nobody is in the streets, into a pen made for them, which hath a door, which opens into that large space; the key whereof is sent to the king, which the king, when he sees every thing ready, throws to an alguazil, who carries it to the officer that keeps the door, and he causes it to be opened, when a single bull is ready to come out. When the bull enters, the common people, who sit over the door or near it, strike him, or throw short darts with sharp points of steel, to provoke him to rage. He commonly runs with all his fury against the first man he sees on horseback, who watches him so carefully, and avoids him so dexterously, that when the spectators believe him to be even between the horns of the bull, he avoids by the quick turn of his horse, and with his lance strikes the bull upon a vein that runs through his pole, with which in a moment he falls down dead. But this fatal stroke can never be struck, but when the bull comes so near upon the turn of the horse, that his horn even touches the rider's leg, and so is at such a distance that he can shorten his lance, and use the full strength of his arm in the blow. And they who are the most skilful in the exercise do frequently kill the beast with such an exact stroke, insomuch as in a day two or three fall in that manner: but if they miss the vein, it only gives a wound that the more enrages him. Sometimes the bull runs with so much fierceness, (for if he escapes the first

man, he runs upon the rest as they are in his way,) that he gores the horse with his horns; that his guts come out, and he falls before the rider can get from his back. Sometimes, by the strength of his neck, he raises horse and man from the ground, and throws both down, and then the greatest danger is another gore upon the ground. In any of these disgraces, or any other by which the rider comes to be dismounted, he is obliged in honour to take his revenge upon the bull by his sword, and upon his head, towards which the standers by assist him by running after the bull and hocking him, by which he falls upon his hinder legs; but before that execution can be done, a good bull hath his revenge upon many poor fellows. Sometimes he is so unruly that nobody dares to attack him, and then the king calls for his mastiffs, whereof two are let out at a time, and if they cannot master him, but are themselves killed, as frequently they are, the king then, as a last refuge, calls for the English mastiffs, of which they seldom turn above one at a time; and he rarely misses of taking the bull and holding him by the nose till the men run in; and after they have hocked him, they quickly kill him. In one of those days there were no fewer than sixteen horses, as good as any in Spain, the worst of which would that very morning have yielded three hundred pistoles, killed, and four or five men, besides many more of both hurt: and some men remain perpetually maimed: for after the horsemen have done as much as they can, they withdraw themselves, and then some accustomed nimble fellows, to whom money is thrown when they perform their feats with skill, stand to receive the bull, whereof the worst are reserved till the last: and it is a wonderful thing to see with what steadiness those fellows will stand a full career of the bull, and by a little quick motion upon one foot avoid him, and lay a hand upon his horn, as if he guided him from him; but then the next standers by, who have not the same activity, commonly pay for it, and there is no day without much mischief. It is a very barbarous exercise and triumph, in which so many men's lives are lost, and always ventured; but so rooted in the affections of that nation, that it is not in the king's power, they say, to suppress it, though, if he disliked it enough, he might forbear to be present at it. There are three festival days in the year, whereof midsummer is one, on which the people hold it to be their right to be treated with these spectacles, not only in great cities, where they are never disappointed, but in very ordinary towns, where there are places provided for it. Besides those ordinary annual days, upon any extraordinary accident of joy, as at this time for the arrival of the queen, upon the birth of the king's children, or any signal victory, these triumphs are repeated, which no ecclesiastical censures or authority can suppress or discountenance. For pope Pius the Fifth, in the time of Philip the Second, and very probably with his approbation, if not upon his desire, published a bull against the *toros* in Spain, which is still in force, in which he declared, that nobody should be capable of Christian burial who lost his life at those spectacles, and that every clergyman who should be present at them stood excommunicated *ipso facto*; and yet there is always one of the largest galleries assigned to the office of the inquisition and the chief of the clergy,

which is always filled; besides that many religious men in their habits get other places; only the Jesuits, out of their submission to the supreme authority of the pope, are never present there, but on those days do always appoint some such solemn exercise to be performed, that obliges their whole body to be together.

There was another accident, upon one of these days, the mention whereof is not unfit to shew the discipline and severity of that nation in the observation of order. It was remembered, that at the last masquerade, the admirante and the marquis of Liche were sent to their chambers: and afterwards, the matter being examined, they were both commanded to leave the town, and retire each to a house of his own, that was within three or four leagues of the town. The marquis of Liche was known to have gone the next day, and nobody doubted the same of the admirante, those orders being never disputed or disobeyed. The king, going to the *toros*, either himself discerned at another balcony, or somebody else advertised him of it, that the duchess, who was wife to the admirante, was there; and said, "he knew that lady" "was a woman of more honour than to come out" "of her house, and be present at the *fiesta*, whilst" "her husband was under restraint, and in the" "king's displeasure;" and therefore concluded that her husband was likewise there; and thereupon sent an alguazil to that room, with command to examine carefully with his eye, whether the admirante was there; for there appeared none but women. The admirante being a young rash man, much in the king's favour, and a gentleman of his bedchamber, thought he might undiscerned see the triumph of that day; and therefore caused himself to be dressed in the habit of a lady, which his age would well bear, and forced his wife to go with him; who exceedingly resisted his commands, well knowing to what reproach she exposed her own honour, though she had no fear of his being discovered. The alguazil brought the king word, that he was very sure that the admirante was there, in the habit of a woman, and sat next his wife among many other ladies. Whereupon the king sent the officer to apprehend him in the habit he was in, and to carry him to his (the officer's) own house. And as soon as the king returned to the palace, there was an order that the alguazil should the next morning carry the admirante to Valladolid, four days journey from Madrid, where he had a house of his own; where he was confined not to go out of the limits of that city; and under this restraint he remained for the space of full three years: so penal a thing it is amongst that people, for any man, of how great quality soever, (there was not in Spain a man of greater than the admirante of Castile,) to disobey or elude the judgment of the king.

Though it is not the course for ambassadors to make their visits to those who come last, before they receive the first audience from the king, yet the very night they came to the town, the Venetian ambassador sent to congratulate their arrival, and to know what hour they would assign of the next day to receive a visit from him; to which they returned their acknowledgments, and that when they obtained their audience of the king, they would be ready to receive that honour from him. However, the very next day he came to visit them; and he was no sooner gone, but the Ger-

man ambassador, not sending notice till he was at the bottom of the stairs, likewise came to them; and then the other ambassadors and public ministers took their times to make their visits, without attending the audience. There was one thing very notable, that all the foreign ministers residing then in Madrid (the English ambassadors and the resident of Denmark only excepted) were Italian, and, all but the Venetian, subjects of the great duke. Julio Rospigliosi, nuncio for the pope, was of Pistoja, and so subject to the duke of Florence, a grave man, and at that time, save that his health was not good, like to come to what he was afterwards, to be pope, as he was Clement the IXth. The emperor's ambassador, the marquis of Grana, was likewise an Italian, and a subject of Florence: he had been general of one of the emperor's armies, and was sent afterwards ambassador to Madrid. He was a man of great parts; and the removing the conde duke Olivarez from court was imputed to his artifice. He made the match between the king and the present queen, for which he expected to have the cap of a cardinal, and had received it, if he had not died before the following creation, the cardinal of Hesse being nominated by the emperor upon his death. He was a man of an imperious and insolent nature, and capable of any temptation, and nobody more glad of his death than his own servants, over whom he was a great tyrant. The ambassador of Venice

a noble Venetian, was a man, as all that nation is, of great civility and much profession. He was the first who told the ambassadors that the king their master had a resident at Venice, which was Mr. Killigrew; which they did not at first believe, having, before they left St. Germain's, dissuaded the king from that purpose; but afterwards his majesty was prevailed upon, only to gratify him, that in that capacity he might borrow money of English merchants for his own subsistence, which he did, and nothing to the honour of his master, but was at last compelled to leave the republic for his vicious behaviour, of which the Venetian ambassador complained to the king, when he came afterwards to Paris.

The ambassador of the king of Poland was likewise a Florentine, who was much in favour with the king Vladislaus, from whom he was sent, and continued by king Casimir. He had lived in great splendour; but by his vicious course of life, and some miscarriages, he fell very low, and was revoked with some circumstances of dishonour. He was a man of a great wit, if it had not served him to very ill purposes.

The ambassador of Florence was a subject of his master, and an abbot, a grave man; and though he was frequently called ambassador, he was in truth but resident; which was discovered by a contest he had with the Denmark resident for place, who alleged that the other was no more than resident; which was true; and made the discovery that the Florentine sent no ambassadors to Madrid, because they are not suffered to cover, which they use to do in many other courts.

The archduke of Inspruck's minister was likewise a Florentine, and had been bred in Spain, and was a knight of the order, and supported the character upon a small assignation from his master, for some benefit and advantage it gave him in negociations and pretences he had in that court.

The resident of Denmark was don Henrique Williamson, (he was afterwards called Rosewell,) who came secretary to Hannibal Zested who had been the year before ambassador in that court, and lived in extraordinary splendour, as all the northern ministers do, who have not their allowance from the king, but from a revenue that is purposely set aside for that kind of service. When he went away, he left this gentleman to remain there as resident. He was a grave and a sober man, wiser than most of his nation, and lived with much more plenty, and with a better retinue, than any other minister of that rank in that court.

They had not been many days in Madrid, when don Lewis sent them the news of the imprisonment of the prince of Condé, the prince of Conti, and the duke of Longueville, and that marshal Turenne was fled into Flanders: so much had the cardinal improved his condition from the time that they had left Paris. There was yet no house provided for them, which they took very heavily, and believed that it might advance the business, if they had once a public reception as ambassadors, and therefore they resolved to demand an audience. Don Lewis came to be advertised, that the ambassadors had prepared mourning for themselves and all their train against the audience, which was true, for they thought it the most proper dress for them to appear in, and to demand assistance to revenge the murder of their master, it being yet within the year; but don Lewis sent to them, that he hoped that when the whole court was in *gala* upon the joy of the marriage of the king, and to give the queen a cheerful reception, they could not dishonour the festival by appearing in *lute*, which the king could not but take unkindly; which, he said, he thought fit to advertise them of, out of friendship, and without any authority. Whereupon, as well to comply in an affair which seemed to have somewhat of reason of it, as out of apprehension that from hence they might take occasion to defer their audience, they changed their purpose, and caused new clothes to be made, and then sent to demand their audience; upon the subject whereof, and what followed of the negotiation, the relation shall be continued.

It may not be thought unnatural or impertinent to the work in hand, to make this digression upon this embassy, and to enlarge upon many circumstances which occurred in it, and to make a short description of their reception in that court, of the formality and constitution of it, and of the nature and humour of that people, which seem foreign to the affairs of England. But since the king, after his leaving Paris, remained in Jersey for many months, waiting such a revolution as might administer an opportunity and occasion to him to quit that retirement, in all which time there was no action or counsel to be mentioned at present, and this being the first and the only embassy, in which his majesty's person was represented, until his blessed return into England, (for though some other persons were afterwards sent to other princes, with commissions to perform that function, if they found encouragement so to do, yet none assumed that character, nor were treated as such in any other court in Christendom, Spain only excepted,) it may therefore be reasonably thought a material part of this history even to give such a relation of

this negotiation, that it may appear what sense other kings and princes had of those revolutions in England, and of the miserable condition to which this young innocent prince was reduced, when it was fully pressed to them in the most efficacious terms possible, in which it was to be represented, and to which it was very hard to avoid giving some categorical answer; and every circumstance of their reception and treatment serves to illustrate those particulars; and therefore we shall proceed farther in the relation thereof.

Before their audience, (which they importuned for, before they could procure any house to be assigned for their habitation, as that which would, as it did, accelerate the other,) don Lewis de Haro sent them word of the imprisonment of the prince of Condé, the prince of Conti, and the duke of Longueville, and that marshal Turenne had made his escape into Flanders; the news whereof gave that court much trouble; for they had promised themselves a better harvest from that seed, which they had carefully and industriously sown, and that the cardinal, whom they perfectly hated, would be totally suppressed, and all his power entirely taken from him; which, they concluded, would forthwith produce a peace, which was no less desired in France than in Spain; or that those princes, and all their dependants, would appear in arms in that kingdom; by which they should be able to recover much of what they had lost in Flanders; the hopes of either of which appeared now blasted by this unexpected and unfearful power of the cardinal.

Upon the day assigned for the audience, it being resolved that, when they had ended with the king, they should likewise have their audience with the queen, don Lewis de Haro sent horses to their lodging, for the accommodation of the ambassadors, and their servants: it being the fashion of that court, that the ambassadors ride to their first audience. And so they rode, being attended by all their own servants, and all the English merchants who lived in the town, together with many Irish officers who were in the service of his catholic majesty, all on horseback; so that their cavalcade appeared very fair, all the coaches of the ambassadors likewise following them. In this manner they came to the court about ten of the clock in the morning, being conducted by [an officer], who had been sent to their lodging, and rode with them to the court.

Through several rooms, where there was only one officer, who attended to open and shut the doors, they came to the room next that where his majesty was; where, after a little stay, whilst their conductor went in and out, they found the king standing upright, with his back against the wall, and the grandees at a distance, in the same posture, against the wall. When they had made their several respects, and came to the king, he lightly moved his hat, and bid them cover. The lord Cottington spoke only general things, "of the confidence the king had in his majesty's kindness, and that he believed his condition such, as that all the kings of the world were concerned to vindicate the wrong he sustained: that this was the first embassy he had sent, relying more upon the honour of his majesty's nature and generosity, than upon any other prince;" with discourses of the same nature: then they presented their credentials.

The king expressed a very tender sense of the king's condition, and acknowledged "that it concerned all kings to join together for the punishment of such an impious rebellion and parricide; and if his own affairs would permit it, he would be the first that would undertake it; but that they could not but know how full his hands were; and whilst he had so powerful an adversary to contend with, he could hardly defend himself; but that when there should be a peace with France," (which he desired,) "the king, his sobrino," (for so he still called the king, his nephew,) "should find all he could expect from him; in the mean time he would be ready to do all that was in his power towards his assistance and relief." After the formal part was over, the king asked many questions, most with reference to his sister, the queen of France; and discoursed very intelligently of every thing; so that his defects proceeded only from the laziness of his mind, not from any want of understanding; and he seemed then, when he was about eight and forty years of age, to have great vigour of body, having a clear ruddy complexion; yet he had been accustomed to fevers from his debauches with women, by which he was much wasted.

From the king they were conducted to the queen; who used very few words, and spoke so low, that she could scarce be heard; she stood, in the same manner the king did, against a wall, and her ladies on both sides as the grandees did; the infanta at a little distance from her, to whom likewise they passed a compliment from their master. The queen was then about eighteen years of age, not tall, round faced, and inclined to be fat. The infanta was much lower, as she ought to be by her age, but of a very lovely complexion, without any help of art, which every one else in the room, the queen herself, was beholden to; and she was then the fullest of spirit and wit of any lady in Spain, which she had not improved afterwards, when she had more years upon her. Their audience ended, they returned, and in a few days after made all their visits, as well to don Lewis and to all the other counsellors as to the ambassadors; and at last they had a house provided for them in the Calle de Alcalá, belonging to the marquis of Villa Magna, to whom the king paid four hundred pounds sterling by the year; a good house, wherein three grandees had lived; and yet, after it was put into their hands, they were compelled to defer their remove for at least a week, to devise a place where to make a kitchen, there being no chimney in the house, but in the garrets, and of those not one big enough to roast a joint of meat; but rather hearths, upon which several pipkins might be set together, according to the custom and manner of living there in the greatest families. So that there being a stable adjoining to the house, they were compelled to build a chimney and ovens there, which accommodated them well. All the rooms of reception and entertainment were well furnished out of the king's wardrobe, with tapestry-hangings and chairs, which were changed upon the change of the season, with a cloth of state, and two very good beds for the ambassadors themselves; but they were put to hire all beds and other necessities for the accommodation of their retinue and servants. The king's coach always waited upon them at their door. So that they began to be at much more ease, and looked more like ambassa-

dors than they had done, and began to think of their negociation; and in regard that they had no servant who understood any thing of the court, to be sent up and down to demand audiences, and who understood what form and method was to be observed at home upon the reception of visits, and to advise the servants how they were to behave themselves on those occasions, they entertained Christopher Winnebank, a younger son of secretary Winnebank, to serve them. He had been bred at Magdalen College in Oxford, and sent from thence, when he was a young man, by his father, into Spain to understand that court under the countenance of the lord ambassador Hopton, who received him into his house as a friend for his father's sake; where he lived, made much of, till, according to the custom of his family, he fell in love with a woman, who deprived him of the conveniency he had of living in the ambassador's house, and brought him no other way of subsistence; so that his father's misfortune falling out about the same time, he was reduced to poverty, having only by change of his religion made himself the more capable of receiving obligation from the court, which, in regard of former good offices they had received from his father, promised him some pension, which they did not pay; so that this relation to the ambassadors was very welcome and convenient to him; and his service was useful to them, being a perfect Spaniard, and an honest man. Sir Benjamin's kindness was still very necessary to them; for as they had intrusted him to receive their money which was returned from Antwerp, so he issued it out to the major-domo as there was occasion, and contracted with the dispensers, and did many other good offices for them: which good intelligence continued between them during the time of their stay there.

It will not be unseasonable in this place to take a view of the state of that court at this time, and of the kingdom, that it may be the less wondered at, that an embassy, which had no other end than to procure relief and support for a distressed prince, had no better effect.

The council of state at this time consisted of don Lewis de Haro, the duke de Medina de los Torres, duke de Mounterey, marquis of Castille Roderigo, marquis de Vall-Periso, the conde of Castilio, and don Francisco de Melo; there were no more residing in that court then; the duke de Medina Celi residing constantly at his government of St. Lucar; the marquis of Leganez being general against Portugal, and so remained at Badajoz, and came seldom to Madrid; and the duke of Arcos stood confined to his house, since the defection of Naples when it was under his government; and the conde de Pignoranda [was] not yet come out of Flanders.

Don Lewis was as absolute a favourite in the eyes of his master, had as entire a disposal of all his affections and faculties, as any favourite of that age: nor was any thing transacted at home or abroad, but by his direction and determination: and yet of all the favourites of that, or any other time, no man ever did so little alone, or seemed less to enjoy the delight and empire of a favourite. In the most ordinary occurrences, which, for the difficulty, required little deliberation, and in the nature of them required expedition, he would give no order without formal consultation with the rest

of the council; which hindered despatch, and made his parts the more suspected, and his power the more grumbled and murmured at. He was son of the marquis of Carpio, who had married the sister of Olivarez, and had been before his favours put about the person of the king, being about the same age with his majesty, and had so grown up in his affection, and was not thought to have been displeased at the disgrace of his uncle, but rather to have contributed to it, though he did not succeed in that in many years, nor seemed to be concerned in any business till after the death of the then queen, and was rather drawn into it by the violence of the king's affection, who had a great kindness for his person, than by the ambition of his own nature, or any delight in business. His education had not fitted him for it, and his natural parts were not sharp, yet his industry was great, and the more commendable, because his nature had some repugnancy to it, and his experience had so fitted him for it, that he never spoke imperitently, and discoursed reasonably and weightily upon all subjects. He was of a melancholic complexion; seldom smiled, and was very hypochondriack; which, it may be, was the reason that he did not trust himself in himself, which was his defect. He seemed to be a very honest and well natured man, and did very rarely manifest his power in acts of oppression, or hardheartedness; which made him grateful enough to most particular men, when he was hated enough by the generality. His port and grandeur was very much inferior to that of either of the French cardinals; who were successively favourites during his administration. Nor did he affect wealth as they did, not leaving a fortune behind him much improved by his own industry: yet it cannot be denied, that the affairs of Spain declined more, in the time they were under his government, than at any time before; and that less was done with the consumption of so much money, than might have been expected. But it must be likewise considered, that he entered upon that administration in a very unhappy conjuncture, after the loss of Portugal, and the defection in Catalonia, which made such a rent in that diadem, as would have required more than an ordinary statesman to have soldered it again, and make it flourish as before.

The duke of Medina de los Torres was a cadet of the house of Gusmann, whom for that reason the duke of Olivarez, who was of the same family, had made choice [of] to continue his house, by giving him his only daughter in marriage, and raised him to be a duke and grandee, made him *sumiller de corps*, (which is groom of the stole with us, and the second, if not the first place in the court,) and then sent him viceroy into Naples; where burying his wife without child, he married again the princess of Aviliana, an inheritor of that kingdom, of a great fortune, by whom he had children, and so the alliance and friendship with the condé duke expired. He was of a free and lively humour, unlike the Spaniards, and addicted to all kinds of debauchery alike, whereas they are usually indulgent but to one. He neither depended upon nor loved don Lewis, being as unlike him in his nature and humour as in his complexion, and had power enough with the king to do his own business, which was only to provide for his vast expenses, and being indeed the king's greatest confidant in his walks of liberty, and so



never crossed don Lewis in the general managery, and seldom came to council, except he was sent for, there being likewise great suits between don Lewis and him about some estate of the duke of Olivarez, which kept them from any intimate correspondence. He was a man of parts, and wanted nothing to be a very good statesman but application, and he was industriously without that. The duke of Monterey had married another of the sisters of the condé duke, and had been ambassador in Rome, and viceroy of Naples, and was now president de consejo de Italia, which is one of the greatest offices. He was esteemed a good man. He was slow, both by his nature and by his infirmities, being in a consumption, and spoke not to be heard at any distance. He was of great courtesy, and believed to be of great judgment, and on which don Lewis depended more than any other man's. The marquis of Castille Roderigo was the son of that Juan de Mora the Portuguese, who was secretary to Philip the Second, and was owner to a very great estate in Portugal, of which he was dispossessed entirely from the time of the general defection of that kingdom, and was now major-domo in that court, which is the greatest office. He had been ambassador in Rome, and afterwards governor of the Low Countries. He was a man of long experience, (his son being then ambassador in the emperor's court, and had treated the marriage of the king,) and much esteemed by the king and don Lewis, but a man of mean natural parts, and by his age peevish. He had been corrupted, during the time of his government in Flanders, by his correspondence with don Alonso de Cardinas, in his affection towards the king, and in his understanding [of] the affairs of England; so that he was looked upon as the author of those disrespectes which the ambassadors had undergone. However he made great professions to them of a desire to serve his majesty; but he died during the time of their stay at Madrid. The marquis of Vall-Periso was an old man, who was for the most part kept in his bed or in his chamber by the gout, so that he was seldom at the council, but his judgment much esteemed. He had formerly had a command of horse in Flanders: and there was a marvellous difference between those men who had ever employment out of Spain, and those whose education and business had been only in Spain. He was a grave man, very civil, and esteemed for his wisdom and integrity, and thought to have good affection for the king, (our master,) and a great detestation of the rebels in England; but his age and infirmities kept him too much within doors to have a notable influence upon their counsels. The condé de Castilio was the younger brother of the marquis de Carpio, the father of don Lewis, otherwise of no kind of kin to his nephew. He had been bred up in the study of the law in Salamanca, where he had been eminent; and upon his stock in that knowledge came early into that court, and was so much trusted by the late queen, after the disgrace of the condé duke, to which he was thought to have contributed very much, that if she had lived, and held that power which she had newly got, he was very like to be the first minister; which did him no good when he missed it. He was presidente de las Indias, which is one of the greatest offices, and without comparison of the greatest benefit. He was a man of great parts, and a very wise man, grave and eloquent in his

discourse, and was thought to understand the state of Spain better than any man. He lived within himself, as if he had a mind to be rich, and by the prejudice don Lewis had towards him, he had not that authority with the king that he deserved to have. Don Francisco de Melo was a cadet of that family in Portugal, and coming young from thence into the court, and being of sharp and quick parts, and having seen other countries, grew into great reputation there, which was not much clouded by the rebellion of the other kingdom, where he had a small estate, and in Spain a great one: he had been viceroy in several kingdoms, and governor in Flanders, where he lost the battle of Rocroix to the prince of Condé. He was a wise man, and much trusted by don Lewis; yet he had no reputation of integrity, and was thought to affect being rich by what means soever.

The ambassadors had not been there long, when the conde of Pignoranda returned thither from his negociation in the treaty of Munster. He had been declared to be of the consejo de estado, after he had made that peace with Holland, and was admitted to it as soon as he returned. He was conde in the right of his wife only; and before, being of a good family, don Diego de Brachamonte, and bred in the study of the law, was looked upon as a good man of business, and so employed in matters of greatest trust. He was indeed a man of great parts, and understood the affairs of the world better than any man in that court, but was proud, to the height of his nation, and retained too much of the pedantry which he had brought with him from Salamanca. As soon as he returned, according to the method of that court upon great and successful employments, the presidentship de los ordines, an office of great reputation, becoming void, it was the very next day conferred upon him. The ambassadors found no benefit by his arrival, coming from Brussels, which was thoroughly infected by don Alonso. The truth is, don Alonso, who had no affection for the king, upon the memory of some disobligations when he first came over into England, and liked well his employment and residence there, used all the endeavours imaginable to have the king's condition thought to be irrecoverable and desperate, and therefore that all civilities extended towards him were cast away, and would yield no fruit, and that the commonwealth was so established, that it could never be shaken. So that Spain thought only how to make a firm friendship there, and to forget that there ever had been a king [of England], in the confidence that there would be no more. And therefore when the ambassadors, after all ceremonies were over, had a private audience with the king, and desired, "that he would appoint commissioners, with whom they might treat about the renewing the alliance between the two crowns, which had been provided for by the last treaty to be renewed within so many months after the death of either king, and with whom they might likewise confer upon such relief in arms and money, as his catholic majesty would think [proper] to send to their master into Ireland," (whichever one of the ambassadors desired to hasten his journey as soon as might be: and in that memorial, which they then delivered to his catholic majesty, they had desired likewise "that he would write to Owen O'Neile to dispose him to submit to the king, since his standing out did



"only weaken the catholic party, and would make them less united to oppose the parliament, whereby their own destruction would inevitably follow, as well as irreparable damage to the king their master,") they received shortly after an answer, sent to them by don Francisco de Melo, who told them, "that the king had sent him to them, to confer with them upon the substance of their last memorial. He said, the king did not think it necessary to appoint any committee to renew the last treaty of peace; which was still in force, and might well be observed between the two nations; and that the renewing might be deferred till the times should mend;" implying very little less than that when the king should be in England, it would be a fit time to renew the alliance. He said, "he was ready to receive any propositions from them, wherein they might more particularly set down their desires, if they were ready to depart; and for writing to Owen O'Neale," (whom he called don Eugenio,) "he had so misbehaved himself towards his catholic majesty, by leaving his service in Flanders, and transporting himself into Ireland without his license, that his majesty could not in honour write to him; but that he would take such care, that he should know it would be agreeable to his majesty's good liking, that he betook himself to the service of the king of Great Britain without reserve; which he did believe would dispose him to it:" which method they did conceive was proposed, because they should believe that the Spaniard had no hand in sending him into that kingdom, or in fomenting the rebellion; whereas at the same time don Diego de la Torre was with the Irish as resident or envoy from Spain.

This answer was evidence enough to them, how little they were to expect from any avowed friendship of that crown, though they still thought they might be able to obtain some little favour in private, as arms, and ammunition, and a small supply of money for the king's subsistence, that could hardly be taken notice of. And therefore the chancellor of the exchequer, who was designed by the king to attend him in Ireland, expected only to hear that he was arrived there, till when he could not present his memorial so particularly as was demanded, nor prepare himself for his voyage thither: and so they rested for some time, without giving the court any farther trouble by audiences, and enjoyed themselves in no unpleasant retreat from business, if they could have put off the thought of the miserable condition of their master, and their own particular concerns in their own country. The chancellor betook himself to the learning the language by reading their books, of which he made a good collection, and informing himself the best he could of the government and the administration of their justice; and there began his devotion upon the Psalms, which he finished in another banishment.

Whilst they were in this impatient expectation to hear from the king, who yet remained at Jersey, by which they might take their own resolutions, prince Rupert came upon the coast of Spain with the fleet under his command; which he had brought from Ireland; and had sent a letter on shore to be sent to the chancellor of the exchequer, one of the ambassadors; which the officer upon the place sent presently to don Lewis de Haro; who, in the

same moment, sent it to him with a very civil salutation. The prince writ him word, "that he had brought away all the fleet from Ireland, and that he had received an assurance from Portugal, that he should be very welcome thither; upon which he was resolved, after he had attended some days to meet with any English ships that might be prize, to go for Lisbon; and desired him to procure orders from the court, that he might find a good reception in all the ports of Spain, if his occasions brought him thither." The ambassadors sent immediately for an audience to don Lewis; who received them with open arms, and another kind of countenance than he had ever done before. A fleet of the king of England, under the command of a prince of the blood, upon the coast of Spain, at a season of the year when they expected the return of their galleons from the Indies, made a great consternation amongst the people, and the court received the news of it with disorder enough. All that the ambassadors asked was granted without hesitation; and letters were despatched away that very night (copies whereof were sent to the ambassadors) by several expresses, to all the governors of the ports, and other officers, for the good reception of prince Rupert, or any ships under his command, if they came into any of the ports; and for the furnishing them with any provisions they should stand in need of, with as many friendly clauses as could have been inserted if the king had been in possession of his whole empire: so great an influence a little appearance of power had upon their spirits; and the ambassadors found they lived in another kind of air than they had done, and received every day visits and caresses from the court, and from those in authority.

But the government of these benign stars was very short: within few days after, they received news, "that the prince, with the gross of his fleet, was gone into the river of Lisbon, and that a squadron of four or five ships, under the command of captain Allen, being severed from the prince by a storm, was driven upon the rocks at Carthagena; where the people of the country had treated them very rudely, and seized both upon the ships, and persons of the men, and the storm continuing had wrecked two or three of their vessels in the road, though the guns and all things in the ships were saved." When the ambassadors demanded justice, "and that restitution might be made of all those goods, and ordnance, and rigging of the ships, which not only the people, but the governors, and officers themselves had seized upon," they were received with much more cloudy looks than before; nor was there the same expedition in granting what they could not deny. Orders were at last given for the setting all the men at liberty, and re-delivery of the goods, that thereby they might be enabled to mend their vessels, and transport their men.

But as these orders were but faintly given, so they were more slowly executed; and colonel Popham then appeared upon the coast in the head of a stronger fleet sent out by the parliament, which came into the road of St. Andero's; from whence he writ a very insolent letter in English to the king of Spain; wherein he required, "that none of those ships under the com-

"mand of prince Rupert, and which had revolted from the parliament, and were in rebellion against it, might be received into any of the ports of Spain, and that those ships which were in the ports of Carthagea might be delivered to him, and the ordnance and tackling of the other which were wrecked might be carefully kept, and be delivered to such person as should be authorized to receive the same by the commonwealth of England; to whom they belonged;" and concluded, "that as the commonwealth of England was willing to live in amity and good intelligence with his catholic majesty, so they knew very well how to do themselves right for any injury, or discourtesy, which they should sustain."

This imperious style made such an impression upon the court, that all the importunity the ambassadors could use could get nothing done at Carthagea in pursuance of the orders they had sent from the court; but the poor men were, after long attendance, forced to transport themselves as they were able; and two or three hundred of them marched over land, and were compelled to list themselves in the Spanish service at land; where they, for the most part, perished; care being in the mean time taken, that Popham should be received in all places, with all possible demonstration of respect and kindness; and the king sent him a ring of the value of fifteen hundred pounds. In this triumph he sailed from thence into Portugal, and dropped his anchors in the river of Lisbon, at a very small distance from the fleet of prince Rupert; and suffered not any ship to enter into that river; but denounced war against that kingdom, if that fleet were not presently delivered up into his hands.

The Portuguese had received prince Rupert very civilly, bought all the prizes he had brought thither, gave him the free use of all their ports, and furnished him with all things which he stood in need of. The queen, and the prince of Portugal then living, who was a young man of great hope and courage, made great professions of friendship to our king, and of a desire to assist him by all the ways and means which could be proposed to them. But when their river was blocked up, their ships taken, and the whole kingdom upon the matter besieged by Popham, of which they knew the Spaniard would quickly make use, the council was astonished, and knew not what to do: their free trade with England was not only their profit, but their reputation; and if they should be deprived of that, they should not be able to preserve it any where else; which would put the whole kingdom into a flame; and therefore they besought their king, "that prince Rupert might be desired to leave the river, and to carry his fleet from thence;" which was not possible for him to do without fighting with the enemy, to whom he was much inferior in strength of shipping, and number of men, by the loss he had sustained at Carthagea.

The prince of Portugal had so great indignation at this overtture made by the council, that he declared "he would have all the ships in the port made ready, and would himself go on board, and join with prince Rupert, and so fight the English, and drive them from thence;" and he manifested a great desire to do so; but the council prevailed with the queen not to consent to

that. So that in the end, after many months' stay there, and the fleet being fully supplied with whatever it stood in need of, prince Rupert found it necessary, upon the assurance the Portuguese gave him that Popham should not follow him till after two tides, to set sail and leave that kingdom; which he did with so full a gale, that Popham, after so long a stay, found it to no purpose to follow him; but took full vengeance upon Portugal for rescuing his prey from him; until they were compelled, after great sufferings, to purchase their peace from Cromwell upon very hard conditions.

It seemed no good sign to the ambassadors that prince Rupert had left Ireland; where there were so many good ports, and where the fleet had been so necessary for the carrying on his majesty's service. But, in a short time after, they received advertisement, "that the king had laid aside his purpose of going thither, and had taken new resolutions." Before the marquis of Ormond could draw his army together, Cromwell had besieged Tredagh: and though the garrison was so strong in point of number, and that number of so choice men, that they could wish for nothing more than that the enemy would attempt to take them by storm, the very next day after he came before the town he gave a general assault, and was beaten off with considerable loss. But, after a day more, he assaulted it again in two places, with so much courage, that he entered in both; and though the governor and some of the chief officers retired in disorder into a fort, where they hoped to have made conditions, a panic fear so possessed the soldiers, that they threw down their arms upon a general offer of quarter: so that the enemy entered the works without resistance, and put every man, governor, officer, and soldier, to the sword; and the whole army being entered the town, they executed all manner of cruelty, and put every man that related to the garrison, and all the citizens who were Irish, man, woman, and child, to the sword; and there being three or four officers of name, and of good families, who had found some way, by the humanity of some soldiers of the enemy, to conceal themselves for four or five days, being afterwards discovered, they were butchered in cold blood.

This insupportable loss took away all hopes from the marquis of Ormond of drawing an army strong enough, and resolute enough, together, to meet Cromwell in the field, during the summer, which was drawing to an end; and obliged him to retire into those quarters, where, in respect of the necessary passes, he might be secure, and from whence he might attempt upon the enemy. Cromwell in the mean time took no rest, but, having made himself terrible by that excess of rigour and cruelty, marched into Munster against the lord Inchiquin, and that body of English which was under his command. Here he defied fortune again; and marched so far out of the places devoted to him, and from whence he had any reasonable hope to receive supplies, that he must necessarily have been starved, and could not have retired, all the bridges over which he had passed being broken down, if the city of Cork, which he could not have forced, had not been by the garrison basely delivered up to him; those officers who had been most obliged to the lord Inchiquin, and in whom he had most con-

fidence, unworthily betraying him, and every day forsaking him : so that by the example of Cork, and by the terror of Tredagh, the whole province of Munster in a very short time fell into his hands, except some few towns and sea-ports, which, being garrisoned by the Irish, would, neither officers nor soldiers, receive or obey any orders which were sent from the lord of Ormond. The king receiving information of this at Jersey, gave over the thought very reasonably of adventuring himself into Ireland; and dismissed the two ships, which, by the direction of the prince of Orange, had attended so long at St. Maloes, to have waited him thither.

Though duke Hamilton, and the earl of Lauderdale, and the other Scottish lords, who remained in Holland when the king came into France, durst not return into their own country, yet they held intelligence with their party there. And though the marquis of Argyle had the sole power, yet he could not extinguish the impatient desire of the whole nation, to have their king come to them. And every day produced instances enough, which informed him, how the affections of the people were generally disposed, and upon how slippery ground himself stood, if he were not supported by the king; and that the government he was then possessed of could not be lasting, except he had another force to defend him, than that of his own nation. And he durst not receive any from Cromwell, who would willingly have assisted him, for fear of being entirely deserted by all his friends, who had been still firm to him. Hereupon he thought of drawing the king into Scotland, and keeping the Hamiltonian faction from entering with him, by the sentence that was already against them, and to oblige the king to submit to the covenant, and all those other obligations which were at that time established; and if his majesty would put himself into his hands upon those conditions, he would be sure to keep the power in himself under the king's name, and might reasonably hope that Cromwell, who made no pretence to Scotland, might be well enough pleased that his majesty might remain there under his government, and assurance, that he should not give England or Ireland any disturbance.

Upon this presumption, he wished the council of Scotland, and that committee of the parliament in whom the authority was vested, to send again to the king, (who, they thought, by this time, might be weary of Jersey,) to invite him to come to them upon the old conditions; and by gratifying them in this particular, which all the people did so passionately desire, he renewed all the solemn obligations they had been before bound in, never to admit the king to come amongst them, but upon his first submitting to and performing all those conditions. And all those things being thus settled, and agreed, they sent a gentleman with letters into Jersey, to invite his majesty again to come into his kingdom of Scotland, not without a rude insinuation that it was the last invitation he would receive. The lords, who are mentioned before to be then in Holland, were glad of this advance; and believed that if the king were there, they should easily find the way home again. And therefore they prevailed with the prince of Orange, to write very earnestly to the king, and to recommend it to the queen;

and themselves made great instance to the queen, with whom they had much credit, "that the king would not lose this opportunity to improve his condition." Nobody presumed to advise him to submit to all that was proposed; and yet it was evident, that if he did not submit to all, he could have the benefit of none; but "that he should make such an answer as might engage the Scots in a treaty, for the king's better information, and satisfaction in some particulars: which being done, he should imply a purpose to transport his person thither."

The spring was now coming on, and though Jersey was a convenient place to retire to, in order to consider what was next to be done, yet it was not a place to reside in, nor would be longer safe, than whilst the parliament had so much else to do, that it could not spare where-withal to reduce it. The design for Ireland was at an end, and the despair of being welcome in any other place compelled the king to think better of Scotland; and so, according to the advice he had received, he returned an answer to the message he had received, "that there were many particulars contained in the propositions which he did not understand, and which it was necessary for him to be advised in; and, in order thereunto, and that he might be well informed and instructed in what so nearly concerned him, he resolved, by such a time, which was set down, to find himself in Holland; where he desired to meet such persons as his kingdom of Scotland would send to him, and to confer, and treat, and agree with those upon all things that might give his subjects of that kingdom satisfaction; which his majesty did very much desire to do."

The queen had so good an opinion of many of the Scottish lords, and so ill a one of many of the English who were about the king, (in truth, she had so entire a despair of all other ways,) that she was very desirous that the overtures from Scotland should be hearkened to, and embraced: besides that she found her authority was not so great with the king, as she expected, she saw no possibility that they might be long together: she knew well that the court of France, that grew every day into a closer correspondence with Cromwell, would not endure that the king should make his residence in any part of that kingdom, and so shortened the assignments which they had made for her own support, that she was at no ease, and begun to think of dissolving her own family, and of her own retiring into a monastery; which from that time she practised by degrees: and, no doubt, that consideration which made most impression upon the king, as it had done upon his father, and terrified him most from complying with the Scots' demands, which was the alteration it would make in religion, and the government of the church, seemed not to her of moment enough to reject the other conveniences; nor did she prefer the glory of the church of England before the sordidness of the kirk of Scotland, but thought it the best expedient to advance her own religion, that the latter should triumph over the former. She therefore writ earnestly to the king her son, "that he would entertain this motion from Scotland, as his only refuge; and that he would invite commissioners to meet him in Holland, in such a

"place as the prince of Orange should advise;" and desired that, "in his passage thither, he would appoint some place where her majesty would meet him; that they might spend some days together in consultation upon what might concern them jointly." In all which his majesty complying, the city of Beauvais in Picardy was appointed for the interview; where both their majesties met, and conversed together three or four days; and then the queen returned to Paris, and the king passed through Flanders to Breda; which the prince of Orange thought to be the fittest place for the treaty, the States having no mind that the king should come any more to the Hague.

The Scottish commissioners came to Breda with the very same propositions which had been formerly sent, and without the least mitigation, and as positive an exception to persons: so that if the king should incline to go thither, he must go without any one chaplain of his own: there were ministers sent from Scotland to attend, and to instruct him. His majesty must not carry with him any one counsellor, nor any person who had ever served his father in the war against the parliament. And, that nobody might have cause to complain, if they did go thither, that they were worse treated than they had reason to expect, the king himself, and all who should attend upon him, were first to sign the covenant before they should be admitted to enter into the kingdom. Very fair warning indeed: nor could any man justly except against any thing that was afterwards done to him.

Here was no great argument for consultation: no man had so ill an understanding, as not to discern the violence that was offered to honour, justice, and conscience; yet whoever objected against what was proposed, upon any of those considerations, was looked upon as a party, because he himself could not be suffered to attend the king. It was thought to be of great weight, that they who dissuaded the king from going into Scotland, upon those rude and barbarous terms, could not propose any thing else for him to do, nor any place where he might securely repose himself, with any hope of subsistence: a very sad state for a prince to be reduced to, and which made it manifest enough, that the kings of the earth are not such a body as is sensible of the indignity and outrage that is offered to any limb of it. The Scottish lords were thought to be the most competent counsellors, since they, by going, were to be exposed to great rigour, and to undergo the severest part of all censures. They could not sit in the parliament, nor in the council, and knew well that they should not be suffered to be about the person of the king: yet all these resolved to wait upon him, and persuaded him to believe, "that his majesty's presence would dissipate those clouds; and that a little time would produce many alterations, which could not be presently effected." For his majesty's signing the covenant, "he should tell the commissioners, that he would defer it till he came thither, that he might think better of it; and that if then the kirk should press it upon him, he would give them satisfaction. And they were confident, that, after he should be there, he should be no more importuned in it, but that even the churchmen themselves would contend to make themselves gracious to him."

This kind of argumentation wrought much with the prince of Orange, but more with the duke of Buckingham, who had waited upon the king from the time of his adventure with the earl of Holland, (against whose person there was no exception,) and with Wilmot, and Wentworth, (who resolved to go with his majesty, and would submit to any conditions, which would be required of them,) and with others about the king, who could not digest the covenant; yet the hope that it would not be required from them, and the many promises those Scottish lords made to them, who were like to grow into authority again when they should be once in their native air and upon their own soil, prevailed with them to use all their credit with the king to embark himself, and try how propitious fortune would be to him in Scotland. In the end, a faint hope in that, and a strong despair of any other expedient, prevailed so far with his majesty, that he resolved, upon what terms soever, to embark himself, in Holland, upon a fleet which the prince of Orange provided for him; and so with all the Scottish, and very few English servants, to set sail for Scotland.

There were two very strong arguments, which made deep impression on those lords who very vehemently dissuaded, and ever protested against his majesty's going for Scotland, and which, as it often falls out in matters of the highest importance, they could not make use of to convert others, especially in the place and company in which they were to urge them. The first, "that the expedition of duke Hamilton the year before, with an army as numerous, and much better furnished, and provided, than Scotland could in many years be again enabled to send out, made it manifest enough, how little that nation, how united soever, could prevail against the force of England:" the other, "that the whole and absolute power of Scotland being, at that time, confessedly vested in the marquis of Argyle, it might reasonably be feared, and expected, that the king should no sooner arrive there, and the least appearance be discovered of such resolutions, or alterations in the affections of the people, upon which the Hamiltonian faction wholly and solely depended, but Argyle would immediately deliver up the person of the king into the hands of Cromwell; and, with the assistance he would willingly give, make that kingdom tributary or subservient to him, whilst the king remained his prisoner, and Argyle continued his vicegerent in Scotland." No doubt these objections had too much weight in them not to be thought worthy of apprehension, by many men, who were not blinded with passion, or amazed with despair: and though they were not able to give any other counsel, what course the king might steer with reasonable hope and security, they might yet warrantably dissuade his exposing himself to so many visible dangers as that voyage was subject to both at sea and land; and might prudently believe, that the enjoying the empty title of king, in what obscurity soever, in any part of the world, was to be preferred before the empty name of king in any of his own dominions; which was the best that could reasonably be expected from the conditions which were imposed upon him; to which he was compelled to submit.

When the ambassadors who were in Spain expected every day to hear of his majesty's being arrived in Ireland, and had thereupon importuned that court for a despatch, the king gave them notice of this his resolution, and directed them "to remain where they were, till he could better judge of his own fortune." They were extremely troubled, both of them having always had a strong aversion that the king should ever venture himself in the hands of that nation, which had treated his father so perfidiously. And they were now necessitated to stay there, where they had received so little encouragement, and had no reason to expect more, yet they knew not whither else to go. They therefore resolved to set the best face they could upon it, and desired an audience from the king: in which they told his catholic majesty, "that they had received letters from the king their master; who commanded them to inform his majesty, who, he knew well, would be glad to hear of any good fortune that befell him, that it had now pleased God to work so far upon the hearts and affections of his subjects of Scotland, that they had given over all those factions and animosities, which had heretofore divided them, and made them rather instruments of mischiefs than benefit to his blessed father, and to himself: that they were now sensible of all those miscarriages, and had sent unanimously to entreat his majesty to come into that kingdom, and to take them all into his protection: with which his majesty was so well satisfied, that he had laid aside the thought of transporting himself into Ireland; which he had intended to do; and was gone into Scotland; where the kingdom was entirely at his devotion, and from whence he could visit England, or Ireland, as he found it most convenient: and that he had reason to believe, that his friends in either of the kingdoms would quickly appear in arms, when they were sure to be so powerfully assisted, and seconded." And they said, "they would, from time to time, inform his majesty of the good success that should fall out." The king professed "to be very glad of this good news; and that they should assure the king their master, that he would be always ready to make all the demonstration of a brotherly affection that the ill condition of his own affairs would permit; and that, if it pleased God to give a peace to the two crowns, the world should see how forward he would be to revenge the wrong and indignity the king of Great Britain had undergone."

Though the ambassadors themselves were afflicted with the news of his majesty's being gone for Scotland, upon the too much knowledge they had of the treachery of that people, yet they found his majesty was much the more esteemed in this court by it. He was before looked upon as being dispossessed and disinherited of all his dominions, as if he had no more subjects than those few who were banished with him, and that there was an entire defection in all the rest. But now that he was possessed of one whole kingdom, in which no man appeared in arms against him, a kingdom which had been famous for many warlike actions, and which always bred a very warlike people, which had borne good parts in all the wars of Europe in this age, and had been more celebrated in them than the English had been,

was a happy advance, and administered reasonable hope that he might be established in the other two kingdoms, in one of which he was thought to have a good, and was known to have a numerous army on foot at that very time: so that the ambassadors were much better looked upon than they had been; and when they made any complaints of injuries done to any of the English merchants who lived in the ports of Spain, as they had sometimes occasion to do, upon taxes and impositions laid upon them, contrary to the treaties which had been made, and which they said were still in force, they were heard with respect; the merchants were relieved; and many favours were done to particular persons upon their desires and interposition: so that they were not so much out of countenance as they had been, and all men spoke with more freedom and detestation against the rebellion in England, and the barbarity thereof, than they had used to do.

There fell out at this time, and before the king left Holland, an accident of such a prodigious nature, that, if Providence had not, for the reproach of Scotland, determined that the king should once more make experiment of the courage and fidelity of that nation, could not but have diverted his majesty from that northern expedition; which, how unsecure soever it appeared to be for the king, was predestinated for a greater chastisement and mortification of that people, as it shortly after proved to be. When the king had left Holland, the summer before, and intended only to make France his way to Ireland, he had given his commission to the marquis of Mountrose, to gather such a force together, as by the help of the northern princes he might be enabled to do. Upon which the marquis, who was naturally full of great thoughts, and confident of success, sent several officers who had served in Germany, and promised very much, to draw such troops together as they should be enabled to do, and himself, with a great train of officers and servants, went for Hamburg; which he appointed for the rendezvous for all these troops, and from whence he could in the mean time visit such courts of the neighbour princes and states, as he should be encouraged to do; and keep such intelligence with his friends in Scotland, as should provide for his reception.

Besides the hopes and encouragement he had received from the ambassador Wolfelte, to expect good supplies in Denmark, there were many officers of good name and account in Sweden, of the Scottish nation, who were grown rich, and lived in plenty in that kingdom. With the principal of them, the marquis had held correspondence; who undertook, as well for others as for themselves, "that if the marquis engaged himself in the king's service in the kingdom of Scotland, they would give him notable assistance in money, arms, and men." In a word, he sent, or went in person, to both those kingdoms; where he found the performance very disproportionable to their promises. Queen Christina had received an ambassador from England with wonderful civility and grace, and expressed a great esteem of the person of Cromwell, as a man of glorious achievements; and before she resigned the crown, which she shortly after did, she engaged it in a fast alliance with the new commonwealth, and disposed her successor to look upon it as a neces-

sary support to his crown. In Denmark, the marquis found good wishes enough, a hearty detestation of all the villanies which had been acted in England, and as hearty wishes for the advancement and prosperity of the king's affairs; but the kingdom itself was very poor, and full of discontent, the king not so much esteemed, because not so much feared, as his father had been, and he had been compelled to make many unreasonable concessions to Holland, that he might have assistance from them, to protect him from those assaults and invasions which were threatened from Sweden. So that the marquis was obliged to return to Hamburg, with very small supplies, from either or both those kingdoms: and there he received no better account from those officers who had been sent into Germany. His design had always been to land in the Highlands of Scotland, before the winter season should be over, both for the safety of his embarkation, and that he might have time to draw those people together, who, he knew, would be willing to repair to him, before it should be known at Edinburgh that he was landed in the kingdom. He had, by frequent messages, kept a constant correspondence with those principal heads of the clans who were most powerful in the Highlands, and were of known or unsuspected affection to the king, and advertised them of all his motions and designs. And by them advertised those of the Lowlands of all his resolutions; who had promised, upon the first notice of his arrival, to resort with all their friends and followers to him.

Whether these men did really believe, that their own strength would be sufficient to subdue their enemies, who were grown generally odious, or thought the bringing over troops of foreigners would lessen the numbers and affections of the natives, they did write very earnestly to the marquis, "to hasten his coming over with officers, arms, and ammunition; for which he should find hands enough;" and gave him notice, "that the committee of estates at Edinburgh had sent again to the king to come over to them; and that the people were so impatient for his presence, that Argyle was compelled to consent to the invitation." It is very probable that this made the greatest impression upon him. He knew very well how few persons there were about the king, who were like to continue firm in those principles, which could only confirm his majesty in his former resolutions against the persuasions and importunities of many others, who knew how to represent to him the desperateness of his condition any other way, than by repairing into Scotland upon any conditions. Mountrose knew, that of the two factions there, which were not like to be reconciled, they were both equally his implacable enemies; so that which soever prevailed, he should be still in the same state, the whole kirk, of what temper soever, being alike malicious to him; and hearing likewise of the successive misfortunes in Ireland, he concluded, the king would not trust himself there. Therefore, upon the whole, and concluding that all his hopes from Germany and those northern princes would not increase the strength he had already, he caused, in the depth of the winter, those soldiers he had drawn together, which did not amount to above five hundred, to be embarked,

and sent officers with them, who knew the country, with directions that they should land in such a place in the Highlands, and remain there, as they might well do, till he came to them, or sent them orders. And then in another vessel, manned by people well known to him, and commanded by a captain very faithful to the king, and who was well acquainted with that coast, he embarked himself, and near one hundred officers, and landed in another creek, not far from the other place, whither his soldiers were directed. And both the one and the other party were set safely on shore in the places they designed; from whence the marquis himself with some servants, and officers, repaired presently to the house of a gentleman of quality, with whom he had corresponded, who expected him; by whom he was well received, and thought himself to be in security till he might put his affairs in some method: and therefore ordered his other small troops to contain themselves in those uncouth quarters, in which they were, and where they were not like to be disturbed by the visitation of any enemy.

After he had stayed there a short time, it being in March about the end of the year 1649, [O. S.] he quickly possessed himself of an old castle; which, in respect of the situation in a country so impossible for any army to march in, he thought strong enough for his purpose: thither he conveyed the arms, ammunition, and troops, which he had brought with him. And then he published his declaration, "that he came with the king's commission, to assist those his good subjects, and to preserve them from oppression: that he did not intend to give any interruption to the treaty that he heard was entered into with his majesty; but, on the contrary, hoped that his being in the head of an army, how small soever, that was faithful to the king, might advance the same. However, he had given sufficient proof in his former actions, that if any agreement were made with the king, upon the first order from his majesty, he should lay down his arms, and dispose himself according to his majesty's good pleasure." These declarations he sent to his friends to be scattered by them, and dispersed amongst the people, as they could be able. He writ likewise to those of the nobility, and the heads of the several clans, "to draw such forces together, as they thought necessary to join with him;" and he received answers from many of them, by which they desired him "to advance more into the land," (for he was yet in the remotest parts of Cathness,) and assured him, "that they would meet him with good numbers:" and they did prepare so to do, some really; and others, with a purpose to betray him.

In this state stood the affair in the end of the year 1649: but because the unfortunate tragedy of that noble person succeeded so soon after, without the intervention of any notable circumstances to interrupt it, we will rather continue the relation of it in this place, than defer it to be resumed in the proper season; which quickly ensued, in the beginning of the next year. The marquis of Argyle was vigilant enough, to observe the motion of an enemy that was so formidable to him; and had present information of his arrival in the Highlands, and of the small forces which he had brought with him. The parliament was

then sitting at Edinburgh, their messenger being returned to them from Jersey, with an account, "that the king would treat with their commissioners at Breda;" for whom they were preparing their instructions.

The alarm of Mountrose's being landed startled them all, and gave them no leisure to think of any thing else than of sending forces to hinder the recourse of others to join with him. They immediately sent colonel Straghan, a diligent and active officer, with a choice party of the best horse they had, to make all possible haste towards him, and to prevent the insurrections, which they feared would be in several parts of the Highlands. And, within few days after, David Lesley followed with a stronger party of horse and foot. The encouragement the marquis of Mountrose received from his friends, and the unpleasantness of the quarters in which he was, prevailed with him to march, with these few troops, more into the land. And the Highlanders flocking to him from all quarters, though ill armed, and worse disciplined, made him undervalue any enemy who, he thought, was yet like to encounter him. Straghan made such haste, that the earl of South-erland, who at least pretended to have gathered together a body of fifteen hundred men to meet Mountrose, chose rather to join with Straghan: others did the like, who had made the same promises, or stayed at home to expect the event of the first encounter. The marquis was without any body of horse to discover the motion of an enemy, but depended upon all necessary intelligence from the affection of the people; which he believed to be the same it was when he left them. But they were much degenerated; the tyranny of Argyle, and his having caused very many to be barbarously murdered, without any form of law or justice, who had been in arms with Mountrose, notwithstanding all acts of pardon and indemnity, had so broken their hearts, that they were ready to do all offices that might gratify and oblige him. So that Straghan was within a small distance of him, before he heard of his approach; and those Highlanders, who had seemed to come with much zeal to him, whether terrified or corrupted, left him on a sudden, or threw down their arms; so that he had none left, but a company of good officers, and five or six hundred foreigners, Dutch and Germans, who had been acquainted with their officers. With these, he betook himself to a place of some advantage by the inequality of the ground, and the bushes and small shrubs which filled it: and there they made a defence for some time with notable courage.

But the enemy being so much superior in number, the common soldiers, being all foreigners, after about a hundred of them were killed upon the place, threw down their arms; and the marquis, seeing all lost, threw away his ribbon and George, (for he was a knight of the garter,) and found means to change his clothes with a fellow of the country, and so after having gone on foot two or three miles, he got into a house of a gentleman, where he remained concealed about two days: most of the other officers were shortly after taken prisoners, all the country desiring to merit from Argyle by betraying all those into his hands which they believed to be his enemies. And thus, whether by the owner of the house, or any other way, the marquis himself became their prisoner.

The strangers who were taken, were set at liberty, and transported themselves into their own countries; and the castle, in which there was a little garrison, presently rendered itself; so that there was no more fear of an enemy in those parts.

The marquis of Mountrose, and the rest of the prisoners, were the next day, or soon after, delivered to David Lesley; who was come up with his forces, and had now nothing left to do but to carry them in triumph to Edinburgh; whither notice was quickly sent of their great victory; which was received there with wonderful joy and acclamation. David Lesley treated the marquis with great insolence, and for some days carried him in the same clothes, and habit, in which he was taken; but at last permitted him to buy better. His behaviour was, in the whole time, such as became a great man; his countenance serene and cheerful, as one that was superior to all those reproaches, which they had prepared the people to pour out upon him in all the places through which he was to pass.

When he came to one of the gates of Edinburgh, he was met by some of the magistrates, to whom he was delivered, and by them presently put into a new cart, purposely made, in which there was a high chair, or bench, upon which he sat, that the people might have a full view of him, being bound with a cord drawn over his breast and shoulders, and fastened through holes made in the cart. When he was in this posture, the hangman took off his hat, and rode himself before the cart in his livery, and with his bonnet on; the other officers, who were taken prisoners with him, walking two and two before the cart; the streets and windows being full of people to behold the triumph over a person whose name had made them tremble some few years before, and into whose hands the magistrates of that place had, upon their knees, delivered the keys of that city. In this manner he was carried to the common gaol, where he was received and treated as a common malefactor. Within two days after, he was brought before the parliament, where the earl of Lowden, the chancellor, made a very bitter and virulent declamation against him: told him, "he had broken all the covenants by which that whole nation stood obliged; and had impiously rebelled against God, the king, and the kingdom; that he had committed many horrible murders, treasons, and impieties, for all which he was now brought to suffer condign punishment;" with all those insolent reproaches upon his person, and his actions, which the liberty of that place gave him leave to use.

Permission was then given to him to speak; and without the least trouble in his countenance, or disorder, upon all the indignities he had suffered, he told them, "since the king had owned them so far as to treat with them, he had appeared before them with reverence, and bareheaded, which otherwise he would not have done: that he had done nothing of which he was ashamed, or had cause to repent; that the first covenant, he had taken, and complied with it, and with them who took it, as long as the ends for which it was ordained were observed; but when he discovered, which was now evident to all the world, that private and particular men designed to satisfy their own ambition and in-



"terest, instead of considering the public benefit; "and that, under the pretence of reforming some "errors in religion, they resolved to abridge and "take away the king's just power, and lawful "authority, he had withdrawn himself from that "engagement: that for the league and covenant, "he had never taken it, and therefore could not "break it: and it was now too apparent to the "whole Christian world, what monstrous mis- "chiefs it had produced: that when, under colour "of it, an army from Scotland had invaded Eng- "land in assistance of the rebellion that was then "against their lawful king, he had, by his ma- "jesty's command, received a commission from "him to raise forces in Scotland, that he might "thereby divert them from the other odious pro- "secution: that he had executed that commis- "sion with the obedience and duty he owed to "the king; and, in all the circumstances of it, "had proceeded like a gentleman; and had never "suffered any blood to be shed but in the heat "of the battle; and that he saw many persons "there, whose lives he had saved: that when the "king commanded him, he laid down his arms, "and withdrew out of the kingdom; which they "could not have compelled him to have done." He said, "he was now again entered into the "kingdom by his majesty's command, and with "his authority: and what success soever it might "have pleased God to have given him, he would "always have obeyed any commands he should "have received from him." He advised them, "to consider well of the consequence before they "proceeded against him, and that all his actions "might be examined, and judged by the laws of "the land, or those of nations."

As soon as he had ended his discourse, he was ordered to withdraw; and, after a short space, was again brought in; and told by the chancellor, "that he was, on the morrow, being the one and "twentieth of May 1650, to be carried to Edin- "burgh cross, and there to be hanged upon a "gallows thirty foot high, for the space of three "hours, and then to be taken down, and his head "to be cut off upon a scaffold, and hanged on "Edinburgh tollbooth; his legs and arms to be "hanged up in other public towns of the kingdom, "and his body to be buried at the place where he "was to be executed, except the kirk should take "off his excommunication; and then his body "might be buried in the common place of burial." He desired, "that he might say somewhat to "them;" but was not suffered, and so was carried back to the prison.

That he might not enjoy any ease or quiet during the short remainder of his life, their ministers came presently to insult over him with all the reproaches imaginable; pronounced his damnation; and assured him, "that the judgment he "was the next day to undergo, was but an easy "prologue to that which he was to undergo after- "wards." After many such barbarities, they offered to intercede for him to the kirk upon his repentance, and to pray with him; but he too well understood the form of their common prayer, in those cases, to be only the most virulent and insolent imprecations against the persons of those they prayed against, ("Lord, vouchsafe yet to "touch the obdurate heart of this proud incorri- "gible sinner, this wicked, perjured, traitorous, "and profane person, who refuses to hearken to

"the voice of thy kirk," and the like charitable expressions,) and therefore he desired them "to spare their pains, and to leave him to his own "devotions." He told them, "that they were a "miserable, deluded, and deluding people; and "would shortly bring that poor nation under the "most insupportable servitude ever people had "submitted to." He told them, "he was prouder "to have his head set upon the place it was ap- "pointed to be, than he could have been to have "had his picture hang in the king's bedchamber: "that he was so far from being troubled that his "four limbs were to be hanged in four cities of "the kingdom, that he heartily wished that he "had flesh enough to be sent to every city in "Christendom, as a testimony of the cause for "which he suffered."

The next day, they executed every part and circumstance of that barbarous sentence, with all the inhumanity imaginable; and he bore it with all the courage and magnanimity, and the greatest piety, that a good Christian could manifest. He magnified the virtue, courage, and religion of the last king, exceedingly commended the justice, and goodness, and understanding of the present king; and prayed, "that they might not betray him as "they had done his father." When he had ended all he meant to say, and was expecting to expire, they had yet one scene more to act of their tyranny. The hangman brought the book that had been published of his truly heroic actions, whilst he had commanded in that kingdom, which book was tied in a small cord that was put about his neck. The marquis smiled at this new instance of their malice, and thanked them for it; and said, "he was pleased that it should be "there; and was prouder of wearing it, than "ever he had been of the garter;" and so renewing some devout ejaculations, he patiently endured the last act of the executioner.

Soon after, the officers who had been taken with him, sir William Urry, sir Francis Hay, and many others, of as good families as any in the kingdom, were executed, to the number of thirty or forty, in several quarters of the kingdom; many of them being suffered to be beheaded. There was one whom they thought fit to save, one colonel Whitford; who, when he was brought to die, said, "he knew the reason why he was "put to death; which was only because he had "killed Dorislaus at the Hague;" who was one of those who had joined in the murder of the last king. One of the magistrates, who were present to see the execution, caused it to be suspended, till he presently informed the council what the man had said; and they thought fit to avoid the reproach; and so preserved the gentleman; who was not before known to have had a hand in that action.

Thus died the gallant marquis of Mountrose, after he had given as great a testimony of loyalty and courage, as a subject can do, and performed as wonderful actions in several battles, upon as great inequality of numbers, and as great disadvantages in respect of arms, and other preparations for war, as have been performed in this age. He was a gentleman of a very ancient extraction, many of whose ancestors had exercised the highest charges under the king in that kingdom, and had been allied to the crown itself. He was of very good parts, which were improved by a good





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**JAMES GRAHAM, MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.**

**OB. 1650.**

**FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF**

**HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MONTROSE.**



education : he had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt of the marquis of Argyll, (as he was too apt to condemn those he did not love,) who wanted nothing but honesty and courage to be a very extraordinary man, having all other good talents in a very great degree. Mountrose was in his nature fearless of danger, and never declined any enterprise for the difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly affected those which seemed desperate to other men, and did believe somewhat to be in himself which other men were not acquainted with, which made him live more easily towards those who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him, (towards whom he exercised wonderful civility and generosity,) than with his superiors or equals. He was naturally jealous, and suspected those who did not concur with him in the way, not to mean so well as he. He was not without vanity, but his virtues were much superior, and he well deserved to have his memory preserved, and celebrated amongst the most illustrious persons of the age in which he lived.

The king received an account and information of all these particulars, before he embarked from Holland, without any other apology for the affront and indignity to himself, than that they assured him, "that the proceeding against the late marquis of Mountrose had been for his service." They who were most displeased with Argyll and his faction, were not sorry for this inhuman and monstrous prosecution; which at the same time must render him the more odious, and had rid them of an enemy that they thought would have been more dangerous to them; and they persuaded the king, who was enough afflicted with the news, and all the circumstances of it, "that he might sooner take revenge upon that people by a temporary complying with them, and going to them, than staying away, and absenting himself, which would invest them in an absolute dominion in that kingdom, and give them power to corrupt or destroy all those who yet remained faithful to him, and were ready to spend their lives in his service;" and so his majesty pursued his former resolution and embarked for Scotland.

In Ireland, after the massacre of that body of English at Tredagh, and the treacherous giving up the towns in Munster, by the officers of the lord Inchiquin, there broke out so implacable a jealousy amongst the Irish against all the English, that no orders of the marquis of Ormond found any obedience, nor could he draw an army together. At the making of the peace, he had consented that the confederate Roman catholics should name a number of the commissioners, by whose orders and ministry all levies of men, and all collections of money, were to be made, according to the directions of the lord lieutenant. And such persons were named, in whose affections, for the most part, the lieutenant was well satisfied, and the rest were such as were not like to be able to give any interruption. A certain number of these were appointed to be always in the army, and near the person of the lord lieutenant, and the rest in their several stations, where they were most like to advance the service. Many of these commissioners were of the Roman catholic nobility, persons of honour, and very sensible of the weakness, wilfulness, and wickedness of that re-

bellion; and did manifest all possible zeal and affection to the king's service, engaging their persons in all enterprises of danger, and using all possible industry to raise men and money, whereby the lord lieutenant might be enabled to carry on the war in the spring. But many of the other, after those misfortunes had fallen out, which are mentioned before, either totally desponded, and rather thought of providing for themselves than for the preservation of the public; or fomented the jealousies which were amongst the Irish, and incensed them against the English, who were still with the lord lieutenant; so that his orders were not obeyed at all, or not in time, which was as bad; and their clergy and friars publicly incensed the people against the articles of the peace, and desired to have an army raised apart under a general of their own.

The lord lieutenant now discovered the reason why Owen O'Neile had refused to consent to the peace which the confederate Roman catholics had made with the king, and kept his army in Ulster from submitting thereunto, and pretended to desire to treat apart with the lord lieutenant for himself; which was then thought to proceed from the jealousy that was between him and Preston, and the animosity between those old Irish of Ulster, and the other of the other provinces. But the truth was, from the time of the marquis of Ormond's transporting himself out of France, and that the correspondence was discovered to be between him and the lord Inchiquin, and the treaty begun with the confederate catholics, the close committee at Westminster sent secret instructions to Monk, who commanded their forces in Ireland, "that he should endeavour to treat with Owen O'Neile, and so divide him from the rest of the Irish;" which Monk found opportunity to do: and it was no sooner proposed than hearkened unto by O'Neile; who presently sent a trusty messenger with such propositions to Monk, as he desired to have granted to him. He offered, "with his army, which should always consist of such a number of horse and foot, and artillery, as should be agreed between them, to serve the parliament; and not to separate from their interest;" and proposed, "that he, and all his party that should adhere to him, should enjoy the exercise of their religion, without any prejudice or disadvantage: that himself might be restored to those lands which his ancestors had been possessed of in Tyrone, Londonderry, or any other parts of Ireland; and that all those who had or would adhere to him, should be likewise restored to their estates; and that an act of oblivion might be granted." Monk received these propositions; and after he had perused them, he sent him word, "that there were some particulars, which, he doubted, would shock and offend the parliament, and therefore desired they might be altered;" and proposed the alterations he advised; which principally concerned the public exercise of their religion; which he so qualified, that they might well enough satisfy; and proposed, "that, if O'Neile would consent to those alterations, he would return the treaty signed by him; which he would immediately send over to the parliament for their confirmation; and that, in the mean time, there might be a cessation of arms between them for three months; in which time,

"and much less, he presumed, he should receive a ratification of the treaty from the parliament."

Owen O'Neile consented to the alterations, set his hand and seal to the treaty, and returned it to Monk, with his consent likewise to the cessation for three months. And at this time it was, that he refused to agree with the confederate council at Kilkenny in the peace with the king. Monk sent it presently to the committee, which had given him authority to do what he had done. But their affairs were now better composed at home, and some preparations were made towards sending relief for Ireland; besides, they had not authority to make any such ratification, but presented it to the parliament, which could only give it. It was no sooner reported there but the house was on fire; all men inveighed against "the presumption of Monk, who deserved to be displaced, and to have his command taken from him, and to have exemplary punishment inflicted on him. They remembered how criminal they had declared it to be in the king himself, to have treated, and made a peace with the Irish rebels: and what would the people think, and say, if any countenance should be given to the same transgression by the parliament? if they should ratify a treaty made by the most notorious of the rebels, and with that people under his command, who were the most notorious contrivers of that rebellion, and the most bloody executioners of it? for the most merciless massacres had been committed in Ulster, by that very people who now constituted that army of which Owen O'Neile was now general." After all the passion and choler which they thought necessary to express upon this subject, they declared, "that they had given no authority to Monk to enter into that treaty; and therefore, that it was void, and should never be confirmed by them; but that, since he had proceeded out of the sincerity of his heart, and as he thought (how erroneously soever) for the good and benefit of the commonwealth, he should be excused; and no farther questioned thereupon." For they knew well, that he could produce such a warrant from those in authority, as would well justify his proceeding: and so the treaty with Owen O'Neile became void, though they had received a very considerable benefit by it; for though the Scots in Ulster had not yet submitted to the peace, and had not received directions from Edinburgh to acknowledge the authority of the lord lieutenant, which they ought to have had before that time, yet, after the murder of the late king, they had used all acts of hostility against the parliament forces, and had besieged Londonderry; the only considerable place that yielded obedience to the parliament; which was defended by sir Charles Coote, and when it was brought to some extremity, by the cessation made with Owen O'Neile, and by his connivance and assistance, Londonderry was relieved; and O'Neile, finding himself deluded by the parliament, sent then to offer his service and conjunction to the lord lieutenant, with abundant professions of fidelity and revenge.

Cromwell made notable use of this animosity between the Irish amongst themselves, and of the jealousy they all appeared to have of the marquis of Ormond, and of those who adhered to him;

and used all the endeavours he could, by some prisoners who were taken, and by others who were in the towns which were betrayed to him, and were well known to have affection for the marquis, to procure a conference with him. He used to ask in such company, "what the marquis of Ormond had to do with Charles Stuart, and what obligations he had ever received from him?" And then would mention the hard measure his grandfather had received from king James, and the many years imprisonment he had sustained by him, for not submitting to an extrajudicial and private determination of his; which yet he was at last compelled to do. He said, "he was confident, if the marquis and he could meet together, upon conference, they should part very good friends." And many of those with whom he held these discourses, by his permission and license, informed the marquis of all he said; who endeavoured nothing but to put himself into such a posture, as to be able to meet him as he desired to do.

When Cromwell saw that he should be able to do nothing that way, and knew well enough that, besides the army that yet remained under Owen O'Neile, so much disobliged and provoked, there were still vast bodies of the Irish, which might be drawn together into several armies, much greater and superior in number to all his forces, and that they had several great towns and strong holds in their power, he declared a full liberty and authority to all the officers with the Irish, and to all other persons whatsoever, to raise what men they would, and to transport them for the service of any foreign princes with whom they could make the best conditions; and gave notice to the Spanish and French ministers, and agents at London, of the liberty he had granted. Upon which many officers who had served the king, and remained in London in great poverty and want, made conditions with don Alonzo de Cardinas, to raise regiments and transport them into Spain; and many officers, who were already in Spain, as well English as Irish, contracted with the ministers in that court to raise and transport several regiments into that kingdom from Ireland; for which they received very great sums of money in hand; many merchants joining with them in the contract, and undertaking the transportation upon very good conditions; there being no other danger but of the sea in the undertaking; insomuch that, in very few months above a year, there were embarked in the ports of Ireland about five and twenty thousand men for the kingdom of Spain; whereof not half were ever drawn into the field there, and very few ever lived to return. For the officers and masters of ships, who contracted, and were bound to deliver their men at such ports as were assigned to them, and where care was taken for their reception, and conduct to the quarters which were appointed, according to the service to which they were designed, either for Catalonia or Portugal, (after they had been long at sea, by which the soldiers, who were crowded more together into one ship than was fit for so long voyages, had contracted many diseases, and many were dead, and thrown overboard,) as soon as they came upon the coast made all haste to land, how far soever from the place at which they stood bound to deliver their men; by which, in those places that could make resistance, they were not

suffered to land, and in others no provision was made for their reception or march, but very great numbers were starved or knocked in the head by the country people, and few ever came up to the armies, except officers; who flocked to Madrid for the remainder of their monies; where the ministers received them with reproaches for not observing their conditions, and refused to pay either them, or the masters of the ships, what remained to be paid by them. This was the case of too many: though the truth is, where the articles were punctually observed, and the ships arrived in the very ports assigned, by the defect in the orders sent from the court, or the negligent execution of them, the poor men were often kept from disembarking, till some officers went to Madrid, and returned with more positive orders, and afterwards so ill provision was made for their refreshing and march, that rarely half of those who were shipped in Ireland, ever lived to do any service in Spain: and nothing could be more wonderful, than that the ministers there should issue out such vast sums in money for the raising of soldiers, and bringing them into the kingdom at very liberal and bountiful rates to the officers, and take so very little care to cherish and nourish them, when they came thither; which manifested how loose the government was.

It is very true, that there was at that time a much greater inclination in the Irish for the service of Spain, than of France; yet the cardinal employed more active and dexterous instruments to make use of the liberty that was granted, and shipping was more easily procured, the passage being shorter; insomuch that there were not fewer than twenty thousand men at the same time transported out of Ireland into the kingdom of France; of whose behaviour in the one kingdom and the other, there will be abundant argument hereafter to discourse at large. In the mean time, it is enough to observe that when the king's lieutenant, notwithstanding all the promises, obligations, and contracts, which the confederate Roman catholics had made to and with him, could not draw together a body of five thousand men, (by which he might have been able to have given some stop to the current of Cromwell's successes,) Cromwell himself found a way to send above forty thousand men out of that kingdom for service of foreign princes; which were enough to have driven him from thence, and to have restored it to the king's entire obedience.

In England, the spirits of all the loyal party were so broken and subdued, that they could scarce breathe under the insupportable burdens which were laid upon them by imprisonments, compositions, and sequestrations. Whatever articles they had made in the war, and whatever promises had been made of pardon and indemnity, they were now called upon to finish their composition for their delinquency, and paid dear for the credit they had given to the professions and declarations of the army, when it seemed to have pity, and complained of the severe and rigorous proceeding against the king's party, and extorting unreasonable penalties from them; which then they desired might be moderated. But now the mask was off, they sequestered all their estates, and left them nothing to live upon, till they should compound; which they were forced to do at so unreasonable rates, that many were

compelled to sell half, that they might enjoy the other towards the support of their families; which remainder was still liable to whatever impositions they at any time thought fit to inflict upon them, as their persons were to imprisonment, when any unreasonable and groundless report was raised of some plot and conspiracy against the state.

The parliament, which consisted only of those members who had sat in judgment, and had solemnly murdered the king, and of those who as solemnly under their hands had approved and commended what the others had done, met with no opposition or contradiction from any, but an entire submission from all to all they did, except only from that part of their own army which had contributed most to the grandeur and empire of which they were possessed, the levellers. That people had been countenanced by Cromwell to enter into cabals and confederacies to corrupt and dissolve the discipline of the army, and by his artifices had been applied to bring all his crooked designs to pass. By them he broke the strict union between the parliament and the Scots, and then took the king out of the hands of the parliament, and kept him in the army, with so many fair professions of intending better to his majesty, and his party, than the other did; by them the presbyterians had been affronted and trodden under foot, and the city of London exposed to disgrace and infamy; by them he had broken the treaty of the Isle of Wight; driven out of the parliament, by force of arms, all those who desired peace, and at last executed his barbarous malice upon the sacred person of the king; and when he had applied them to all those uses, for which he thought them to be most fit, he hoped and endeavoured to have reduced them again, by a severe hand, into that order and obedience from whence he had seduced them, and which was now as necessary to his future purpose of government. But they had tasted too much of the pleasure of having their part and share in it, to be willing to be stripped, and deprived of it; and made an unskilful computation of what they should be able to do for the future, by the great things they had done before in those changes and revolutions which are mentioned; not considering, that the superior officers of the army were now united with the parliament, and concurred entirely in the same designs. And therefore when they renewed their former expostulations and demands from the parliament, they were cashiered, and imprisoned, and some of them put to death. Yet after Cromwell, who had persecuted them with great fury, was gone for Ireland, they recovered their courage, and resolved to obtain those concessions by force, which were refused to be granted upon their request: and so they mutinied in several parts, upon presumption that those of the army, who would not join with them in public, would yet never be prevailed with to oppose, and reduce them by force. But this confidence deceived them; for the parliament no sooner commanded their general Fairfax to suppress them, than he drew troops together, and fell upon them at Banbury, and in other places; and by killing some upon the place, and executing others to terrify the rest, he totally suppressed that faction; and the orders of those at Westminster met with no more opposition.

This was the state and condition of the three

kingdoms when the king embarked himself in Holland for Scotland, and at the end of the year 1649. [Old Style.] And since the next year afforded great variety of unfortunate actions, we will end this discourse, according to the method

we have used, with this year: though hereafter we shall not continue the same method; but comprehend the occurrences of many years, whilst the king rested in a patient expectation of God's blessing and deliverance, in less room.

END OF THE TWELFTH BOOK.

THE  
HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XIII.

EXODUS ix. 16, 17.—*And in very deed for this cause have I raised thee up, for to shew in thee my power, and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth. As yet exaltest thou thyself against my people?*

THE marquis of Argyle, who did not believe that the king would ever have ventured into Scotland upon the conditions he had sent, was surprised with the account the commissioners had given him, "that his majesty resolved to embark the next day; that he would leave all his chaplains and his other servants behind him, and only deferred to take the covenant himself till he came thither, with a resolution to satisfy the kirk if they pressed it." Thereupon he immediately despatched away another vessel with new propositions, which the commissioners were to insist upon, and not to consent to the king's coming into that kingdom, without he likewise consented to those. But that vessel met not with the king's fleet, which, that it might avoid that of the parliament, which attended to intercept the king, had held its course more northward, where there is plenty of good harbours; and so had put into a harbour near Stirling, that is, within a day's journey of it, but where there was no town nearer for his majesty's reception, or where there was any accommodation even for very ordinary passengers.

From thence notice was sent to the council of the king's arrival: the first welcome he received was a new demand "that he would sign the covenant himself, before he set his foot on shore;" which all about him pressed him to do: and he now found, that he had made haste thither upon very unskilful imaginations and presumptions: yet he consented unto what they so imperiously required, that he might have leave to put himself into the hands of those who resolved nothing less than to serve him. The lords of the other party, who had prevailed with him to submit to all that he had done, quickly found that they had deceived both him and themselves, and that nobody had any authority but those men who were their mortal enemies. So that they would not expose themselves to be imprisoned, or to be removed from the king; but, with his majesty's leave, and hav-

ing given him the best advice they could, what he should do for himself, and what he should do for them, they put themselves on shore before the king disembarked; and found means to go to those places where they might be some time concealed, and which were like to be at distance enough from the king. And shortly after duke Hamilton retired to the island of Arran, which belonged to himself; where he had a little house well enough accommodated, the island being for the most part inhabited with wild beasts: Lauderdale concealed himself amongst his friends, taking care both to be well informed of all that should pass about the king, and to receive their advice upon any occasions.

The king was received by the marquis of Argyle with all the outward respect imaginable; but, within two days after his landing, all the English servants he had of any quality were removed from his person, the duke of Buckingham only excepted. The rest, for the most part, were received into the houses of some persons of honour, who lived at a distance from the court, and were themselves under a cloud for their known affections, and durst only attend the king to kiss his hand, and then retired to their houses, that they might give no occasion of jealousy; others of his servants were not suffered to remain in the kingdom, but were forced presently to re-embark themselves for Holland; amongst which was Daniel O'Neile, who hath been often mentioned before, and who came from the marquis of Ormond into Holland, just when his majesty was ready to embark, and so waited upon him; and was no sooner known to be with his majesty, (as he was a person very generally known,) but he was apprehended by order from the council, for being an Irishman, and having been in arms on the late king's behalf in the late war; for which they were not without some discourse of putting him to death; but they did immediately banish him the kingdom, and obliged him to sign a









Engraved by W. T. Mac-

**ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, MARQUIS OF ARGYLL.**

**OB. 1661.**

**FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF**

**HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.**



paper, by which he consented to be put to death, if he were ever after found in the kingdom.

They sent away likewise Mr. Robert Long, who was his principal, if not only, secretary of state, and had very much persuaded his going thither; and sir Edward Walker, who was clerk of the council, and had been secretary at war during the late war, and some others, upon the like exceptions. They placed other servants of all conditions about the king, but principally relied upon their clergy; who were in such a continual attendance about him, that he was never free from their importunities, under pretence of instructing him in religion: and so they obliged him to their constant hours of their long prayers, and made him observe the Sundays with more rigour than the Jews accustomed to do [their sabbath]; and reprehended him very sharply if he smiled on those days, and if his looks and gestures did not please them, whilst all their prayers and sermons, at which he was compelled to be present, were libels, and bitter invectives against all the actions of his father, the idolatry of his mother, and his own malignity.

He was not present in their councils, nor were the results thereof communicated to him; nor was he, in the least degree, communicated with, in any part of the government: yet they made great show of outward reverence to him, and even the chaplains, when they used rudeness and barbarity in their reprehensions and reproaches, approached him still with bended knees, and in the humblest postures. There was never a better courtier than Argyle: who made all possible address to make himself gracious to the king, entertained him with very pleasant discourses, with such insinuations, that the king did not only very well like his conversation, but often believed that he had a mind to please and gratify him: but then, when his majesty made any attempt to get some of his servants about him, or to reconcile the two factions, that the kingdom might be united, he gathered up his countenance, and retired from him, without ever yielding to any one proposition that was made to him by his majesty. In a word, the king's table was well served; there he sat in majesty, waited upon with decency: he had good horses to ride abroad to take the air, and was then well attended; and, in all public appearances, seemed to want nothing that was due to a great king. In all other respects, with reference to power to oblige or gratify any man, to dispose or order any thing, or himself to go to any other place than was assigned to him, he had nothing of a prince, but might very well be looked upon as a prisoner.

But that which was of state and lustre made most noise, and was industriously transmitted into all nations and states; the other of disrespect or restraint was not communicated; and if it could not be entirely concealed, it was considered only as a faction between particular great men, who contended to get the power into their hands, that they might the more notoriously and eminently serve that prince whom they all equally acknowledged. The king's condition seemed wonderfully advanced, and his being possessed of a kingdom without a rival, in which there was no appearance of an enemy, looked like an earnest for the recovery of the other two, and, for the present, as a

great addition of power to him in his kingdom of Ireland, by a conjunction and absolute submission of all the Scots in Ulster to the marquis of Ormond, the king's lieutenant there.

All men who had dissuaded his majesty's repair into Scotland were looked upon as very weak politicians, or as men who opposed the public good, because they were excluded, and might not be suffered to act any part in the adventure; and they who had advanced the design valued themselves exceedingly upon their activity in that service. The States of Holland thought they had merited much in suffering their ships to transport him, and so being ministerial to his greatness; which they hoped would be remembered; and they gave all countenance to the Scottish merchants and factors who lived in their dominions, and some secret credit, that they might send arms and ammunition, and whatsoever else was necessary for the king's service, into that kingdom. France itself looked very cheerfully upon the change; congratulated the queen with much ceremony, and many professions; and took pains to have it thought and believed, that they had had a share in the counsel, and contributed very much to the reception the king found in Scotland, by their influence upon Argyle and his party. And it hath been mentioned before, how great a reputation this little dawning of power, how clouded soever, gave to the ambassadors in Spain, and had raised them from such a degree of disrespect, as was nearest to contempt, to the full dignity and estimation in that court that was due to the station in which they were.

There fell out there an accident at this time, which was a great manifestation of the affection of that court, and indeed of the nation. As don Alonzo de Cardinas had used all the credit he had, to dispose that court to a good correspondence with the parliament, so he had employed as much care to incline those in England to have a confidence in the affection of his master, and assured them, "that if they would send an ambassador or other minister into Spain, he should find a very good reception." The parliament, in the infancy of their commonwealth, had more inclination to make a friendship with Spain than with France, having at that time a very great prejudice to the cardinal; and therefore, upon this encouragement from don Alonzo, they resolved to send an envoy to Madrid; and made choice of one Ascham, a scholar, who had written a book to determine in what time, and after how many years, the allegiance which is due from subjects to their sovereigns, comes to be determined after a conquest; and that from that term it ought to be paid to those who had subdued them: a speculation they thought fit to cherish.

This man, unacquainted with business, and unskilled in language, attended by three others, the one a renegade Franciscan friar, who had been bred in Spain, and was well versed in the language; another, who was to serve in the condition of a secretary; and the third, an inferior fellow for any service, arrived all at Seville or Cadiz in an English merchant's ship: of which don Alonzo gave such timely notice, that he was received and entertained by the chief magistrate at his landing, until they gave notice of it to the court. The town was quickly full of the rumour, that an ambassador was landed from England, and would be

received there ; which nobody seemed to be well pleased with. And the ambassadors expostulated with don Lewis de Haro with some warmth, "that his catholic majesty should be the first Christian prince that would receive an ambassador from the odious and infamous murderers of a Christian king, his brother and ally ; which no other prince had yet done, out of the detestation of that horrible parricide." And therefore they desired him, "that Spain would not give so horrid an example to the other parts of the world." Don Lewis assured them, "that there was no such thing as an ambassador coming from England, nor had the king any purpose to receive any : that it was true, they were informed that there was an English gentleman landed at Calés, and come to Seville ; who said, he was sent from the parliament with letters for the king ; which was testified by a letter from don Alonzo de Cardinas to the duke of Medina Celi ; who thereupon had given order for his entertainment at Seville, till the king should give further order : that it was not possible for the king to refuse to receive the letter, or to see the man who brought it ; who pretended no kind of character : that having an ambassador residing in England to preserve the trade and commerce between the two nations, they did believe, that this messenger might be sent with some positions from the English merchants for the advancement of that trade ; and if they should refuse to hear what he said, it might give a just offence, and destroy all the commerce ; which would be a great damage to both nations."

That this new agent might come securely to Madrid, an old officer of the army was sent from Seville to accompany him thither ; who came with him in the coach, and gave notice every night to don Lewis of their advance. There were at that time, over and above the English merchants, many officers and soldiers in Madrid, who had served in the Spanish armies, both in Catalonia and in Portugal ; and these men had consulted amongst themselves how they might kill this fellow, who came as an agent from the new republic of England ; and half a dozen of them, having notice of the day he was to come into the town, which was generally discoursed of, rode out of the town to meet him ; but, missing him, they returned again, and found that he had entered into it by another way ; and having taken a view of his lodging, they met again the next morning ; and finding, accidentally, one of the ambassadors' servants in the streets, they persuaded him to go with them, and so went to the house where Ascham lodged ; and, without asking any questions, walked directly up the stairs into his chamber, leaving a couple of their number at the door of the street, lest, upon any noise in the house, that door might be shut upon them. They who went up drew their swords ; and besides their intentions, in disorder, killed the friar as well as the agent ; and so returned to their companions with their swords naked and bloody, and some foolish expressions of triumph, as if they had performed a very gallant and a justifiable service. Notwithstanding all which, they might have dispersed themselves, and been secure, the people were so little concerned to inquire what they had done. But they being in confusion, and re-

taining no composed thoughts about them, finding the door of a little chapel open, went in thither for sanctuary : only he who was in the service of the ambassadors separated himself from the rest, and went into the house of the Venetian ambassador. By this time the people of the house where the man lay had gone up into the chamber ; where they found two dead, and the other two crept, in a terrible fright, under the bed ; and the magistrates and people were about the church, and talking with and examining the persons who were there : and the rumour was presently divulged about the town, "that one of the English ambassadors was killed."

They were at that time entering into their coach to take the air, according to an appointment which they had made the day before. When they were informed of what had passed, and that Harry Progers, who was their servant, had been in the action, and was retired to the house of the Venetian ambassador, they were in trouble and perplexity ; dismissed their coach, and returned to their lodging. Though they abhorred the action that was committed, they foresaw, the presence of one of their own servants in it, and even some passionate words they had used, in their expostulation with don Lewis, against the reception of such a messenger, as if "the king their master had too many subjects in that place, for such a fellow to appear there with any security," would make it be believed by many, that the attempt had not been made without their consent or privity. In this trouble of mind, they immediately writ a letter to don Lewis de Haro, to express the sense they had of this unfortunate rash action ; "of which, they hoped, he did believe, if they had had any notice or suspicion, they would have prevented it, by exposing their own persons." Don Lewis returned them a very dry answer ; "That he could not imagine that they could have a hand in so foul an assassination in the court," (for all Madrid is called and looked upon as the court,) "of a person under the immediate protection of the king : however, that it was an action so unheard of, and so dishonourable to the king, that his majesty was resolved to have it examined to the bottom, and that exemplary justice should be done upon the offenders ; that his own ambassador in England might be in great danger upon this murder ; and that they would send an express presently thither, to satisfy the parliament how much his catholic majesty detested and was offended with it, and resolved to do justice upon it ; and if his ambassador underwent any inconvenience there, they were not to wonder if his majesty were severe here ;" and so left it to them to imagine that their own persons might not be safe.

But they knew the temper of the court too well, to have the least apprehension of that : yet they were a little surprised, when they first saw the multitude of people gathered together about their house, upon the first news of the action ; inasmuch that the street before their house, which was the broadest in Madrid, (the Calle de Alcalá,) was so thronged, that men could hardly pass. But they were quickly out of that apprehension, being assured, that the jealousy that one of the English ambassadors had suffered violence had brought that multitude together ; which they found to be true ; for they no sooner shewed themselves in a

balcony to the people, but they saluted them with great kindness, prayed for the king their master, cursed and reviled the murderers of his father; and so departed. They who had betaken themselves to the chapel were, the next day or the second, taken from thence by a principal officer after examination, and sent to the prison: the other was not inquired after; but, having concealed himself for ten or twelve days, he went out of the town in the night; and, without any interruption or trouble, went into France.

Of all the courts in Christendom, Madrid is that where ambassadors and public ministers receive the greatest respect, which, besides the honour and punctuality of that people, bred up in the observation of distances and order, proceeds from the excellent method the ambassadors have of living with mutual respect towards each other, and in mutual concernment for each other's honour and privileges: so that, if any ambassador, in himself or his servants, receive any affront or disrespect, all the other ambassadors repair to him, and offer their service and interposition; by which means they are not only preserved from any invasion by any private and particular insolence, but even from some acts of power, which the court itself hath sometime thought fit to exercise, upon an extraordinary occasion, towards a minister of whom they had no regard. All are united on the behalf of the character; and will not suffer that to be done towards one, which, by the consequence, may reflect upon all.

It cannot be imagined, with what a general compassion all the ambassadors looked upon these unhappy gentlemen, who had involved themselves by their rashness in so much peril. They came to the English ambassadors to advise and consult what might be done to preserve them, every one offering his assistance. The action could in no degree be justified; all that could be urged and insisted upon in their behalf, was the privilege of sanctuary; "They had betaken themselves to the church; and the taking them from thence, by what authority soever, was a violation of the rights and immunities of the church, which, by the law of the kingdom, was ever defended with all tenderness." So that, before the guilt of the blood could be examined, the prisoners desired "that their privilege might be examined, and that they might have counsel assigned them to that purpose;" which was granted; and several arguments were made upon the matter of law before the judges; who were favourable enough to the prisoners. The king's counsel urged, "that in case of assassination the privilege of sanctuary was never allowed," (which is true,) and cited many precedents of late years in Madrid itself, where, for less crimes than of blood, men had been taken out of the sanctuary, and tried, and executed. The English ambassadors thought not fit to appear on their behalf, and yet were not willing that the new republic should receive so much countenance from that court, as would have resulted from putting those gentlemen to death, as if they had killed a public minister. The pope's nuncio, Julio Rospigliosi, who was afterwards Clement IX, could not, according to the style of the Roman court, either give or receive visits from the English ambassadors; but they performed civilities to each other by messages, and passed mutual salutations, with all respect to each other, as they met abroad.

And the Venetian ambassador brought them frequent assurances, "that the nuncio had spoken very effectually to the king, and to don Lewis, for the redelivery of the prisoners to the church, and pressed it so hard upon the conscience of the king, that he had some promise that they should not suffer."

In the mean time, thundering letters came from the parliament, with great menaces what they would do, if exemplary justice was not inflicted upon those who had murdered their envoy; and don Alonzo urged it, as if "he thought himself in danger till full satisfaction should be given in that particular;" all which for the present made deep impression, so that they knew not what to do; the king often declaring, "that he would not infringe the privilege of the church, and so undergo the censure of the pope, for any advantage he could receive with reference to any of his dominions." In the end, (that the discourse of this affair may not be resumed again hereafter,) after a long imprisonment, (for during the ambassadors' stay they would not bring them to any trial, lest they might seem to do any thing upon their solicitation, (the prisoners were proceeded against as soon, or shortly after the ambassadors had left Madrid, and were all condemned to die; and as soon as the sentence was declared, all the prisoners were again delivered into the same church; where they remained many days, having provisions of victuals sent to them by many persons of quality, until they had all opportunity to make their escape, which was very successfully done by all but one; who, being the only protestant amongst them, was more maliciously looked after and watched, and was followed, and apprehended after he had made three day's journey from Madrid, and carried back thither, and put to death: which was all the satisfaction the parliament could obtain in that affair; and is an instance how far that people was from any affection to those of England in their hearts, how much soever they complied with them out of the necessity of their fortune.)

When some weeks were passed after that unlucky accident, the ambassadors went to confer with don Lewis upon some other occurrence, with no purpose of mentioning any thing of the prisoners. Don Lewis spoke of it in a manner they did not expect; one expression was, "*Yo tengo invidia de estos cavaleros, &c.* I envy those gentlemen for having done so noble an action, how penal soever it may prove to them, to revenge the blood of their king. Whereas," he said, "the king his master wanted such resolute subjects; otherwise he would never have lost a kingdom, as he had done Portugal, for want of one brave man; who, by taking away the life of the usurper, might at any time, during the first two years, have put an end to that rebellion."

Though the privileges of ambassadors were much greater in that court than in any other, and that they lived much better towards each other, than ambassadors used to do in any other court, yet they used to communicate those privileges more easily, and to admit men to usurp that title, who had no pretence to it. Not that the king permitted them to cover, which they never affected, nor could he ever have endured; but in all other respects they were treated as such; and the ambassadors were obliged to do so, except they were under some obligation to the contrary. There

were at that time two instances of that kind, though upon different negotiations. The one was in the count of Swaffenburgh, who came, as they said, ambassador from the archduke Leopold, who was only a prince by appellation, without any territory, and was then actually in the service of the king of Spain, as governor of the Low Countries, though under such a restrained commission, that the count of Fuenfaldagna, with two or three other Spanish counsellors, had authority in many cases to control his determinations. The count of Swaffenburgh was his chief servant and confidant; and being a man of good parts and spirit, used to enter into sharp contests and disputes with those ministers in the right and behalf of his master; whereupon he was become suspected and disliked in the court at Madrid, and was now sent by the archduke, not only to insist upon the rights of his place, and to complain of the infringement of them, but to justify himself, and to wipe off those aspersions which had been cast upon him; and yet he was received under the title and style of ambassador, treated with *excellenza*, and waited upon by one of the king's coaches, and upon the day of his audience rode to the court attended by all the other ambassadors' coaches; and because they neither liked his person or his business, and resolved not to gratify him in any thing he came about, or desired, they used him with the more ceremony and respect; and there being a sudden accident one day, which looked like an affront to him, when, in a crowd of coaches upon one of those solemn days, when the king and all the court and all ambassadors use to take the air, in a little field that can hardly receive all the company, the count's coach stood, where the duke of Albuquerque had a mind to pass; and the other coachman refusing to yield the way, the duke alighted out of his coach, and with sword in the scabbard struck him over the head, the count being himself in the coach, which the duke protested not to have known, till after he had struck his coachman; when the count bade his coachman drive out of the field; and, as soon as he was retired out of the company, he sent a gentleman to the duke, to let him know that he expected to see him with his sword in his hand. But the business was taken notice of before, and the king had commanded the duke of Albuquerque to his house; and it being so unusual a thing, and unsuitable to the Spanish gravity, for a grandee to go out of his coach to strike a coachman, it was looked upon as a purposed and designed injury. All the ambassadors met the next morning at the count's lodging, to offer their service, and to consult what was to be done, to repair their character, but found the count most inclined and resolved to do justice to himself; but the punctuality of the court prevented any further pursuit, by obliging the duke of Albuquerque first to write to the count, and to protest that he did not know that he was in the coach, nor had the least thought to affront him, and then to go to his lodgings, and ask his pardon; both which he performed: which was an imposition and condescension that the grandees looked upon as very extraordinary.

The other, who was received and countenanced as an ambassador, was the marquis of Lusignon, who was sent by the prince of Condé, and was commonly called the prince of Condé's ambassador, who was likewise attended by one of the king's

coaches. It is true, he had not so formal an audience as the count of Swaffenburgh had, but intimation was given to all the ambassadors, that the king expected that they should visit him; which all did, but the English ambassadors, who did not think fit, both in respect of their master or themselves, to give such umbrage to France, and so forebore to shew any respect or civility towards him. This unhappy gentleman, after a journey or two in that negotiation to Madrid, was taken in his return, and after some months of imprisonment, had his process made, and lost his head.

[To return now to the affairs of Scotland:] whether, when the marquis of Argyle first knew that the king would venture himself into Scotland, he suspected his own strength, and so sent for his friend Cromwell to assist him; or whether it seemed more reasonable to the parliament, when it was assured of the king's being there, to visit him in that kingdom, than to expect a visitation from him, is not enough clear at this time. But as soon as the king was in Scotland, Cromwell, being sent for by the parliament, left what remained to be done in Ireland to Ireton, (who had married his daughter,) and made him deputy; and transported himself into England; where the parliament, not without great opposition from all the presbyterian party, resolved to send an army into Scotland. Many opposed it, as they thought it an unjust and unprofitable war, and knew it must be a very expensive one; and others, because it would keep up and increase the power and authority of the army in England; which was already found to be very grievous.

This resolution produced another great alteration: Fairfax, who had hitherto worn the name of general, declared positively that he would not command the army against Scotland. The presbyterians said, "it was because he thought the war unlawful, in regard it was against those of the same religion;" but his friends would have it believed, that he would not fight against the king. Hereupon Cromwell was chosen general; which made no alteration in the army; which he had modelled to his own mind before, and commanded as absolutely. But in all other places he grew more absolute and more imperious; he discountenanced and suppressed the presbyterians in all places; who had been supported by Fairfax. The independents had all credit about him; and the churches and pulpits were open to all kind of people who would shew their gifts there; and a general distraction and confusion in religion covered the whole kingdom; which raised as general a discontent in the minds of the people, who, finding no ease from the burdens they had so long sustained, but an increase of the taxes and impositions every day, grew weary of their new government; and heartily prayed, that their general might never return from Scotland, but that, he being destroyed there, the king might return victorious into London. The bitterness and persecution against their brethren in England, and the old animosity they had long borne against the person of Cromwell, made those in authority in that kingdom resolve to defend themselves against his invasion, and to draw together a very numerous body of men well provided, and supplied with all things necessary but courage and conduct. They were so careful in the modelling this army, that they



suffered neither officers, or soldiers, who had been in the engagement of duke Hamilton, or who gave the least occasion to be suspected to wish well to the king or to the Hamiltonian party, to be listed or received into their service. So that they had only some old discredited officers, who, being formerly thought unworthy of command, had stuck close to Argyle and to the party of the kirk. The truth is, the whole army was under the government of a committee of the kirk and the state; in which the ministers exercised the sole authority, and prayed and preached against the vices of the court, and the impiety and tyranny of Cromwell, equally; and promised their army victory over the enemy as positively, and in as confident terms, as if God himself had directed them to declare it. The king desired that he might command this army, at least run the fortune of it. But they were hardly prevailed with to give him leave once to see it; and, after he had been in it three or four hours, upon the observation that the common soldiers seemed to be much pleased to see him, they caused him to return, and the next day carried him to a place at a greater distance from the army; declaring, "that they found the soldiers too much inclined to put their confidence in the arm of flesh; whereas their hope and dependence was to be only in God; and they were most assured of victory by the prayers and piety of the kirk."

In [July] Cromwell entered Scotland, and marched without any opposition till he came within less than a day's journey of Edinburgh; where he found the Scottish army encamped upon a very advantageous ground; and he made his quarters as near as he could conveniently, and yet with disadvantages enough. For the country was so destroyed behind him, and the passes so guarded before, that he was compelled to send for all his provision for horse and foot from England by sea; (and Cromwell being seized upon by a fever, which held him about six weeks, during which time the army lay still,) inasmuch as the army was reduced to great straits; and the Scots really believed, that they had them all at their mercy, except such as would embark on board their ships. But as soon as Cromwell had recovered a little strength, his army began to remove, and seemed to provide for their march. Whether that march was to retire out of so barren a country for want of provisions, (which no doubt were very scarce; and the season of the year would not permit them to depend upon all necessary supplies by sea, for it was now the month of September,) or whether that motion was only to draw the Scots from the advantageous post of which they were possessed, is not yet understood. But it was confessed on all sides, that, if the Scots had remained within their trenches, and sent parties of horse to have followed the English army closely, they must have so disordered them, that they would have left their cannon and all their heavy carriage behind them, besides the danger the foot must have been in. But the Scots did not intend to part with them so easily; they doubted not but to have the spoil of the whole army. And therefore they no sooner discerned that the English were upon their march, but they decamped, and followed with their whole body all the night following, and found themselves in the morning within a small distance of the enemy: for Cromwell was quickly advertised that

the Scottish army was dislodged, and marched after him; and thereupon he made a stand, and put his men in good order. The Scots found they were not upon so clear a chase as they imagined, and placed themselves again upon such a side of a hill, as they believed the English would not have the courage to attack them there.

But Cromwell knew them too well to fear them upon any ground, when there were no trenches or fortifications to keep him from them; and therefore he made haste to charge them on all sides, upon what advantage-ground soever they stood. Their horse did not sustain one charge; but fled, and were pursued with a great execution. The foot depended much upon their ministers, who preached, and prayed, and assured them of the victory, till the English were upon them; and some of their preachers were knocked in the head, whilst they were promising the victory. Though there was so little resistance made, that Cromwell lost very few men by that day's service, yet the execution was very terrible upon the enemy; the whole body of the foot being, upon the matter, cut in pieces; no quarter was given till they were weary of killing; so that there were between five and six thousand dead upon the place; and very few, but they who escaped by the heels of their horse, were without terrible wounds; of which very many died shortly after; especially such of their ministers who were not killed upon the place, as very many were, had very notable marks about the head, and the face, that any body might know that they were not hurt by chance, or in the crowd, but by very good will. All the cannon, ammunition, carriages, and baggage, were entirely taken, and Cromwell with his victorious army marched directly to Edinburgh; where he found plenty of all things which he wanted, and good accommodation for the refreshing his army, which stood in need of it.

Never victory was attended with less lamentations: for as Cromwell had great argument of triumph in the total defeat and destruction of the only army that was in Scotland; which defeat had put a great part of that kingdom, and the chief city of it, under his obedience; so the king, who was then at St. Johnston's, was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a body of his enemies; who, if they should have prevailed, his majesty did believe that they would have shut him up in a prison the next day; which had been only a stricter confinement than he suffered already; for the lord Lorne, eldest son to the marquis of Argyle, being captain of his guard, had so strict a care of him both night and day, that his majesty could not go any whither without his leave. But, after this defeat, they all looked upon the king as one they might stand in need of: they permitted his servants, who had been sequestered from him from his arrival in the kingdom, to attend and wait upon him, and begun to talk of calling a parliament, and of a time for the king's coronation; which had not hitherto been spoken of. Some ministers begun to preach obedience to the king; the officers, who had been cashiered for their malignity, talked aloud of "the miscarriages in the government, and that the kingdom was betrayed to the enemy for want of confidence in the king, who alone could preserve the nation." They of the council seemed not to have so absolute a dependence upon the marquis of

Argyle, but spoke more freely than they had used to do; and the marquis applied himself more to the king, and to those about him: so that the king did, in a good degree, enjoy the fruit of this victory, as well as Cromwell, though his majesty's advantage was discerned by a few men only, and those reduced into an obscure quarter of the kingdom; but the other made the éclat. The destruction of the only army, and the possessing of Edinburgh, was looked upon, in all places, as the entire conquest of the whole kingdom.

Don Alonzo made haste to send the news into Spain of "the total and irrecoverable defeat of the king; that he was driven into the Highlands; from whence he would be compelled to fly, as soon as he could get means to escape: that the republic was now settled, and no more fear or hope of the king:" the effect of all which the ambassadors quickly found at Madrid, by the carriage and countenance of that king and the council; though it cannot be denied that the common people appeared to have a much more generous sense of the alteration, than the others did. The ambassadors received shortly a full advertisement of the truth; and "that the king thought his condition much improved by the defeat;" and they used all the means they could, by several audiences, to inform the king of Spain and don Lewis of the truth; and "that they were misinformed, as if the army overthrown was the king's; whereas they were indeed as much his enemies, as Cromwell's was." But in this they could obtain no credit, and all ways were taken to make them perceive, that it was heartily wished they were gone; which they were resolved to take no notice of.

In the end, one morning, the secretary of state came to them from the king; and told them, "that they had been now above a year in that court, where they had been well treated, notwithstanding some miscarriages, which might very justly have incensed his catholic majesty," (mentioning the death of Ascham;) "that they were extraordinary ambassadors, and so needed not any letters of revocation; that they had received answers to all they had proposed, and were at liberty to depart; which his catholic majesty desired they would do, since their presence in the court would be very prejudicial to his affairs." This unexpected and unusual message, delivered ungracefully enough by an old man, who, notwithstanding his office, was looked upon with little reverence to his parts, made them believe "that he had mistaken his message, at least that he had delivered it with less courtly circumstances than he ought to have done." And therefore they returned no other answer, than "that they would attend don Lewis de Haro, and understand from him the king's pleasure." The next day, they sent for an audience to don Lewis; whom they found with a less open countenance than he used to have; nor did he appear any thing more courtly than the secretary had done; but told them, that there were orders sent to such a person (whom he named) to prepare their present; which should be ready within very few days; and pressed them very plainly, and without any regard to the season of the year, it being then towards the end of January, to use all possible expedition for their departure, as a thing that, even in that respect, did exceedingly concern the service of the

king. This made the ambassadors imagine, which was likewise reported, that there was a formal ambassador upon his way from England, and that the court would be no more liable to the like accidents. But they knew afterwards, that the cause of all this haste was, that they might bring into the town as many pictures, and other choice and rich furniture, as did load eighteen mules; which, as was said before, don Alonzo had bought of the king's goods, and then sent to the Groyne, and which they did not then think could be decently brought to the palace, whilst the ambassadors should continue and remain in the town.

This injunction to leave Madrid, in so unseasonable a time of the year, was very severe to the ambassadors, who knew not whither to go. The lord Cottington was at this time seventy-six years of age, once or twice in a year troubled with the gout, in other respects of great vigour of body and mind; nor did there appear in his natural parts any kind of decay. He had resolved, when he first proposed this embassy to the king, and, it may be, it was the chief reason of proposing it, that, if there should be no door open to let him return into England, by the time that his embassy should expire, he would remain and die in Spain. But he did then believe that he should have found another kind of entertainment there than he had done. He had, without doubt, deserved very well from that nation, having always performed those offices towards them, which made him looked upon at home as too well affected to that people, which, together with his constant opposition of the French, had rendered him very ungracious to the queen: yet there were some seasons, in which his credit and authority was not great enough to obtain all things for them which they desired, and expected; as when their fleet, under the command of Oquendo, about the year [1639], had been assaulted in the Downs, and defeated by the Dutch fleet, for want of that protection which they thought the king might have given to them. And it is probable their ambassadors, who were then in England, whereof don Alonzo was one, did not find that readiness and alacrity in him to appear in their service, as they had formerly done; he very well knowing, that the being solicitous for them, in that conjuncture, might do himself harm, and could do them no good. But these omissions were now remembered, and all his services forgotten: so that (as hath been touched before) his reception, from the first hour of his coming last thither, was very cold both from the king and the court. And though he was now willing to resume his former resolution of staying there; yet the treatment he had received, and this last farewell, made him doubt, very reasonably, whether he should be permitted to stay there or not.

There was another circumstance, which was necessary to his residing in Spain, in which he met with some difficulties that he had not foreseen, and which did exceedingly perplex him; and which he plainly enough discerned, and knew to be the true cause of all the discountenance he had met with in that court, (though he was willing the other ambassador, who knew nothing of it, should believe that it proceeded from what had passed in England,) which was then remembered in the discourse of the court, and was the true cause of the general prejudice to him there. He had been formerly reconciled in that kingdom to

the church of Rome, and had constantly gone to the mass there; and declaring himself afterwards in England to be of the religion of the church of England, he was apostatized from the other; which, in that country, is looked upon as such a brand, as the infamy of it can never be wiped out; and this indeed was the reason of that king's so notable aversion from him. The truth is, he had never made any inquiry into religion to inform himself, but had conformed to that which the province he held obliged him to; and though he could never get the reputation in England of being well affected to that church, and was always looked upon as most inclined to the Roman, yet he convinced those who would have taken advantage of that guilt, by being present at prayers and sermons, and sometimes receiving the sacrament, as he did the very last Sunday he stayed in the Hague before he begun his journey towards Spain; and, even after his arrival there, was constant at the reading the common prayers both morning and evening, by their own chaplain, in their house, as long as the chaplain lived: and many, who knew him very well, did believe that if he had died in England, he would have died in the communion of that church. But there is no doubt, he did resolve, from the time that he meant to remain and die in Spain, that he would become a Roman catholic again, which he thought to be a much easier thing than it was; and that he might have been reconciled by any priest in as private a manner as he could desire. But when he consulted that affair with a Jesuit, who frequently came to the house, he found, that after an apostasy, it was not in the power of any priest to reconcile him, but that it was reserved to the pope himself; who rarely gives the faculty to any but to his own nuncios. This obliged him to resort thither; which he could not easily do without communicating it to the other ambassador; towards whom this was the only secret he reserved. And he found a way, as he thought, to elude him in this particular. He told him, several days, that the nuncio had sent him such and such messages by that Jesuit concerning those gentlemen who were in prison, the substance whereof did not differ from what the Venetian ambassador had formerly delivered from him: at last, he told him, "that he found the nuncio had somewhat to say in that affair which he would not communicate by message, but wished to speak with him in private; for publicly he must not be known to have any conference with him; and that hereupon he resolved to go *incognito* in sir Benjamin Wright's coach to him;" which he did, and was then reconciled; and returned home, making such a relation of their conference to his companion as he thought fit; and delivered the nuncio's salutation to him. But within two or three days he knew what the affair was: for, besides that the nuncio could not perform the office alone, but was to have the assistance of two or three so qualified, there was really care taken that the other ambassador might know it. And, before that time, when they both visited the president de la Hazienda, who carried them into his library, whilst the other ambassador was casting his eyes upon some books, (it being the best private library in Madrid,) the lord Cottington told the president, "that he was himself a catholic, but that his companion was an obstinate heretic:"

of which the president sent him information the next day. But since himself forbore ever to communicate this secret to him, out of an opinion, it is very probable, that he might give some disturbance to his resolution, he likewise took no manner of notice of it to him to the minute of their departure from each other.

This difficulty being over, there remained yet another; which was, his having permission to stay in that country; for which he addressed himself to don Lewis: mentioned "his age; his infirmity of the gout; which would infallibly seize upon him, if, in that season of the year, he should provoke it by an extraordinary motion; in a word, that it was impossible for him to make the journey." Don Lewis told him, "he could answer him to part of what he said without speaking to the king; that he must not think of staying with the character of an ambassador, nor of residing in Madrid, in how private a condition soever: if he desired any thing with these two restraints, he would move the king in it." The other told him, "that he submitted to both these conditions; and only desired license to reside in Valladolid, where he had lived many years, when the court remained there, in the time of king Philip the Third."

This place was not disliked; and within few days don Lewis sent him word, "that the king approved it; and that he should have a letter to the chief magistrate there, to treat him with all respect; and that his majesty would take care that he should not undergo any distress, but would supply him as his necessities required." And, shortly after, a message was sent to the ambassadors to let them know, that the king had appointed such a day for to give them an audience to take their leave. This new importunity was as extraordinary as the former; which was not at all grievous to the lord Cottington: who having obtained all he desired, was willing to be in his new habitation, which he had sent to be made ready for him; but the other much desired that the winter might be a little more over, which continued yet very sharp; and was resolved not to obey the summons, till the weather mended; and likewise, out of indignation for their treatment, he very heartily resolved to refuse the present for the smallness of it, it being less than had been used to be given to any single ordinary ambassador. But the lord Cottington, with great importunity, prevailed with him to decline both these contests, lest it might prove prejudicial to him; and so they performed their ceremonies; and about the beginning of March, after they had been in that court near fifteen months, they both left Madrid in the same hour: the lord Cottington taking his course for Valladolid; where he had the same house provided, and made ready for him by the care of the English Jesuits there, in which he had dwelt at the time of his agency, when the court resided there; where he died within one year after, in the 77th year of his age.

He was a very wise man, by the great and long experience he had in business of all kinds; and by his natural temper, which was not liable to any transport of anger, or any other passion, but could bear contradiction, and even reproach, without being moved, or put out of his way: for he was very steady in pursuing what he proposed to self, and had a courage not to be frigid

amazed with any opposition. It is true he was illiterate as to the grammar of any language, or the principles of any science; but by his perfectly understanding the Spanish, (which he spoke as a Spaniard,) the French, and Italian languages, and having read very much in all, he could not be said to be ignorant in any part of learning, divinity only excepted. He had a very fine and extraordinary understanding in the nature of beasts and birds, and above all in all kind of plantations and arts of husbandry. He was born a gentleman both by father and mother, his father having a pretty entire seat near Bruton in Somersetshire, worth above two hundred pounds a year, which had descended from father to son for many hundred years, and is still in the possession of his elder brother's children, the family having been always Roman catholic. His mother was a Stafford, nearly allied to sir Edward Stafford; who was vice-chamberlain to queen Elizabeth, and had been ambassador in France; by whom this gentleman was brought up, and was gentleman of his horse, and left one of his executors of his will, and by him recommended to sir Robert Cecil, then principal secretary of state; who preferred him to sir Charles Conwallis, when he went ambassador into Spain, in the beginning of the reign of king James; where he remained, for the space of eleven or twelve years, in the condition of secretary or agent, without ever returning into England in all that time. He raised by his own virtue and industry a very fair estate, of which though the revenue did not exceed above four thousand pounds by the year; yet he had four very good houses, and three parks, the value whereof was not reckoned into that computation. He lived very nobly, well served and attended in his house; had a better stable of horses, better provisions for sports, (especially of hawks, in which he took great delight,) than most of his quality, and lived always with great splendour; for though he loved money very well, and did not warily enough consider the circumstances of getting it, he spent it well all ways but in giving, which he did not affect. He was of an excellent humour, and very easy to live with; and, under a grave countenance, covered the most of mirth, and caused more, than any man of the most pleasant disposition. He never used any body ill, but used many very well for whom he had no regard: his greatest fault was, that he could dissemble, and make men believe that he loved them very well, when he cared not for them. He had not very tender affections, nor bowels apt to yearn at all objects which deserved compassion: he was heartily weary of the world, and no man was more willing to die; which is an argument that he had peace of conscience. He left behind him a greater esteem of his parts, than love to his person.

The other ambassador was dismissed with much more courtesy: for when they heard that his family remained at Antwerp in Flanders, and that he intended to go thither, and stay there till he received other orders from the king his master, they gave him all despatches thither which might be of use to him in those parts. The king of Spain himself used many gracious expressions to him at his last audience, and sent afterwards to him a letter for the archduke Leopold; in which he expressed the good opinion he had of the ambassador; and commanded, "that, whilst he should

"choose to reside in those parts, under his command, he should receive all respect, and enjoy "all privileges as an ambassador:" and don Lewis de Haro writ likewise to the archduke, and the count of Fuensaldagna, "to look upon him as his "particular friend:" all which ceremonies, though they cost them nothing, were of real benefit and advantage to the ambassador: for besides the treatment he received from the archduke himself in Brussels, as ambassador, such directions, or recommendations, were sent to the magistrates at Antwerp, that he enjoyed the privilege of his chapel, and all the English, who were numerous then in that city, repaired thither with all freedom for their devotion, and the exercise of their religion: which liberty had never been before granted to any man there, and which the English, and Irish priests, and the Roman catholics of those nations, exceedingly murmured at, and used all the endeavours they could to have taken away, though in vain.

In his passage through France he waited upon the queen mother, who received him very graciously; and he found there, that the success which Cromwell had obtained in Scotland (though the king was still there, and in a better condition than before) had the same effect in the court of France as it had in the court of Spain; it gave over all thoughts of the king, as in a condition not only deplorable, but as absolutely desperate.

There had, a little before, fallen out an accident that troubled France very much, and no less pleased Spain; which was the death of the prince of Orange; a young prince of great hope and expectation, and of a spirit that desired to be in action. He had found, that the peace between Spain and the Low Countries, which his father had been so solicitous to make, even at his expiration, was not like to preserve him in equal lustre to what the three former princes had enjoyed; and therefore he wished nothing more, than that an opportunity might be offered to enter upon the war. He complained loudly, that the court of Spain had not observed, nor performed, many of those conditions which it was obliged to do for the particular benefit of him and his family: whereby he continued involved in many debts, which were uneasy to him; and so, upon all occasions which fell out, he adhered to that party in the States which were known most to favour the interest of France; which good inclination the cardinal, and the other ministers of that crown, used all possible care and endeavour to cultivate; and Spain was so much affected with the apprehension of the consequence of that alteration, and with the conscience of their own having promoted it, by not having complied with their obligations, that they resolved to redeem their error, and to reconcile him again, if possible, to them. To this purpose, a very great present was prepared at Madrid to be sent to him, ten brave Spanish horses, the worst of which cost there three hundred pounds sterling, with many other rarities of great value, and likewise a present of plate, jewels, and perfumed leather, to the princess royal his wife; and a full assurance, "that they would forthwith "begin to perform all the articles which were to "be done by them, and finish all within a short "time."

The express, who was appointed to accompany the present, and to perform the other functions,







Engraved by J. Cochran

FRANCIS, LORD COTTINGTON.

OB. 1652.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VAN SOMER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF CLARENDON.





was to begin his journey within two days, when the news arrived, by an express from Brussels, who came in as short a time as could be imagined, that the prince of Orange was dead of the small-pox, and had left the princess with child, and very near her time; who was brought to bed of a son within few days after his decease. The court at Madrid could not conceal its joy, nor dissemble their opinion, that the enemy whose influence they most apprehended was fortunately taken out of the way. On the other hand, France owned a great sorrow and grief for the loss of a man whom they believed to be more than ordinarily affected to them; and who, by a conjunction with their friends in Holland, might, in a short time, be much superior to that party in the States which adhered to the Spanish interest.

But nobody received so insupportable prejudice and damage, by this fatal blow, as the king of Great Britain did; towards whom that brave prince gave all the testimony and manifestation of the most entire, fast, and unshaken affection and friendship, that hath ever been performed towards any person under any signal misfortune. Besides the assisting him, upon several emergent occasions, with greater sums of money than were easy to his incumbered fortune, his reputation, and his declared resolution, "that he would venture all he had in that quarrel," disposed many to be more concerned for his majesty. Though he could not prevail over that faction in Holland, which were known to favour Cromwell, (and the more out of their aversion to him, and to his power and greatness,) to induce them to serve the king, yet he kept the States General from consenting to that infamous alliance and conjunction, which, shortly after his death, they entered into with the new republic; and which they would never have yielded to, if he had lived. And, no doubt, the respect both France and Spain had for him, and his interposition, had prevailed with both to be less impudent than they afterwards appeared to be, in a total declining all consideration of the king, and rejecting all thoughts of his restoration. It contributed very much to the negligent farewell the ambassadors had received in Spain; for the news of the prince's death had arrived there some months before their departure: and it did not only extinguish all imaginations in France of any possible hope for our king, but very much lessened the respect and civility which that court had always shewed to the queen herself, as a daughter of France; towards whom they expressed not that regard they had formerly done.

But there was another accident, which, at this time, gave the queen more trouble than this; and of which her majesty made great complaint to the chancellor of the exchequer at his return from Spain. Upon the interview which had been between the king and the queen at Beauvais, when the king went for Holland, upon the foresight, if not the resolution, that it would be fit for him to adventure his own person into Scotland, he had left his brother the duke of York with the queen, with direction, "that he should conform himself entirely to the will and pleasure of the queen" "his mother, matters of religion only excepted." And there was the less doubt of his conformity to her commands, because, besides his piety and duty, which was very entire towards her, he was

to depend wholly upon her bounty for his support; the court of France not taking any notice of the change, nor paying her own narrow assignation with any punctuality; so that she was not able, besides the reservedness in her nature, so to supply him as to make his condition pleasant to him; but exercised the same austere carriage towards him, which she had done to the prince his brother, and as unsuccessfully. The duke was very young, with a numerous family of his own, not well enough inclined to be contented, and consisting of persons who loved not one another, nor their master well enough to consider him before themselves: which wrought that effect upon him, that none of them had that credit with him, that, at such an age, some good men ought to have had: which proceeded from want of reasonable providence and circumspection. For when he made his escape out of England, as is mentioned before, he had only one person attending him, (who had, before, no relation or pretence to his service,) whose merit might have been otherwise required, than by giving him a title and dependence upon him; and he quickly appeared to be so unworthy of it, that he was removed from it. Then was the time that such persons should have been placed about him, as might have both discovered such infirmities, as his nature might incline him to, and have infused those principles of piety and honour, as he was most capable of, and disposed to; and which had been as proper for his present misfortune, as for his highest dignity. But that province was wholly committed to the queen his mother by the late king, who was then in prison; and her majesty being then at Paris, when the duke landed in Holland, she could not deliberate so long upon it as such a subject required; and so was persuaded by others to consider them more than her son; and made haste to put such a family about him, with reference to the number, and to the offices which they were designed to serve in, as was above the greatness to which the younger son of the crown of England could pretend, by the usage and custom of that kingdom, when it was in the greatest splendour; and all this, when there was not in view the least revenue to support it, but that the whole charge and burden of it must inevitably fall upon her; of which her majesty was quickly sensible, and paid the penalty at least in the peace and quiet of her mind.

The duke was full of spirit and courage, and naturally loved designs, and desired to engage himself in some action that might improve and advance the low condition of the king his brother; towards whom he had an inviolable affection and fidelity, superior to any temptation. He was not pleased with the treatment he received in France, nor had confidence enough in any of his servants, to be advised by them towards the contriving any expedient that he might reasonably dispose himself to, or to be dissuaded from any enterprise which his own passion might suggest to him; though too many had too much credit with him in contributing to his discontents, and in representing the uncomfortableness of his own condition to him; "the little regard the queen appeared" "to have of him, the lustre that some of her servants lived in, and those who depended upon" "them, whilst his royal highness wanted all that" "was necessary, and his servants were exposed

"to the most scandalous necessities and contempt," and so endeavoured to abate that reverence in him to the queen his mother, to which he was very dutifully inclined.

There were at that time two persons, who, though without any relation to the court, very much frequented the duke's lodgings, and had frequent discourses with him, sir Edward Herbert, the late king's attorney general, (of whom much is said before,) and sir George Ratcliff, who had been designed by that king to attend upon the duke of York into Ireland, when he once thought of sending him thither. But that design being quickly laid aside, there was no more thought of using his service there. The duke looked upon them both as wise men, and fit to give him advice; and finding that they both applied themselves to him with diligence and address, he communicated his thoughts more freely to them than to any others. And they took pains to persuade him to dislike the condition he was in, and that he might spend his time more to his advantage in some other place than in France. They spoke often to him of the duke of Lorraine, "as a pattern and example for all unfortunate princes to follow: that he being, by the power and injustice of the king of France, driven out of his principality and dominions, had, by his own virtue and activity, put himself in the head of an army; by which he made himself so considerable, that he was courted by both the crowns of France and Spain, and might make his conditions with either according to his own election; and in the mean time lived with great reputation, and in great plenty, esteemed by all the world for his courage and conduct." With these, and the like discourses, the duke was much pleased and amused, and wished in himself that he could be put into such a condition, when in truth there could not a more improper example have been proposed to him, whose condition was more unlike his, or whose fortune and manners he was less to wish to follow, or less able to imitate. For the duke of Lorraine had, for many years before his misfortunes, had a great name in war, and was looked upon as one of the greatest captains of Christendom; and had drawn the arms and power of France upon him, by his inconstancy, and adhering to Spain, contrary to his treaty and obligation with the other crown; and when he was driven out of his own country, and not able to defend it, he was in the head of a very good army, and possessed of great wealth, which he carried with him, and could not but be very welcome, as he well knew, into Flanders, both as his misfortune proceeded from his affection to their king, and as his forces were necessary for their defence. And so he made such conditions with them, as were most beneficial to himself, and yet, in the consequence, so unsuccessful, as might well terrify all other princes from treading in the same footsteps.

With the report of the defeat of that army by Cromwell in Scotland, (which was the first good fortune to the king,) or shortly after, some letters from England brought intelligence, without any ground, that the king was dangerously sick; and shortly after, that he was dead; which was believed in England, and from thence transmitted into France. This gave a new alarm to those two gentlemen mentioned before, who received this

information from such friends in England, that they did really believe it to be true; and thereupon concluded, that both the place and the company would not be fit for the new king to be found in; and therefore that it would be necessary for him to remove from thence, before the report should be confirmed and believed.

Whether they imparted this nice consideration to the duke or not, his highness, without any preface of the motives, told the queen, "he was resolved to make a journey to Brussels;" who, being exceedingly surprised, asked him the reason; and "how he could be able to make such a journey?" which she in truth believed impossible for him, since she knew he had no money. His answer in short was, "that he would visit the duke of Lorraine, who had been always a friend to his father, and continued his affection to the king his brother; and he had some reason to believe, that duke would enable him to appear in action, that might be for his majesty's service; and that he was resolved to begin his journey the next day;" from which neither the queen's advice nor authority could divert him. Her majesty quickly discerned, that neither the lord Byron, nor sir John Berkley, nor Mr. Bennet, his secretary, knew any thing of it; and therefore easily concluded who the counsellors were; who were both very ungracious to her, and she had long done all she could to lessen the duke's esteem of them. They well foresaw that the want of money would be of that force, that, without any other difficulty, the journey would be rendered impossible. They had therefore, upon their own credit, or out of their own store, procured as much as would defray the journey to Brussels; which, by the duke's directions, was put into the hands of sir George Ratcliff, and to be managed by his providence and discretion. And then he publicly declared his resolution to begin his journey the next day for Brussels, leaving his servants to make what shift they could to attend, or follow him.

Since there was no remedy, the queen thought it necessary that his chief servants should wait on him, that she might receive an advertisement what progress he made, and what his design could be: so the lord Byron and Mr. Bennet made themselves ready for the journey; sir John Berkley choosing to stay behind, that he might not appear inferior where he had exercised the supreme charge. And so, with the other two counsellors, and many of the inferior servants, the duke, according to his resolution, left the queen; and, when he came to Brussels, he lodged at the house of sir Henry de Vic, the king's resident, without being taken notice of by any of that court. There the two counsellors begun to form his family, and to confer offices upon those who were most acceptable to them; presuming that they should shortly receive news from England, which would confirm all that they had done under other titles. In the mean time the government of the house, and ordering the expense, was committed wholly to sir George Ratcliff, whilst the other contented himself with presiding in the councils, and directing all the politic designs. The duke of Lorraine had visited the duke upon his first arrival, and, being informed of the straits his royal highness was in, presented him with one thousand pistoles. But now the secret ground of all their counsels

was found to be without any reality: the king was not only alive, and in good health, but known to be in the head of an army that looked Cromwell in the face; which destroyed all the machine they had raised: yet, being too far embarked to retire with any grace, and being encouraged by the civility the duke of Lorraine had shewed towards the duke, they had the presumption to propose that there might be a marriage between the duke of York and the daughter of the duke of Lorraine by the countess of Canteeroy; whom he had publicly married, but which marriage was declared at Rome to be void, by reason that his former wife was still alive.

When the duke of Lorraine saw how the affairs of this young prince were conducted, and that the lord Byron and Mr. Bennet, who were men well bred, and able to have discoursed any business to him, one whereof was his governor and the other his secretary, who by their offices ought to be more trusted in an affair of that moment, were not at all acquainted with it, and that the other two persons, who were men of a very unusual mien, appeared in it, and that only sir George Ratcliff undertook to speak to him about it, who could only make himself understood in Latin, which the duke cared not to speak in, he declined entertaining the motion, till he might know that it was made with the king's approbation; which the other did not pretend it to be, but, "that he did not doubt it would be afterwards approved by his majesty." Thus they were at the end of their projects: and there being no means to stay longer at Brussels, they persuaded the duke to visit his sister at the Hague, and there to consider and advise what was next to be done.

Of all these particulars the queen complained to the chancellor of the exchequer, with great bitterness against the folly and presumption of those two gentlemen, whose fidelity to the king she did not suspect; nor could she imagine the motive that had engaged them in such a bold undertaking; but she required him, "that, as soon as he should come into Flanders, he would make a journey to the Hague, and prevail with the duke" (to whom she writ to the same purpose) "to return again to Paris;" which the chancellor promised to endeavour heartily to do, being exceedingly troubled at the general discourse, which that sally had administered, as if there were a schism in the royal family in a season when so much unity was requisite.

There was another instance of the king's extreme low condition, and of the highest disrespect the court of France could express towards him, and of which all the protestant party of the queen's family complained very vehemently. From the time of the queen's being in France, the late king had appointed a chaplain of his own, Dr. Cosins, who was afterwards bishop of Durham, to attend upon her majesty for the constant service of that part of her household, the number of her protestant servants being much superior to those who were Roman catholics. And the queen had always punctually complied with the king's directions, and used the chaplain very graciously, and assigned him a competent support with the rest of her servants. An under room in the Louvre, out of any common passage, had been assigned for their morning and evening devotions; the key whereof was committed to the chaplain; who

caused the room to be decently furnished, and kept; being made use of to no other purpose. Here, when the prince first came thither, and afterwards, whilst he stayed, he performed his devotions all the week, but went Sundays still to the resident's house to hear sermons. At this time an order was sent from the queen regent, "that that room should be no more applied to that purpose, and that the French king would not permit the exercise of any other religion in any of his houses than the Roman catholic:" and the queen gave notice to the chaplain, "that she was no longer able to continue the payment of the exhibition she had formerly assigned to him." The protestants, whereof many were of the best quality, lamented this alteration to the chancellor of the exchequer; and desired him to intercede with the queen, which he had the more title to do, because, at his going into Spain, she had vouchsafed to promise him, (upon some rumours, of which he took notice,) "that the same privilege which had been, should still be continued, and enjoyed by the protestants of her household; and that she would provide for the chaplain's subsistence." He presumed therefore to speak with her majesty upon it; and besought her to consider, "what ill impression this new order would make upon the protestants of all the king's dominions; upon whom he was chiefly to depend for his restoration; and how much prejudice it might be to herself, to be looked upon as a greater enemy to protestants, than she had been taken notice of to be; and likewise, whether this order, which had been given since the departure of the duke of York, might not be made use of as an excuse for his not returning, or indeed for his remove, since the precise time when it issued would not be generally understood." The queen heard him very graciously, and acknowledged, "that what he said had reason in it; but protested that she knew not what remedy to apply to it; that she had been herself surprised with that order, and was troubled at it; but that the queen regent was positive in it, and blamed her for want of zeal in her religion; and that she cared not to advance it, or to convert any of her children." She wished him "to confer with Mr. Montague upon it;" and implied, "that his bigotry in his new religion had contributed much to the procuring that order." He had newly taken orders, and was become priest in that church, and had great power with the queen regent, as well for his animosity against that religion he had professed, as for his vehement zeal for the church of which he now was. Upon this occasion, her majesty expressed a great sense of the loss she had sustained by the death of her old confessor, father Phillips; who, she said, "was a prudent and discreet man; and would never suffer her to be pressed to any passionate undertakings, under pretence of doing good for catholics; and always told her, that, as she ought to continue firm and constant to her own religion, so she was to live well towards the protestants, who deserved well from her, and to whom she was beholding." She said, "it would not be possible to have the same or any other room set aside, or allowed to be used as a chapel; but that she would take such course, that the family might meet for the exercise of their devotion in some private room

"that belonged to their lodgings: and that though her own exhibition was so ill paid, that she was indebted to all her servants, yet she would give order that Dr. Cosins (against whom she had some personal exceptions) should receive his salary, in proportion with the rest of her servants." She bid him "assure the duke of York, that he should have a free exercise of his religion, as he had before, though it must not be in the same place."

The chancellor conferred with Mr. Montague upon the subject; and offered the same reasons which he had done to the queen; which he looked upon as of no moment; but said, "that the king of France was master in his own house, and he was resolved, though the king of England himself should come thither again, never to permit any solemn exercise of the protestant religion in any house of his." The consideration of what the protestants in England might think on this occasion was of least moment to him; and it was indeed the common discourse there, "that the protestants of the church of England could never do the king service, but that all his hopes must be in the Roman catholics, and the presbyterians; and that he ought to give all satisfaction to both those parties."

When the chancellor of the exchequer came to Antwerp, with a purpose to make a journey speedily to the Hague, he was informed, "that the States were much offended that the duke of York remained there; and therefore that the princess royal" (who now more depended upon their favour than ever; her own jointure, as well as the fortune of her son, being to be resolved in their judicatory) "could no longer entertain him, but that he would be the next day at Breda." Thither the chancellor immediately went; and found the duke there with a family in all the confusion imaginable, in present want of every thing, and not knowing what was to be done next. They all censured and reproached the counsel by which they had been guided, and the counsellors as bitterly inveighed against each other, for undertaking many things which had no foundation in truth. They who concurred in nothing else were equally severe against the attorney, as a madman, and of that intolerable pride, that it was not possible for any man to converse with him. He as frankly reproached them all with being men of no parts, of no understanding, nor learning, no principles, and no resolution, and was so just to them all, as to condemn every man of them alike. In truth he had rendered himself so grievous to them all, that there was no man who desired to be in his company; yet, by the knack of his talk, which was the most like reason without being it, he retained still too much credit with the duke; who, being amused and confounded with his positive discourse, thought him to be wiser than those who were more easily understood; and was himself so young, that he was rather delighted with the journeys he had made, than sensible that he had not entered upon them with reason enough; and was fortified with a firm resolution never to acknowledge that he had committed any error. However, he was very glad to receive the queen's letter, which the chancellor delivered to him; heard his advice very willingly, and resolved to begin his journey to Paris without any delay; and looked upon the occasion, as a very seasonable

redemption. The next day he went to Antwerp; and from thence, with the same retinue he had carried with him, made haste to Paris, and was received by the queen his mother without those expostulations and reprehensions which he might reasonably have expected; though her severity was the same towards all those, who, she thought, had had the credit and power to seduce him; and they were not solicitous, by any apologies or confession, to recover her favour: for the true reason that had swayed them being not to be avowed, any other that they could devise and suggest would have rendered them more inexcusable.

During this time, the king underwent all kind of mortifications in Scotland. But after the defeat of the Scottish army in September, with which the king and Cromwell were equally delighted, as hath been said before, the marquis of Argyle's empire seemed not to be so absolute. A new army was appointed to be raised; the king himself interposed more than he had done; and the noblemen and officers came to him with more confidence: and his majesty took upon him to complain and expostulate, when those things were done which he did not like: yet the power was still in Argyle's hands; who, under all the professions of humility, exercised still the same tyranny; inasmuch as the king grew weary of his own patience, and resolved to make some attempt in his own vindication. Dr. Frazier, who had been the king's physician many years before, and had constantly attended upon his person, and very much contributed to the king's journey into Scotland, was, shortly after his coming thither, disliked by Argyle; who knew that he was a creature of the Hamiltonians, and found him to be of an unquiet and overactive spirit; and thereupon sequestered him from his attendance. There were many officers who had served in duke Hamilton's engagement, as Middleton, and others, who had very entire affections for the king; and many of them had corresponded with Mountrose, and resolved to have joined with him; and finding themselves excluded, as of all them were, from any employment by the power of Argyle, had retired into the Highlands, and remained there concealed in expectation of some good season, in which they might avowedly appear. With some of these Dr. Frazier had held correspondence whilst he was in the court, and had often spoken to the king of their affection, and readiness to serve him, and of their power to do it, and had returned his majesty's gracious acceptance of their service, and his resolution to employ them. And now, not being himself suffered to come to the court, he found means to meet and confer with many of them; and held intelligence with the lord Lauderdale, who had always great confidence in him; and the officers undertaking to do more than they could, or the doctor understanding them to undertake more than they did, (for his fidelity was never suspected,) he gave the king such an account of their numbers, as well as resolutions, that his majesty appointed a day for their rendezvous, and promised to be present with them, and then to publish a declaration (which was likewise prepared) of the ill treatment he had endured, and against the person of Argyle; to whom the duke of Buckingham, notwithstanding all his former professions, gave himself wholly up, and imparted to him all this correspondence, having found some

of the letters which had passed, by the king's having left his cabinet open; for he was not at all trusted in it.

But Argyle did not think the time so near; so that the king did prosecute this purpose so far, that he rode one day, with a dozen or twenty horse, into the Highlands, and lodged there one night; neither the marquis of Argyle, nor any body else, knowing what was become of him; which put them all into great distraction. It was indeed a very empty and unprepared design, contrived and conducted by Dr. Frazier, without any foundation to build upon; and might well have ruined the king. It was afterwards called the Start; yet it proved, contrary to the expectation of wise men, very much to his majesty's advantage. For though he was compelled the next day to return, with a circumstance that seemed to have somewhat of force in it, (for as the company he looked for failed to appear, so there was a troop of horse, which he looked not for, sent by Argyle, who used very effectual instance with him to return,) yet notwithstanding, this declaration of his majesty's resentment, together with the observation of what the people generally spoke upon it, "that the king was not treated as he ought to be," made the marquis of Argyle change his counsels, and to be more solicitous to satisfy the king. A summons was sent out, in the king's name, to call a parliament; and great preparations were really made for the coronation; and the season of the year, (for whilst Cromwell was securing himself in Edinburgh, and making provisions for his army, the winter came on,) and the strong passes, which were easy then to be guarded, hindered the enemy's advance: so that the king resided, sometimes at Stirling, and sometimes at St. Johnston's, with commodity enough. The parliament met at Stirling, and shortly after brought all the lords of the other party thither, who appeared to have credit enough to wipe off those stains with which the engagement had defaced them, yet with submission to stand publicly in the stool of repentance, acknowledging their former transgressions; as they all did.

Duke Hamilton and Lautherdale were welcome to the king, and nearest his confidence; which neither the duke of Buckingham, who had cast off their friendship as useless, nor the marquis of Argyle, were pleased with. The king himself grew very popular, and, by his frequent conferences with the knights and burgesses, got any thing passed in the parliament which he desired. He caused many infamous acts to be repealed, and provided for the raising an army, whereof himself was general; and no exceptions were taken to those officers who had formerly served the king his father.

The coronation was passed with great solemnity and magnificence, all men making show of joy, and of being united to serve his majesty: yet the marquis of Argyle preserved his greatness and interest so well, and was still so considerable, that it was thought very expedient to raise an imagination in him, that the king had a purpose to marry one of his daughters; which was carried so far, that the king could no otherwise defend himself from it, than by sending an express into France for the queen his mother's consent, (which seemed not to be doubted of,) and to that purpose captain Titus, a person grateful to Argyle, and to all the

presbyterian party, was sent; who, finding the queen less warm upon the proposition than was expected, made less haste back; so that the fate of Scotland was first determined.

The king's army was as well modelled, and in as good a condition as it was like to be whilst he stayed in Scotland. By that time that Cromwell was ready to take the field, his majesty was persuaded to make David Lesley his lieutenant general of the army; who had very long experience, and a very good name in war; and Middleton commanded the horse. The artillery was in very good order under the command of Wemmes, who had not the worse reputation there for having been ungrateful to the king's father. He was a confessed good officer; and there were, or could be, very few officers of any superior command, but such who had drawn their swords against his late majesty; all those who had served under the marquis of Mountrose having been put to death. Many of the greatest noblemen had raised regiments, or troops; and all the young gentlemen of the kingdom appeared very hearty and cheerful in commands, or volunteers: and, in all appearance, they seemed a body equal in any respect, and superior in number, to the enemy; which advanced all they could, and made it manifest that they desired nothing more than to come to battle; which was not thought counsellable for the king's army to engage in, except upon very notable advantages; which they had reason every day to expect; for there was a very broad and a deep river between them; and if they kept the passes, of which they were possessed, and could hardly choose but keep, Cromwell must in a very few days want provisions; and so be forced to retire, whilst the king had plenty of all things which he stood in need of, and could, by the advantage of the passes, be in his rear as soon as he thought fit.

In this posture both armies stood in view of each other near the two months of June and July, with some small attempts upon each other, with equal success. About the end of July, by the cowardice or treachery of major general [Brown], who had a body of four thousand men to keep it, Cromwell gained the pass, by which he got behind the king; and though he could not compel his majesty to fight, for there was still the great river between them, he was possessed, or might quickly be, of the most fruitful part of the country; and so would not only have sufficient provision for his own army, but in a short time would be able to cut off much of that which should supply the king's. This was a great surprise to the king, and put him into new counsels; and he did, with the unanimous advice of almost all the principal officers, and all those who were admitted to the council, take a resolution worthy of his courage; which, how unfortunate soever it proved, was evidence enough that the same misfortune would have fallen out if he had not taken it.

The king was now, by Cromwell's putting himself behind him, much nearer to England than he: nor was it possible for him to overtake his majesty, in regard of the ways he was unavoidably to pass, till after the king had been many days' march before him: his majesty's fate depended upon the success of one battle: for a possible escape into the Highlands, after a defeat, there was no kingly prospect: all the northern

parts of England had given him cause to believe that they were very well affected to his service; and if he could reach those countries, he might presume to increase the number of his army, which was numerous enough, with an addition of such men as would make it much more considerable. Hereupon, with the concurrence aforesaid, it was resolved that the army should immediately march, with as much expedition as was possible, into England, by the nearest ways, which led into Lancashire, whither the king sent expresses to give those, of whom he expected much, (by reason some of them had been in Scotland with him, with promise of large undertakings,) notice of his purpose, that they might get their soldiers together to receive him. His majesty sent likewise an express to the Isle of Man, where the earl of Derby had securely reposed himself from the end of the former war, "that he should meet his majesty in "Lancashire." The marquis of Argyre was the only man who dissuaded his majesty's march into England, with reasons which were not frivolous; but the contrary prevailed; and he stayed behind; and, when the king begun his march, retired to his house in the Highlands. Some were of opinion, that he should then have been made prisoner, and left so secured, that he might not be able to do mischief when the king was gone, which most men believed he would be inclined to. But his majesty would not consent to it, because he was confident "he would not attempt any thing "while the army was entire: if it prevailed, he "neither would nor could do any harm; and if it "were defeated, it would be no great matter what "he did."

Though Cromwell was not frequently without good intelligence what was done in the king's army and councils, yet this last resolution was consulted with so great secrecy, and executed with that wonderful expedition, that the king had marched a whole day without the people's comprehending what the meaning was, and before he received the least advertisement of it. It was not a small surprise to him, nor was it easy for him to resolve what to do. If he should follow with his whole army, all the advantages he had got in Scotland would be presently lost, and the whole kingdom be again united in any new mischief. If he followed but with part, he might be too weak when he overtook the king; whose army, he knew, would bear the fatigue of a long march better than his could do. There were two considerations which troubled him exceedingly; the one, the terrible consternation he foresaw the parliament would be in, when they heard that the king with his army was nearer to them, than their own army was for their defence; and he knew that he had enemies enough to improve their fear, and to lessen his conduct: the other was, the apprehension, that, if the king had time given to rest in any place, he would infinitely increase and strengthen his army by the resort of the people, as well as the gentry and nobility, from all parts. And though he did so much undervalue the Scottish army, that he would have been glad to have found himself engaged with it, upon any inequality of numbers, and disadvantage of ground, yet he did believe, that, by a good mixture with English, they might be made very considerable. He took a very quick resolution to provide for all the best he could: he despatched an express to the parlia-

ment, to prevent their being surprised with the news before they received it from him; and to assure them, "that he would himself overtake the "enemy before they should give them any trouble;" and gave such farther orders for drawing the auxiliary troops together in the several counties, as he thought fit.

He gave Lambert order, "immediately to follow "the king with seven or eight hundred horse, and "to draw as many others, as he could, from the "country militia; and to disturb his majesty's "march the most he could, by being near, and "obliging him to march close; not engaging his "own party in any sharp actions, without a very "notorious advantage; but to keep himself entire "till he should come up to him." With this order Lambert marched away the same day the advertisement came.

Cromwell resolved then to leave major general Monk, upon whom he looked with most confidence, as an excellent officer of foot, and as entirely devoted to him, with a strong party of foot, and some troops of horse, strong enough to suppress any forces which should rise after his departure, "to "keep Edinburgh, and the harbour of Leith; to "surprise and apprehend as many of the nobility, "and considerable gentry, as he should find, and "keep them under custody; to use the highest "severity against all who opposed him; and, "above all, not to endure or permit the license of "the preachers in their pulpits; and to make "himself as formidable as was possible: in the "last place, that, as soon as there appeared no "visible force in the field, he should besiege "Stirling;" whither most persons of condition were retired with their goods of value, as to a place of strength, and capable of being defended; where the records of the kingdom, and many other things of most account were deposited; it being the place where the king had, for the most part, resided. He charged him, if at St. Johnston's, or any other "place, he found a stubborn resistance, and were "forced to spend much time, or to take it by "storm, that he should give no quarter, nor "exempt it from a general plunder;" all which rules Monk observed with the utmost rigour, and made himself as terrible as man could be.

When Cromwell had despatched all these orders and directions, with marvellous expedition, and seen most of them advanced in some degree of expedition, he begun his own march with the remainder of his army, three days after the king was gone, with a wonderful cheerfulness, and assurance to the officers and soldiers, that he should obtain a full victory in England over those who fled from him out of Scotland.

The king had, from the time that he had recovered any authority in Scotland, granted a commission to the duke of Buckingham, to raise a regiment of horse which Massey was to command under him, and to raise another regiment of foot. And the English which should resort thither, of which they expected great numbers, were to list themselves in those regiments. And there were some who had listed themselves accordingly; but the discipline the Scots had used to the king, and their adhering to their old principles, even after they seemed united for his majesty, had kept the king's friends in England from repairing to them in Scotland. They who came from Holland with the king had disposed themselves as is said before,

and there was little doubt but that, as soon as the king should enter England, those two regiments would be immediately full. The duke of Buckingham had lost much ground (and the more because the king was not pleased with it) by his having broken off all manner of friendship with duke Hamilton, and the earl of Lautherdale, (to whom he had professed so much,) and had entered into so fast a conjunction with the marquis of Argyle, their declared irreconcilable enemy, and adhered so firmly to him, when he was less dutiful to the king than he ought to have been. Massey had got a great name by his defending Gloucester against the late king, and was looked upon as a martyr for the presbyterian interest, and so very dear to that party; and therefore, as soon as they came within the borders of England, he was sent with some troops before, and was always to march at least a day before the army, to the end that he might give notice of the king's coming, and draw the gentry of the counties through which he passed, to be ready to attend upon his majesty. Besides, he had particular acquaintance with most of the presbyterians of Lancashire; whom nobody imagined to be of the Scottish temper, or unwilling to unite and join with the royal party; nor indeed were they.

But it was fatal at that time to all Scottish armies, to have always in them a committee of ministers, who ruined all; and though there had been now all the care taken that could be, to choose such men for that service as had the reputation of being the most sober and moderate of that whole body, and who had shewed more affection, and advanced the king's service more than the rest; yet this moderate people no sooner heard that Massey was sent before to call upon their friends, and observed that, from the entrance into England, those about the king seemed to have less regard for the covenant than formerly, but they sent an express to him, without communicating it in the least degree with the king, with letters, and a declaration, wherein they required him "to publish that declaration, which signified the king's and the whole army's zeal for the covenant, and their resolution to prosecute the true intent of it;" and forbid him "to receive or entertain any soldiers in his troops, but those who would subscribe that obligation." The king had shortly notice of this, and lost no time in sending to Massey "not to publish any such declaration, and to behave himself with equal civility towards all men who were forward to serve his majesty." But before this inhibition was received, the matter had taken air in all places, and was spread over the kingdom; all men fled from their houses, or concealed themselves, who wished the king very well; and besides, his motion was so quick, that none of them could repair to him.

In Lancashire the earl of Derby met him; who, as soon as he received his summons, left the Isle of Man. When the king's army came about Warrington in Cheshire, they found, that there was a body of the enemy drawn up in a fair field, which did not appear considerable enough to stop their march. This was Lambert; who had made so much haste, that he had that day fallen upon some of their troops, and beaten them into the army; but when the army came up, Lambert, according to his order and purpose, retired, and, being pursued by the king's horse with a greater party,

made more disorderly haste than a well ordered retreat requires, but with no considerable loss. This success made a great noise, as if Lambert had been defeated.

At Warrington it was thought counsellable, very unfortunately, that the earl of Derby, with the lord Withrington, and several other officers of good name, should return into Lancashire, in order to raise the well affected in those two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire; who could not come in upon so quick a march, as the king had made: and yet it being out of the road that Cromwell was to follow, who was entered into Yorkshire, the remaining of those persons there was thought a good expedient to gather a body of English, which the king extremely desired: and if they found any great difficulties, they were to follow the army. In order to which, the earl had a body of near two hundred horse, consisting, for the most part, of officers and gentlemen; which deprived the army of a strength they wanted; and was afterwards acknowledged to be a counsel too suddenly entered upon.

Upon appearance of that body of Lambert's, the whole army was drawn up, and appeared very cheerful. The king having observed David Lesley, throughout the whole march, sad and melancholy, and, at that time when the enemy retired, and plainly in a quicker pace than a good retreat used to be made, slow in giving orders, and riding by himself, his majesty rode up to him, and asked him, with great alacrity, "how he could be sad, when he was in the head of so brave an army?" (which he said looked well that day,) and demanded of him, "How he liked them?" To which David Lesley answered him in his ear, being at some distance from any other, "that he was melancholy indeed, for he well knew that army, how well soever it looked, would not fight:" which the king imputed to the chagrin of his humour, and gave it no credit, nor told it to any man, till, some years after, upon another occasion which will be remembered in its place, he told the chancellor of the exchequer of it.

It was not thought fit to pursue Lambert; who, being known to be a man of courage and conduct, and his troops to be of the best, was suspected, by so disorderly a retreat, to have only designed to have drawn the army another way, to disorder and disturb their march; which they resolved to continue with the same expedition they had hitherto used, which was incredible; until they should come to such a post as they might securely rest themselves. And there was an imagination, that they might have continued it even to London; which would have produced wonderful effects. But they quickly found that to be impossible, and that both horse and foot grew so weary, that they must have rest: the weather was exceedingly hot; the march having been begun near the beginning of August, which is the warmest season of the year; so that if they had not some rest before an enemy approached them, how willing soever they might be, they could not be able to fight.

There was a small garrison in Shrewsbury commanded by a gentleman, who, it was thought, might be prevailed with to give it up to the king; but his majesty sending to him, he returned a rude denial: so that his majesty's eye was upon Worcester; that was so little out of his way to London, that the going thither would not much retard the



march, if they found the army able to continue it. Worcester had always been a place very well affected in itself, and most of the gentlemen of that county had been engaged for the king in the former war, and the city was the last that had surrendered to the parliament, of all those which had been garrisoned for his majesty; when all the works were thrown down, and no garrison from that time had been kept there; the sheriff, and justices, and committees, having had power enough to defend it against any malignity of the town, or county; and at this time all the principal gentry of that county had been seized upon, and were now prisoners there. Thither the king marched with his army even as soon as they had heard that he was in England: whereupon the committee, and all those who were employed by the parliament, fled in all the confusion imaginable, leaving their prisoners behind them, lest they themselves should become prisoners to them; and the city opened their gates, and received the king, with all the demonstration of affection and duty that could be expressed; and made such provision for the army, that it wanted nothing it could desire; the mayor taking care for the present provision of shoes and stockings, the want whereof, in so long a march, was very apparent and grievous. The principal persons of the country found themselves at liberty; and they, and the mayor and aldermen, with all the solemnity they could prepare, attended the herald, who proclaimed the king, as he had done, in more haste, and with less formality, in all those considerable towns through which his majesty had passed.

The army liked their quarters here so well, that neither officer nor soldier was in any degree willing to quit them, till they should be thoroughly refreshed: and it could not be denied that the fatigue had been even insupportable; never had so many hundred miles been marched in so few days, and with so little rest; nor did it in truth appear reasonable to any that they should remove from thence, since it was not possible that they should be able to reach London, though it had been better prepared for the king's reception than it appeared to be, before Cromwell would be there: who, having with great haste continued his march in a direct line, was now as near to it as the king's army was, and stood only at a gaze to be informed what his majesty meant to do. Worcester was a very good post, seated almost in the middle of the kingdom, and in as fruitful a country as any part of it; a good city, served by the noble river of Severn from all the adjacent counties; Wales behind it, from whence levies might be made of great numbers of stout men: it was a place whither the king's friends might repair, if they had the affections they pretended to have; and it was a place where he might defend himself, if the enemy would attack him, with many advantages, and could not be compelled to engage his army in a battle, till Cromwell had gotten men enough to encompass him on all sides: and then the king might choose on which side to fight, since the enemy must be on both sides the river, and could not come suddenly to relieve each other, and this pressure would require much time; in which there might be an opportunity for several insurrections in the kingdom, if they were so weary of the present tyranny, and so solicitous to be restored to the king's

government, as they were conceived to be: for nobody could ever hope for a more secure season to manifest their loyalty, than when the king was in the heart of the kingdom, with a formed army of near twenty thousand men, horse and foot, (for so they might be accounted to be,) with which he might relieve those who were in danger to be oppressed by a more powerful party. These considerations produced a resolution to provide, in the best manner, to expect Cromwell there; and a hope that he might be exercised by other diversions: and there was like to be time enough to cast up such works upon the hill before the town, as might keep the enemy at a distance, and their own quarters from being suddenly straitened: all which were recommended to general Leasley to take care of, and to take such a perfect view of the ground, that no advantage might be lost when the time required it.

The first ill omen that happened was the news of the defeat of the earl of Derby, and the total destruction of those gallant persons who accompanied him. The earl of Derby, within two or three days after he had left the king, with a body of near two hundred horse, all gallant men, employed his servants and tenants to give the country notice of his staying behind the king, to head and command those persons who should repair to his service; which the quick march his majesty made through the country would not permit them to do. In expectation of a good appearance of the people, he went to a little market-town, called Wigan, in the duchy of Lancaster, where he stayed that night; when in the morning a regiment of the militia of the neighbour counties, commanded by a man of courage, whom Cromwell had sent to follow in the track of the king's march, to gather up the stragglers, and such as were not able to keep pace with the army, having received some advertisement that a troop of the king's horse were behind the army in that town, fell very early into it, before the persons in the town were out of their beds, having assurance, upon all the inquiry they could make, that there was no enemy near them. Nor indeed was there any suspicion of this regiment, which consisted of the several troops of the several counties, and passed that way by accident. As many as could get to their horses, presently mounted; they who could not, put themselves together on foot, and all endeavoured to keep the enemy from entering into the town; and the few who were got on horseback charged them with great courage. But the number of the enemy was too great, and the town too open, to put a stop to them in any one place, when they could enter at so many, and encompass those who opposed them. The earl of Derby, after his horse had been killed under him, made a shift on foot, to get into some enclosed grounds, and to conceal himself all that day, but was soon betrayed, and apprehended, and committed to prison.

The lord Withrington, after he had received many wounds, and given as many, and merited his death by the vengeance he took upon those who assaulted him, was killed upon the place; and so was sir Thomas Tildealey, and many other gallant gentlemen, very few escaping to carry news of the defeat. Sir William Throgmorton, who had been formerly major general of the marquis of Newcastle's army, and was left to com-









Engraved by H. Robinson.

**JAMES STANLEY, EARL OF DERBY.**

**OB. 1651.**

**FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF  
THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF DERBY.**



mand in the same function, received so many wounds, that he was looked upon as dead, and not fit to be carried away with the prisoners; and so fell into such charitable and generous hands in the town, that, being believed to be dead, he was afterwards so well recovered, though with great maims and loss of limbs, that he at last got himself transported into Holland; where he was, at first appearance, taken for a ghost, all men believing him to have been buried long before. Most of those who were taken prisoners, of any quality, were afterwards sacrificed as a spectacle to the people, and barbarously put to death in several places; some, with the earl of Derby; and others, near the same time, in other places.

The lord Withrington was one of the most goodly persons of that age, being near the head higher than most tall men, and a gentleman of the best and most ancient extraction of the county of Northumberland, and of a very fair fortune, and one of the four which the last king made choice of to be about the person of his son the prince as gentleman of his privy chamber, when he first erected his family. His affection to the king was always notorious; and serving in the house of commons as knight of the shire for the county of Northumberland, he quickly got the reputation of being amongst the most malignant. As soon as the war broke out, he was of the first who raised both horse and foot at his own charge, and served eminently with them under the marquis of Newcastle; with whom he had a very particular and entire friendship. He was very nearly allied to the marquis; and by his testimony that he had performed many signal services, he was, about the middle of the war, made a peer of the kingdom. He was a man of great courage, and choler, by the last of which he incurred the ill will of many, who imputed it to an insolence of nature, which no man was farther from; no man of a nature more civil, and candid towards all, in business, or conversation. But having sat long in the house of commons, and observed the disingenuity of the proceedings there, and the gross cheats, by which they deceived and cozened the people, he had contracted so hearty an indignation against them, and all who were cozened by them, and against all who had not his zeal to oppose and destroy them, that he often said things to slow and phlegmatic men, which offended them, and, it may be, injured them; which his good nature often obliged him to acknowledge, and ask pardon of those who would not question him for it. He transported himself into the parts beyond the sea at the same time with the marquis of Newcastle, to accompany him, and remained still with him till the king went into Scotland; and then waited upon his majesty, and endured the same affronts which others did, during the time of his residence there. And, it may be, the observation of their behaviour, the knowledge of their principles, and the disdain of their treatment, produced that aversion from their conversation, that prevailed upon his impatience to part too soon from their company, in hope that the earl of Derby, under whom he was very willing to serve, and he himself, might quickly draw together such a body of the royal party, as might give some check to the unbounded imaginations of that nation. It was reported by the enemy, that, in respect of his brave person and behaviour, they

did offer him quarter; which he refused; and that they were thereby compelled, in their own defence, to kill him; which is probable enough; for he knew well the animosity the parliament had against him, and it cannot be doubted but that, if he had fallen into their hands, they would not have used him better than they did the earl of Derby; who had not more enemies.

Sir Thomas Tildesley was a gentleman of a good family, and a good fortune, who had raised men at his own charge at the beginning of the war, and had served in the command of them till the very end of it, with great courage; and refusing to make any composition after the murder of the king, he found means to transport himself into Ireland to the marquis of Ormond; with whom he stayed, till he was, with the rest of the English officers, dismissed, to satisfy the barbarous jealousy of the Irish; and then got over into Scotland a little before the king marched from thence, and was desired by the earl of Derby to remain with him. The names of the other persons of quality who were killed in that encounter, and those who were taken prisoners, and afterwards put to death, ought to be discovered, and mentioned honourably, by any who shall propose to himself to communicate those transactions to the view of posterity.

When the news of this defeat came to Worcester, as it did even almost as soon as the king came thither, it exceedingly afflicted his majesty, and abated much of the hope he had of a general rising of the people on his behalf. His army was very little increased by the access of any English; and though he had passed near the habitation of many persons of honour and quality, whose affections and loyalty had been notorious, not a man of them repaired to him. The sense of their former sufferings remained, and the smart was not over; nor did his stay in Worcester for so many days add any resort to his court. The gentlemen of the country whom his coming thither had redeemed from imprisonment, remained still with him, and were useful to him; they who were in their houses in the country, though as well affected, remained there, and came not to him; and though letters from London had given him cause to believe that many prepared to come to him, which for some days they might easily have done, none appeared, except some common men who had formerly served the last king, and repaired again to Worcester.

There were some other accidents and observations which administered matter of mortification to the king. The duke of Buckingham had a mind very restless, and thought he had not credit enough with the king, if it were not made manifest that he had more than any body else: and therefore, as soon as the king had entered England, though he had reason to believe that his majesty had not been abundantly satisfied with his behaviour in Scotland, he came to the king, and told him, "the business was now to reduce England to his obedience; and therefore he ought to do all things gracious, and popular in the eyes of the nation; and nothing could be less so, than that the army should be under the command of a Scottish general: that David Lesley was only lieutenant general; and it had been unreasonable, whilst he remained in Scotland, to have put any other to have commanded

"over him; but that it would be as unreasonable, "now they were in England, and had hope to "increase the army by the access of the English, "upon whom his principal dependence must be, "to expect that they would be willing to serve "under Lesley: that it would not consist with "the honour of any peer of England to receive "his orders; and, he believed, that very few of "that rank would repair to his majesty, till they "were secure from that apprehension;" and used much more discourse to that purpose. The king was so much surprised with it, that he could not imagine what he meant, and what the end of it would be; and asked him, "who it was that he "thought fit his majesty should give that command to?" when, to his astonishment, the duke told him, "he hoped his majesty would confer it "upon himself." At which the king was so amazed, that he found an occasion to break off the discourse, by calling upon somebody who was near, to come to him; and, by asking many questions, declined the former argument. The duke would not he so put off; but, the next day, in the march, renewed his importunity; and told the king, "that, he was confident, what he had "proposed to him was so evidently for his service, "that David Lesley himself would willingly consent to it." The king, angry at his prosecuting it in that manner, told him, "he could hardly "believe that he was in earnest, or that he could "in truth believe that he could be fit for such a "charge;" which the duke seemed to wonder at, and asked, "wherein his unfitness lay?" To which the king replied, "that he was too young:" and he as readily alleged, "that Harry the Fourth "of France commanded an army, and won a battle, when he was younger than he:" so that, in the end, the king was compelled to tell him, "that "he would have no generalissimo but himself:" upon which the duke was so discontented, that he came no more to the council, scarce spoke to the king, neglected every body else and himself, insomuch as for many days he never put on clean linen, nor conversed with any body; nor did he recover this ill humour whilst the army stayed at Worcester.

There was another worse accident fell out soon after the king's coming thither: major general Massey, who thought himself now in his own territory, and that all between Worcester and Gloucester would be quickly his own conquest, knowing every step of the land and the river, went out with a party to secure a pass, which the enemy might make over the river; which he did very well; but would then make a farther inroad into the country, and possess a house which was of small importance, and in which there were men to defend it; where he received a very dangerous wound, that tore his arm and hand in such manner that he was in great torment, and could not stir out of his bed, in a time when his activity and industry was most wanted. By this means, the pass he had secured was either totally neglected, or not enough taken care for.

There was no good understanding between the officers of the army: David Lesley appeared dispirited, and confounded; gave and revoked his orders, and sometimes contradicted them. He did not love Middleton, and was very jealous that all the officers loved him too well; who was indeed an excellent officer, and kept up the spirits

of the rest, who had no esteem of Lesley. In this very unhappy distemper was the court and the army, in a season when they were ready to be swallowed by the malice and multitude of the enemy, and when nothing could preserve them, but the most sincere unity in their prayers to God, and a joint concurrence in their counsels and endeavours; in all which they were miserably divided.

The king had been several days in Worcester, when Cromwell was known to be within less than half a day's march, with an addition of very many regiments of horse and foot to those which he had brought with him from Scotland; and many other regiments were drawing towards him of the militia of the several counties, under the command of the principal gentlemen of the country: so that he was already very much superior, if not double in number to the army the king had with him. However, if those rules had been observed, those works cast up, and that order in quartering their men, as were resolved upon when the king came thither, there must have been a good defence made, and the advantages of the ground, the river, and the city, would have preserved them from being presently overrun. But, alas! the army was in amazement and confusion. Cromwell, without troubling himself with the formality of a siege, marched directly on as to a prey, and possessed the hill and all other places of advantage, with very little opposition. It was upon the third of September, when the king having been upon his horse most part of the night, and having taken a full view of the enemy, and every body being upon the post they should be, and the enemy making such a stand, that it was concluded he meant to make no attempt that night, and if he should, he might be repelled with ease; his majesty, a little before noon, retired to his lodging to eat, and refresh himself: where he had not been near an hour, when the alarm came, "that both armies were engaged;" and though his majesty's own horse was ready at the door, and he presently mounted, before or as soon as he came out of the city, he met the whole body of his horse running in so great fear, that he could not stop them, though he used all the means he could, and called to many officers by their names; and hardly preserved himself, by letting them pass by, from being overthrown, and overrun by them.

Cromwell had used none of the delay, nor circumspection which was imagined; but directed the troops to fall on in all places at once; and had caused a strong party to go over the river at the pass, which Massey had formerly secured, at a good distance from the town. And that being not at all guarded, they were never known to be on that side the river, till they were even ready to charge the king's troops. On that part where Middleton was, and with whom duke Hamilton charged, there was a very brave resistance; and they charged the enemy so vigorously, that they beat the body that charged them back, but they were quickly overpowered; and many gentlemen being killed, and Middleton hurt, and duke Hamilton's leg broke short off with a shot, the rest were forced to retire and shift for themselves. In no other part was there resistance made; but such a general consternation possessed the whole army, that the rest of the horse fled, and all the









Engraved by J. Robinson.

**DAVID LESLIE, FIRST LORD NEWARK.**

**OB. 1682.**

**FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF**

**HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.**



foot threw down their arms before they were charged. When the king came back into the town, he found a good body of horse, which had been persuaded to make a stand, though much the major part passed through upon the spur without making any pause. The king desired those who stayed, "that they would follow him, that they might look upon the enemy, who, he believed, did not pursue them." But when his majesty had gone a little way, he found most of the horse were gone the other way, and that he had none but a few servants of his own about him. Then he sent to have the gates of the town shut, that none might get in one way, nor out the other: but all was confusion; there were few to command, and none to obey: so that the king stayed till very many of the enemy's horse were entered the town, and then he was persuaded to withdraw himself.

Duke Hamilton fell into the enemy's hands; and, the next day, died of his wounds; and thereby prevented the being made a spectacle, as his brother had been; which the pride and animosity of his enemies would no doubt have done, having the same pretence for it by his being a peer of England, as the other was. He was in all respects to be much preferred before the other, a much wiser, though, it may be, a less cunning man: for he did not affect dissimulation, which was the other's masterpiece. He had unquestionable courage, in which the other did not abound: he was in truth a very accomplished person, of an excellent judgment, and clear and ready expressions: and though he had been driven into some unwarrantable actions, he made it very evident he had not been led by any inclinations of his own, and passionately and heartily run to all opportunities of redeeming it: and, in the very article of his death, he expressed a marvellous cheerfulness, "that he had the honour to lose his life in the king's service, and thereby to wipe out the memory of his former transgressions;" which he always professed were odious to himself.

As the victory cost the enemy no blood, so after it there was not much cruelty used to the prisoners who were taken upon the spot. But very many of those who run away were every day knocked in the head by the country people, and used with barbarity. Towards the king's menial servants, whereof most were taken, there was nothing of severity; but within few days they were all discharged, and set at liberty.

Though the king could not get a body of horse to fight, he could have too many to fly with him; and he had not been many hours from Worcester, when he found about him near, if not above, four thousand of his horse. There was David Lesley with all his own equipage, as if he had not fled upon the sudden; so that good order, and regularity, and obedience, might yet have made a hopeful retreat even into Scotland itself. But there was paleness in every man's looks, and jealousy and confusion in their faces; and nothing could worse befall the king, than a safe return into Scotland; which yet he could not reasonably promise to himself in that company. But when the night covered them, he found means to withdraw himself with one or two of his own servants; whom he likewise discharged, when it begun to be light; and after he had made them cut off his hair, he betook himself alone into an adjacent

wood, and relied only upon Him for deliverance who alone could, and did miraculously deliver him.

When it was morning, and the troops, which had marched all night, and who knew that when it begun to be dark the king was with them, found now that he was not there, they cared less for each other's company; and all who were English separated themselves, and went into other roads; and wherever twenty horse appeared of the country, which was now awake, and upon their guard to stop and arrest the runaways, the whole body of the Scottish horse would fly, and run several ways; and twenty of them would give themselves prisoners to two country fellows: however, David Lesley reached Yorkshire with above fifteen hundred horse in a body. But the jealousies increased every day; and those of his own country were so unsatisfied with his whole conduct and behaviour, that they did, that is many of them, believe that he was corrupted by Cromwell; and the rest, who did not think so, believed him not to understand his profession, in which he had been bred from his cradle. When he was in his flight, considering one morning with the principal persons, which way they should take, some proposed this, and others that way; sir William Armorer asked him, "which way he thought best?" which when he had named, the other said, "he would then go the other; for, he swore, he had betrayed the king and the army all the time;" and so left him.

They were all soon after taken. And it is hard to be believed how very few of that numerous body of horse (for there can be no imagination that any of the foot escaped) returned into Scotland. Upon all the inquiry that was made, when a discovery was made of most of the false and treacherous actions which had been committed by most men, there appeared no cause to suspect that David Lesley had been unfaithful in his charge: though he never recovered any reputation with those of his own country who wedded the king's interest. And yet it was some vindication to him, that, from the time of his imprisonment, he never received any favour from the parliament, whom he had served so long; nor from Cromwell, in whose company he had served; but underwent all the severities, and long imprisonment, the rest of his countrymen underwent. The king did not believe him false; and did always think him an excellent officer of horse, to distribute and execute orders, but in no degree capable of commanding in chief. And without doubt he was so amazed in that fatal day, that he performed not the office of a general, or of any competent officer.

They who fled out of Worcester, and were not killed, but made prisoners, were treated best and found great humanity; but all the foot, and others who were taken in the town, except some few officers and persons of quality, were driven like cattle with a guard to London, and there treated with great rigour; and many perished for want of food; and being enclosed in little room, till they were sold to the plantations for slaves, they died of all diseases. Cromwell returned in triumph; was received with universal joy and acclamation, as if he had destroyed the enemy of the nation, and for ever secured the liberty and happiness of the people: a price was set upon the king's head,

whose escape was thought to be impossible; and order taken for the trial of the earl of Derby, and such other notorious prisoners as they had voted to destruction.

The earl of Derby was a man of unquestionable loyalty to the late king, and gave clear testimony of it before he received any obligations from the court, and when he thought himself disobliged by it. This king, in his first year, sent him the garter; which, in many respects, he had expected from the last. And the sense of that honour made him so readily comply with the king's command in attending him, when he had no confidence in the undertaking, nor any inclination to the Scots; who, he thought, had too much guilt upon them, in having depressed the crown, to be made instruments of repairing and restoring it. He was a man of great honour and clear courage; and all his defects and misfortunes proceeded from his having lived so little time among his equals, that he knew not how to treat his inferiors; which was the source of all the ill that befell him, having thereby drawn such prejudice against him from persons of inferior quality, who yet thought themselves too good to be contemned, that they pursued him to death. The king's army was no sooner defeated at Worcester, but the parliament renewed their old method of murdering in cold blood, and sent a commission to erect a high court of justice in Lancashire to persons of ordinary quality, many not being gentlemen, and all notoriously his enemies, to try the earl of Derby for his treason and rebellion; which they easily found him guilty of; and put him to death in a town of his own, against which he had expressed a severe displeasure for their obstinate rebellion against the king, with all the circumstances of rudeness and barbarity they could invent. The same night, one of those who was amongst his judges sent a trumpet to the Isle of Man with a letter directed to the countess dowager of Derby, by which he required her "to deliver up the castle and island to the parliament:" nor did their malice abate, till they had reduced that lady, a woman of very high and princely extraction, being the daughter of the duke de Tremouille in France, and of the most exemplary virtue and piety of her time, and that whole illustrious family, to the lowest penury and want, by disposing, giving, and selling, all the fortune and estate that should support it.

They of the king's friends in Flanders, France, and Holland, who had not been permitted to attend upon his majesty in Scotland, were much exalted with the news of his being entered England with a powerful army, and being possessed of Worcester, which made all men prepare to make haste thither. But they were confounded with the assurance of that fatal day, and more confounded with the various reports of the person of the king, "of his being found amongst the dead; of his being prisoner;" and all those imaginations which naturally attend upon such unprosperous events. Many who had made escapes arrived every day in France, Flanders, and Holland, but knew no more what was become of the king, than they did who had not been in England. The only comfort that any of them brought, was, that he was amongst those that fled, and some of them had seen him that evening after the battle, many miles out of Wor-

cester. These unsteady degrees of hope and fear tormented them very long; sometimes they heard he was at the Hague with his sister, which was occasioned by the arrival of the duke of Buckingham in Holland; and it was thought good policy to publish that the king himself was landed, that the search after him in England might be discontinued. But it was quickly known that he was not there, nor in any place on that side the sea. And this anxiety of mind disquieted the hearts of all honest men during the whole months of September and October, and part of November; in which month his majesty was known to be at Rouen; where he made himself known, and stayed some days to provide clothes; and from thence gave notice to the queen of his arrival.

It is great pity that there was never a journal made of that miraculous deliverance, in which there might be seen so many visible impressions of the immediate hand of God. When the darkness of the night was over, after the king had cast himself into that wood, he discerned another man, who had gotten upon an oak in the same wood, near the place where the king had rested himself, and had slept soundly. The man upon the tree had first seen the king, and knew him, and came down to him, and was known to the king, being a gentleman of the neighbour county of Staffordshire, who had served his late majesty during the war, and had now been one of the few who resorted to the king after his coming to Worcester. His name was Careless, who had had a command of foot, above the degree of a captain, under the lord Loughborough. He persuaded the king, since it could not be safe for him to go out of the wood, and that, as soon as it should be fully light, the wood itself would probably be visited by those of the country, who would be searching to find those whom they might make prisoners, that he would get up into that tree, where he had been; where the boughs were so thick with leaves, that a man would not be discovered there without a narrower inquiry than people usually make in places which they do not suspect. The king thought it good counsel; and, with the other's help, climbed into the tree; and then helped his companion to ascend after him; where they sat all that day, and securely saw many who came purposely into the wood to look after them, and heard all their discourse, how they would use the king himself if they could take him. This wood was either in or upon the borders of Staffordshire; and though there was a highway near one side of it, where the king had entered into it, yet it was large, and all other sides of it opened amongst enclosures, and it pleased God that Careless was not unacquainted with the neighbour villages; and it was part of the king's good fortune, that this gentleman, by being a Roman catholic, was acquainted with those of that profession of all degrees, who had the best opportunities of concealing him: for it must never be denied, that some of that faith had a very great share in his majesty's preservation.

The day being spent in the tree, it was not in the king's power to forget that he had lived two days with eating very little, and two nights with as little sleep; so that, when the night came, he was willing to make some provision for both: and he resolved, with the advice and assistance of his companion, to leave his blessed tree; and,







Engraved by H T Ryall

**CHARLOTTE DE LA TREMOUILLE, COUNTESS OF DERBY.**

**OB. 1663.**

**FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF**

**THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF DERBY.**





when the night was dark, they walked through the wood into those enclosures which were farthest from any highway, and making a shift to get over hedges and ditches, after walking at least eight or nine miles, which were the more grievous to the king by the weight of his boots, (for he could not put them off, when he cut off his hair, for want of shoes,) before morning they came to a poor cottage, the owner whereof being a Roman catholic was known to Careless. He was called up, and as soon as he knew one of them, he easily concluded in what condition they both were; and presently carried them into a little barn, full of hay; which was a better lodging than he had for himself. But when they were there, and had conferred with their host of the news and temper of the country, it was resolved, that the danger would be the greater if they stayed together; and therefore that Careless should presently be gone; and should, within two days, send an honest man to the king, to guide him to some other place of security; and in the mean time his majesty should stay upon the hay-mow. The poor man had nothing for him to eat, but promised him good buttermilk the next morning; and so he was once more left alone, his companion, how weary soever, departing from him before day, the poor man of the house knowing no more, than that he was a friend of the captain's, and one of those who had escaped from Worcester. The king slept very well in his lodging, till the time that his host brought him a piece of bread, and a great pot of buttermilk, which he thought the best food he ever had eaten. The poor man spoke very intelligently to him of the country, and of the people who were well or ill affected to the king, and of the great fear and terror, that possessed the hearts of those who were best affected. He told him, "that he himself lived by his daily labour, and that what he had brought him was the fare he and his wife had; and that he feared, if he should endeavour to procure better, it might draw suspicion upon him, and people might be apt to think he had somebody with him that was not of his own family. However, if he would have him get some meat, he would do it; but if he could bear this hard diet, he should have enough of the milk, and some of the butter that was made with it." The king was satisfied with his reason, and would not run the hazard for a change of diet; desired only the man, "that he might have his company as often, and as much as he could give it him;" there being the same reason against the poor man's discontinuing his labour, as the alteration of his fare.

After he had rested upon this hay-mow, and fed upon this diet two days and two nights, in the evening before the third night, another fellow, a little above the condition of his host, came to the house, sent from Careless, to conduct the king to another house, more out of any road near which any part of the army was like to march. It was above twelve miles that he was to go, and was to use the same caution he had done the first night, not to go in any common road; which his guide knew well how to avoid. Here he new dressed himself, changing clothes with his landlord and putting on those which he usually wore: he had a great mind to have kept his own shirt; but he considered, that men are not sooner discovered by

any mark in disguises, than by having fine linen in ill clothes; and so he parted with his shirt too, and took the same his poor host had then on. Though he had foreseen that he must leave his boots, and his landlord had taken the best care he could to provide an old pair of shoes, yet they were not easy to him when he first put them on, and, in a short time after, grew very grievous to him. In this equipage he set out from his first lodging in the beginning of the night, under the conduct of this comrade; who guided him the nearest way, crossing over hedges and ditches, that they might be in least danger of meeting passengers. This was so grievous a march, and he was so tired, that he was even ready to despair, and to prefer being taken and suffered to rest, before purchasing his safety at that price. His shoes had, after the walking a few miles, hurt him so much, that he had thrown them away, and walked the rest of the way in his ill stockings, which were quickly worn out; and his feet, with the thorns in getting over hedges, and with the stones in other places, were so hurt and wounded, that he many times cast himself upon the ground, with a desperate and obstinate resolution to rest there till the morning, that he might shift with less torment, what hazard soever he run. But his stout guide still prevailed with him to make a new attempt, sometimes promising that the way should be better, and sometimes assuring him that he had but little farther to go: and in this distress and perplexity, before the morning, they arrived at the house designed; which though it was better than that which he had left, his lodging was still in the barn, upon straw instead of hay, a place being made as easy in it, as the expectation of a guest could dispose it. Here he had such meat and porridge as such people use to have; with which, but especially with the butter and the cheese, he thought himself well feasted; and took the best care he could to be supplied with other, little better, shoes and stockings: and after his feet were enough recovered that he could go, he was conducted from thence to another poor house, within such a distance as put him not to much trouble: for having not yet in his thought which way, or by what means to make his escape, all that was designed was only, by shifting from one house to another, to avoid discovery. And being now in that quarter which was more inhabited by the Roman catholics than most other parts in England, he was led from one to another of that persuasion, and concealed with great fidelity. But he then observed that he was never carried to any gentleman's house, though that country was full of them, but only to poor houses of poor men, which only yielded him rest with very unpleasant sustenance; whether there was more danger in those better houses, in regard of the resort, and the many servants; or whether the owners of great estates were the owners likewise of more fears and apprehensions.

Within few days, a very honest and discreet person, one Mr. Hudleston, a Benedictine monk, who attended the service of the Roman catholics in those parts, came to him, sent by Careless; and was a very great assistance and comfort to him. And when the places to which he carried him were at too great a distance to walk, he provided him a horse, and more proper habit than

the rags he wore. This man told him, "that the lord Wilmot lay concealed likewise in a friend's house of his; which his majesty was very glad of; and wished him to contrive some means, how they might speak together;" which the other easily did; and, within a night or two, brought them into one place. Wilmot told the king, "that he had by very good fortune fallen into the house of an honest gentleman, one Mr. Lane, a person of an excellent reputation for his fidelity to the king, but of so universal and general a good name, that, though he had a son, who had been a colonel in the king's service, during the late war, and was then upon his way with men to Worcester the very day of the defeat, men of all affections in the country, and of all opinions, paid the old man a very great respect: that he had been very civilly treated there, and that the old gentleman had used some diligence to find out where the king was, that he might get him to his house; where, he was sure, he could conceal him till he might contrive a full deliverance." He told him, "he had withdrawn from that house, and put himself amongst the catholics, in hope that he might discover where his majesty was, and having now happily found him, advised him to repair to that house, which stood not near any other."

The king inquired of the monk of the reputation of this gentleman; who told him, "that he had a fair estate; was exceedingly beloved; and the eldest justice of peace of that county of Stafford; and though he was a very zealous protestant, yet he lived with so much civility and candour towards the catholics, that they would all trust him, as much as they would do any of their own profession; and that he could not think of any place of so good repose and security for his majesty's repair to." The king, who by this time had as good a mind to eat well as to sleep, liked the proposition, yet thought not fit to surprise the gentleman; but sent Wilmot thither again, to assure himself that he might be received there; and was willing that he should know what guest he received; which hitherto was so much concealed, that none of the houses, where he had yet been, knew, or seemed to suspect more than that he was one of the king's party that fled from Worcester. The monk carried him to a house at a reasonable distance, where he was to expect an account from the lord Wilmot; who returned very punctually, with as much assurance of welcome as he could wish. And so they two went together to Mr. Lane's house; where the king found he was welcome, and conveniently accommodated in such places, as in a large house had been provided to conceal the persons of malignants, or to preserve goods of value from being plundered. Here he lodged, and eat very well; and begun to hope that he was in present safety. Wilmot returned under the care of the monk, and expected summons, when any farther motion should be thought to be necessary.

In this station the king remained in quiet and blessed security many days, receiving every day information of the general consternation the kingdom was in, out of the apprehension that his person might fall into the hands of his enemies, and of the great diligence they used to inquire for

him. He saw the proclamation that was issued out and printed; in which a thousand pounds were promised to any man who would deliver and discover the person of Charles Stuart, and the penalty of high treason declared against those who presumed to harbour or conceal him: by which he saw how much he was beholding to all those who were faithful to him. It was now time to consider how he might find himself near the sea, from whence he might find some means to transport himself: and he was now near the middle of the kingdom, saving that it was a little more northward, where he was utterly unacquainted with all the ports, and with that coast. In the west he was best acquainted, and that coast was most proper to transport him into France; to which he was most inclined. Upon this matter he communicated with those of this family to whom he was known, that is, with the old gentleman the father, a very grave and venerable person; the colonel his eldest son, a very plain man in his discourse and behaviour, but of a fearless courage, and an integrity superior to any temptation; and a daughter of the house, of a very good wit and discretion, and very fit to bear any part in such a trust. It was a benefit, as well as an inconvenience, in those unhappy times, that the affections of all men were almost as well known as their faces, by the discovery they had made of themselves, in those sad seasons, in many trials and persecutions: so that men knew not only the minds of their next neighbours, and those who inhabited near them, but, upon conference with their friends, could choose fit houses, at any distance, to repose themselves in security, from one end of the kingdom to another, without trusting the hospitality of a common inn: and men were very rarely deceived in their confidence upon such occasions, but the persons with whom they were at any time, could conduct them to another house of the same affection.

Mr. Lane had a niece, or very near kinswoman, who was married to a gentleman, one Mr. Norton, a person of eight or nine hundred pounds *per annum*, who lived within four or five miles of Bristol, which was at least four or five days' journey from the place where the king then was, but a place most to be wished for the king to be in, because he did not only know all that country very well, but knew many persons also, to whom, in an extraordinary case, he durst make himself known. It was hereupon resolved, that Mrs. Lane should visit this cousin, who was known to be of good affections; and that she should ride behind the king, who was fitted with clothes and boots for such a service; and that a servant of her father's, in his livery, should wait upon her. A good house was easily pitched upon for the first night's lodging; where Wilmot had notice given him to meet. And in this equipage the king begun his journey; the colonel keeping him company at a distance, with a hawk upon his fist, and two or three spaniels; which, where there were any fields at hand, warranted him to ride out of the way, keeping his company still in his eye, and not seeming to be of it. In this manner they came to their first night's lodging; and they need not now contrive to come to their journey's end about the close of the evening, for it was in the month of October far advanced, that the long journeys they made could not be de-

spatched sooner. Here the lord Wilmot found them; and their journeys being then adjusted, he was instructed where he should be every night: so they were seldom seen together in the journey, and rarely lodged in the same house at night. In this manner the colonel hawked two or three days, till he had brought them within less than a day's journey of Mr. Norton's house; and then he gave his hawk to the lord Wilmot; who continued the journey in the same exercise.

There was great care taken when they came to any house, that the king might be presently carried into some chamber; Mrs. Lane declaring, "that he was a neighbour's son, whom his father had lent her to ride before her, in hope that he would the sooner recover from a quartan ague, with which he had been miserably afflicted, and was not yet free." And by this artifice she caused a good bed to be still provided for him, and the best meat to be sent; which she often carried herself, to hinder others from doing it. There was no resting in any place till they came to Mr. Norton's, nor any thing extraordinary that happened in the way, save that they met many people every day in the way, who were very well known to the king; and the day that they went to Mr. Norton's, they were necessarily to ride quite through the city of Bristol; a place, and people, the king had been so well acquainted with, that he could not but send his eyes abroad to view the great alterations which had been made there, after his departure from thence: and when he rode near the place where the great fort had stood, he could not forbear putting his horse out of the way, and rode with his mistress behind him round about it.

They came to Mr. Norton's house sooner than usual, and it being on a holyday, they saw many people about a bowling green that was before the door; and the first man the king saw was a chaplain of his own, who was allied to the gentleman of the house, and was sitting upon the rails to see how the bowlers played. William, by which name the king went, walked with his horse into the stable, until his mistress could provide for his retreat. Mrs. Lane was very welcome to her cousin, and was presently conducted to her chamber; where she no sooner was, than she lamented the condition of "a good youth, who came with her, and whom she had borrowed of his father to ride before her, who was very sick, being newly recovered of an ague;" and desired her cousin, "that a chamber might be provided for him, and a good fire made: for that he would go early to bed, and was not fit to be below stairs." A pretty little chamber was presently made ready, and a fire prepared, and a boy sent into the stable to call William, and to shew him his chamber; who was very glad to be there, freed from so much company as was below. Mrs. Lane was put to find some excuse for making a visit at that time of the year, and so many days' journey from her father, and where she had never been before, though the mistress of the house and she had been bred together, and friends as well as kindred. She pretended, "that she was, after a little rest, to go into Dorsetshire to another friend." When it was supper-time, there being broth brought to the table, Mrs. Lane filled a little dish, and desired the butler, who waited at the table, "to carry that dish of porridge to Wil-

liam, and to tell him that he should have some meat sent to him presently." The butler carried the porridge into the chamber, with a napkin, and spoon, and bread, and spoke kindly to the young man; who was willing to be eating.

The butler, looking narrowly upon him, fell upon his knees, and with tears told him, "he was glad to see his majesty." The king was infinitely surprised, yet recollected himself enough to laugh at the man, and to ask him, "what he meant?" The man had been falconer to sir Thomas Jermyn, and made it appear that he knew well enough to whom he spoke, repeating some particulars, which the king had not forgot. Whereupon the king conjured him "not to speak of what he knew, so much as to his master, though he believed him a very honest man." The fellow promised, and faithfully kept his word; and the king was the better waited upon during the time of his abode there.

Dr. Gorges, the king's chaplain, being a gentleman of a good family near that place, and allied to Mr. Norton, supped with them; and, being a man of a cheerful conversation, asked Mrs. Lane many questions concerning William, of whom he saw she was so careful by sending up meat to him, "how long his ague had been gone?" and "whether he had purged since it left him?" and the like; to which she gave such answers as occurred. The doctor, from the final prevalence of the parliament, had, as many others of that function had done, declined his profession, and pretended to study physic. As soon as supper was done, out of good nature, and without telling any body, he went to see William. The king saw him coming into the chamber, and withdrew to the inside of the bed, that he might be farthest from the candle; and the doctor came, and sat down by him, felt his pulse, and asked him many questions, which he answered in as few words as was possible, and expressing great inclination to go to his bed; to which the doctor left him, and went to Mrs. Lane, and told her, "that he had been with William, and that he would do well;" and advised her what she should do if his ague returned. The next morning the doctor went away, so that the king saw him no more, of which he was right glad. The next day the lord Wilmot came to the house with his hawk, to see Mrs. Lane, and so conferred with William; who was to consider what he was to do. They thought it necessary to rest some days, till they were informed what port lay most convenient for them, and what person lived nearest to it, upon whose fidelity they might rely: and the king gave him directions to inquire after some persons, and some other particulars, of which when he should be fully instructed, he should return again to him. In the mean time Wilmot lodged at a house not far from Mr. Norton's, to which he had been recommended.

After some days' stay here, and communication between the king and the lord Wilmot by letters, the king came to know that colonel Francis Windham lived within little more than a day's journey of the place where he was; of which he was very glad; for besides the inclination he had to his eldest brother, whose wife had been his nurse, this gentleman had behaved himself very well during the war, and had been governor of Dunstar castle, where the king had lodged when he was in the

west. After the end of the war, and when all other places were surrendered in that county, he likewise surrendered that, upon fair conditions, and made his peace, and afterwards married a wife with a competent fortune, and lived quietly, without any suspicion of having lessened his affection towards the king.

The king sent Wilmot to him, and acquainted him where he was, and "that he would gladly speak with him." It was not hard for him to choose a good place where to meet, and thereupon the day was appointed. After the king had taken his leave of Mrs. Lane, who remained with her cousin Norton, the king, and the lord Wilmot, met the colonel; and, in the way, he encountered in a town, through which they passed, Mr. Kirton, a servant of the king's, who well knew the lord Wilmot, who had no other disguise than the hawk, but took no notice of him, nor suspected the king to be there; yet that day made the king more wary of having him in his company upon the way. At the place of meeting they rested only one night, and then the king went to the colonel's house; where he rested many days, whilst the colonel projected at what place the king might embark, and how they might procure a vessel to be ready there; which was not easy to find; there being so great a caution in all the ports, and so great a fear possessing those who were honest, that it was hard to procure any vessel that was outward bound to take in any passenger.

There was a gentleman, one Mr. Ellison, who lived near Lyme in Dorsetshire, and was well known to colonel Windham, having been a captain in the king's army, and was still looked upon as a very honest man. With him the colonel consulted, how they might get a vessel to be ready to take in a couple of gentlemen, friends of his, who were in danger to be arrested, and transport them into France. Though no man would ask who the persons were, yet every man suspected who they were; at least they concluded, that it was some of Worcester party. Lyme was generally as malicious and disaffected a town to the king's interest, as any town in England could be: yet there was in it a master of a bark, of whose honesty this captain was very confident. This man was lately returned from France, and had unladen his vessel, when Ellison asked him, "when he would make another voyage?" And he answered, "as soon as he could get lading for his ship." The other asked, "whether he would undertake to carry over a couple of gentlemen, and land them in France, if he might be as well paid for his voyage as he used to be when he was freighted by the merchants." In conclusion, he told him, "he should receive fifty pounds for his fare." The large recompense had that effect, that the man undertook it; though he said "he must make his provision very secretly; for that he might be well suspected for going to sea again without being freighted, after he was so newly returned." Colonel Windham, being advertised of this, came together with the lord Wilmot to the captain's house, from whence the lord and the captain rid to a house near Lyme; where the master of the bark met them; and the lord Wilmot being satisfied with the discourse of the man, and his wariness in foreseeing suspicions which would arise, it was resolved, that on such a night, which, upon consideration of the tides, was agreed upon, the man

should draw out his vessel from the pier, and, being at sea, should come to such a point about a mile from the town, where his ship should remain upon the beach when the water was gone; which would take it off again about break of day the next morning. There was very near that point, even in the view of it, a small inn, kept by a man who was reputed honest, to which the cavaliers of the country often resorted; and London road passed that way; so that it was seldom without resort. Into that inn the two gentlemen were to come in the beginning of the night, that they might put themselves on board. All things being thus concerted, and good earnest given to the master, the lord Wilmot and the colonel returned to the colonel's house, above a day's journey from the place, the captain undertaking every day to look that the master should provide, and, if any thing fell out contrary to expectation, to give the colonel notice at such a place, where they intended the king should be the day before he was to embark.

The king, being satisfied with these preparations, came, at the time appointed, to that house where he was to hear that all went as it ought to do; of which he received assurance from the captain; who found that the man had honestly put his provisions on board, and had his company ready, which were but four men; and that the vessel should be drawn out that night: so that it was fit for the two persons to come to the aforesaid inn, and the captain conducted them within sight of it; and then went to his own house, not distant a mile from it; the colonel remaining still at the house where they had lodged the night before, till he might hear the news of their being embarked.

They found many passengers in the inn; and so were to be contented with an ordinary chamber, which they did not intend to sleep long in. But as soon as there appeared any light, Wilmot went out to discover the bark, of which there was no appearance. In a word, the sun arose, and nothing like a ship in view. They sent to the captain, who was as much amazed; and he sent to the town; and his servant could not find the master of the bark, which was still in the pier. They suspected the captain, and the captain suspected the master. However, it being past ten of the clock, they concluded it was not fit for them to stay longer there, and so they mounted their horses again to return to the house where they had left the colonel, who, they knew, resolved to stay there till he were assured that they were gone.

The truth of the disappointment was this; the man meant honestly, and made all things ready for his departure; and the night he was to go out with his vessel, he had stayed in his own house, and slept two or three hours; and the time of the tide being come, that it was necessary to be on board, he took out of a cupboard some linen, and other things, which he used to carry with him to sea. His wife had observed, that he had been for some days fuller of thoughts than he used to be, and that he had been speaking with seamen, who used to go with him, and that some of them had carried provisions on board the bark; of which she had asked her husband the reason; who had told her, "that he was promised freight speedily, and therefore he would make all things ready." She was sure that there was yet no lading in the ship, and therefore, when she saw her husband

take all those materials with him, which was a sure sign that he meant to go to sea, and it being late in the night, she shut the door, and swore he should not go out of his house. He told her, "he must go, and was engaged to go to sea that night; for which he should be well paid." His wife told him, "she was sure he was doing something that would undo him, and she was resolved he should not go out of his house; and if he should persist in it, she would tell the neighbours, and carry him before the mayor to be examined, that the truth might be found out." The poor man, thus mastered by the passion and violence of his wife, was forced to yield to her, that there might be no farther noise; and so went into his bed.

And it was very happy that the king's jealousy hastened him from that inn. It was the solemn fast day, which was observed in those times principally to inflame the people against the king, and all those who were loyal to him; and there was a chapel in that village over against that inn, where a weaver, who had been a soldier, used to preach, and utter all the villainy imaginable against the old order of government: and he was then in the chapel preaching to his congregation, when the king went from thence, and telling the people, "that Charles Stuart was lurking somewhere in that country, and that they would merit from God Almighty, if they could find him out." The passengers, who had lodged in the inn that night, had, as soon as they were up, sent for a smith to visit their horses, it being a hard frost. The smith, when he had done what he was sent for, according to the custom of that people, examined the feet of the other two horses to find more work. When he had observed them, he told the host of the house, "that one of those horses had travelled far; and that he was sure that his four shoes had been made in four several countries," which, whether his skill was able to discover or no, was very true. The smith going to the sermon told this story to some of his neighbours; and so it came to the ears of the preacher, when his sermon was done. Immediately he sent for an officer, and searched the inn, and inquired for those horses; and being informed that they were gone, he caused horses to be sent to follow them, and to make inquiry after the two men who rid those horses, and positively declared, "that one of them was Charles Stuart."

When they came again to the colonel, they presently concluded that they were to make no longer stay in those parts, nor any more to endeavour to find a ship upon that coast; and, without any farther delay, they rode back to the colonel's house; where they arrived in the night. They resolved to make their next attempt more southward, in Hampshire and Sussex, where colonel Windham had no interest. They must pass through all Wiltshire before they came thither; which would require many days' journey: and they were first to consider what honest houses there were in or near the way, where they might securely repose; and it was thought very dangerous for the king to ride through any great town, as Salisbury, or Winchester, which might probably lie in their way.

There was between that and Salisbury a very honest gentleman, colonel Robert Philips, a younger brother of a very good family, which had always

been very loyal; and he had served the king during the war. The king was resolved to trust him; and so sent the lord Wilmot to a place from whence he might send to Mr. Philips to come to him, and when he had spoken with him, Mr. Philips should come to the king, and Wilmot was to stay in such a place as they two should agree. Mr. Philips accordingly came to the colonel's house; which he could do without suspicion, they being nearly allied. The ways were very full of soldiers; which were sent now from the army to their quarters, and many regiments of horse and foot were assigned for the west; of which division Desborough was major general. These marches were like to last for many days, and it would not be fit for the king to stay so long in that place. Thereupon, he resorted to his old security of taking a woman behind him, a kinswoman of colonel Windham, whom he carried in that manner to a place not far from Salisbury; to which colonel Philips conducted him. In this journey he passed through the middle of a regiment of horse; and, presently after, met Desborough walking down a hill with three or four men with him; who had lodged in Salisbury the night before; all that road being full of soldiers.

The next day, upon the plains, Dr. Hinchman, one of the prebends of Salisbury, met the king, the lord Wilmot and Philips then leaving him to go to the sea-coast to find a vessel, the doctor conducting the king to a place called Heale, three miles from Salisbury, belonging then to sergeant Hyde, who was afterwards chief justice of the King's Bench, and then in the possession of the widow of his elder brother; a house that stood alone from neighbours, and from any highway; where coming in late in the evening, he supped with some gentlemen who accidentally were in the house; which could not well be avoided. But, the next morning, he went early from thence, as if he had continued his journey; and the widow, being trusted with the knowledge of her guest, sent her servants out of the way; and, at an hour appointed, received him again, and accommodated him in a little room, which had been made since the beginning of the troubles for the concealment of delinquents, the seat always belonging to a malignant family.

Here he lay concealed, without the knowledge of some gentlemen, who lived in the house, and of others who daily resorted thither, for many days, the widow herself only attending him with such things as were necessary, and bringing him such letters as the doctor received from the lord Wilmot and colonel Philips. A vessel being at last provided upon the coast of Sussex, and notice thereof sent to Dr. Hinchman, he sent to the king to meet him at Stonehenge upon the plains three miles from Heale; whither the widow took care to direct him; and being there met, he attended him to the place where colonel Philips received him. He, the next day, delivered him to the lord Wilmot; who went with him to a house in Sussex, recommended by colonel Gunter, a gentleman of that country, who had served the king in the war; who met him there; and had provided a little bark at Brightelmstone, a small fisher-town; where he went early on board, and, by God's blessing, arrived safely in Normandy.

The earl of Southampton, who was then at his house at Titchfield in Hampshire, had been adver-

tised of the king's being in the west, and of his missing his passage at Lyme, and sent a trusty gentleman to those faithful persons in the country, who, he thought, were most like to be employed for his escape if he came into those parts, to let them know, "that he had a ship ready, and if the king came to him, he should be safe;" which advertisement came to the king the night before he embarked, and when his vessel was ready. But his majesty ever acknowledged the obligation with great kindness, he being the only person of that condition, who had the courage to solicit such danger, though all good men heartily wished his deliverance. It was about the end of November, that the king landed in Normandy, in a small creek; from whence he got to Rouen, and then gave notice to the queen of his arrival, and freed his subjects in all places from their dismal apprehensions.

Though this wonderful deliverance and preservation of the person of the king was an argument of general joy and comfort to all his good subjects, and a new seed of hope for future blessings, yet his present condition was very deplorable. France was not at all pleased with his being come thither, nor did quickly take notice of his being there. The queen his mother was very glad of his escape, but in no degree able to contribute towards his support; they who had interest with her finding all she had, or could get, too little for their own unlimited expense. Besides, the distraction that court had been lately in, and was not yet free from the effects of, made her pension to be paid with less punctuality than it had used to be; so that she was forced to be in debt both to her servants, and for the very provisions of her house; nor had the king one shilling towards the support of himself and his family.

As soon as his majesty came to Paris, and knew that the chancellor of the exchequer was at Antwerp, he commanded Seymour, who was of his bedchamber, to send to him to repair thither; which whilst he was providing to do, Mr. Long, the king's secretary, who was at Amsterdam, and had been removed from his attendance in Scotland by the marquis of Argyle, writ to the chancellor, "that he had received a letter from the king, by which he was required to let all his majesty's servants who were in those parts, know, it was his pleasure that none of them should repair to him to Paris, until they should receive farther order, since his majesty could not yet resolve how long he should stay there: of which," Mr. Long said, "he thought it his duty to give him notice; with this, that the lord Colepepper and himself, who had resolved to have made haste thither, had in obedience to this command laid aside that purpose." The chancellor concluded that this inhibition concerned not him, since he had received a command from the king to wait upon him. Besides, he had still the character of ambassador upon him, which he could not lay down till he had kissed his majesty's hand. So he pursued his former purpose, and came to Paris in the Christmas, and found that the command to Mr. Long had been procured by the queen, with an eye principally upon the chancellor, who she had no mind should be with the king; though, when there was no remedy, the queen received him graciously. But the king was very well pleased with his being come; and, for the first four or five

days, he spent many hours with him in private, and informed him of very many particulars, of the barbarous treatment he had received in Scotland, the reason of his march into England, the confusion at Worcester, and all the circumstances of his happy escape and deliverance; many parts whereof are comprehended in this relation, and are exactly true. For besides all those particulars which the king himself was pleased to communicate to him, so soon after the transactions of them, when they had made so lively an impression in his memory, and of which the chancellor at that time kept a very punctual memorial; he had, at the same time, the daily conversation of the lord Wilmot; who informed him of all he could remember: and sometimes the king and he recollected many particulars in the discourse together, in which the king's memory was much better than the other's. And after the king's blessed return into England, he had frequent conferences with many of those who had acted several parts towards the escape; whereof many were of the chancellor's nearest alliance, and others his most intimate friends; towards whom his majesty always made many gracious expressions of his acknowledgment: so that there is nothing in this short relation the verity whereof can justly be suspected, though, as is said before, it is great pity, that there could be no diary made, indeed no exact account of every hour's adventure from the coming out of Worcester, in that dismal confusion, to the hour of his embarkation at Brighthelmstone; in which there was such a concurrence of good nature, charity, and generosity, in persons of the meanest and lowest extraction and condition, who did not know the value of the precious jewel that was in their custody, yet all knew him to be escaped from such an action as would make the discovery and delivery of him to those who governed over and amongst them, of great benefit, and present advantage to them; and in those who did know him, of such courage, loyalty, and activity, that all may reasonably look upon the whole, as the inspiration and conduct of God Almighty, as a manifestation of his power and glory, and for the conviction of that whole nation, which had sinned so grievously; and if it hath not wrought that effect in them, it hath rendered them the more inexcusable.

As the greatest brunt of the danger was diverted by these poor people, in his night-marches on foot, with so much pain and torment, that he often thought that he paid too dear a price for his life, before he fell into the hands of persons of better quality, and places of more convenience, so he owed very much to the diligence and fidelity of some ecclesiastical persons of the Romish persuasion; especially to those of the order of St. Benedict; which was the reason that he expressed more favours, after his restoration, to that order than to any other, and granted them some extraordinary privileges about the service of the queen, not concealing the reason why he did so; which ought to have satisfied all men, that his majesty's indulgence towards all of that profession, by restraining the severity and rigour of the laws which had been formerly made against them, had its rise from a fountain of princely justice and gratitude, and of royal bounty and clemency.

Whilst the counsels and enterprises in Scotland and England had this woful issue, Ireland had no

better success in its undertakings. Cromwell had made so great a progress in his conquests, before he left that kingdom that he might visit Scotland, that he was become, upon the matter, entirely possessed of the two most valuable and best inhabited provinces, Lemster and Munster; and plainly discerned, that what remained to be done, if dexterously conducted, would be with most ease brought to pass by the folly and perfidiousness of the Irish themselves; who would save their enemies a labour, in contributing to and hastening their own destruction. He had made the bridge fair, easy, and safe for them to pass over into foreign countries, by levies and transportations; which liberty they embraced, as hath been said before, with all imaginable greediness: and he had entertained agents, and spies, as well friars as others amongst the Irish, who did not only give him timely advertisements of what was concluded to be done, but had interest and power enough to interrupt and disturb the consultations, and to obstruct the execution thereof: and having put all things in this hopeful method of proceeding, in which there was like to be more use of the halter than the sword, he committed the managing of the rest, and the government of the kingdom, to his son-in-law Ireton; whom he made deputy under him of Ireland: a man, who knew the bottom of all his counsels and purposes, and was of the same, or a greater pride and fierceness in his nature, and most inclined to pursue those rules, in the forming whereof he had had the chief influence. And he, without fighting a battle, though he lived not many months after, reduced most of the rest that Cromwell left unfinished.

The marquis of Ormond knew and understood well the desperate condition and state he was in, when he had no other strength and power to depend upon, than that of the Irish, for the support of the king's authority; yet there were many of the nobility and principal gentry of the Irish, in whose loyalty towards the king, and affection and friendship towards his own person, he had justly all confidence; and there were amongst the [Romish] clergy some moderate men, who did detest the savage ignorance of the rest: so that he entertained still some hope, that the wiser would by degrees convert the weaker, and that they would all understand how inseparable their own preservation and interest was from the support of the king's dignity and authority, and that the wonderful judgments of God, which were every day executed by Ireton upon the principal and most obstinate contrivers of their odious rebellion, and who perversely and peevishly opposed their return to their obedience to the king, as often as they fell into his power, would awaken them out of their sottish lethargy, and unite them in the defence of their nation. For there was scarce a man, whose bloody and brutish behaviour in the beginning of the rebellion, or whose barbarous violation of the peace that had been consented to, had exempted them from the king's mercy, and left them only subjects of his justice, as soon as they could be apprehended, who was not taken by Ireton, and hanged with all the circumstances of severity that was due to their wickedness; of which innumerable examples might be given.

There yet remained free from Cromwell's yoke, the two large provinces of Connaught and of Ulster, and the two strong cities of Limerick and

of Galloway, both garrisoned with Irish, and excellently supplied with all things necessary for their defence, and many other good port towns, and other strong places; all which pretended and professed to be for the king, and to yield obedience to the marquis of Ormond, his majesty's lieutenant. And there were still many good regiments of horse and foot together under Preston, who seemed to be ready to perform any service the marquis should require: so that he did reasonably hope, that by complying with some of their humours, by sacrificing somewhat of his honour, and much of his authority, to their jealousy and peevishness, he should be able to draw such a strength together, as would give a stop to Ireton's career. O'Neile at this time, after he had been so baffled and affronted by the parliament, and after he had seen his bosom friend, and sole counsellor, the bishop of Clogher, (who had managed the treaty with Monk, and was taken prisoner upon the defeat of a party of horse,) carried before Ireton, and by his order hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor, sent "to offer his service to the marquis of Ormond with the army under his command, upon such conditions as the marquis thought fit to send to him;" and it was reasonably believed that he did intend very sincerely, and would have done very good service; for he was the best soldier of the nation, and had the most command over his men, and was best obeyed by them. But, as he was upon his march towards a conjunction with the lord lieutenant, he fell sick; and, in a few days, died: so that that treaty produced no effect; for though many of his army prosecuted his resolution, and joined with the marquis of Ormond, yet their officers had little power over their soldiers; who, being all of the old Irish Septs of Ulster, were entirely governed by the friars, and were shortly after prevailed upon, either to transport themselves, or to retire to their bogs, and prey for themselves upon all they met, without distinction of persons or interest.

The marquis's orders for drawing the troops together to any rendezvous were totally neglected and disobeyed; and the commissioners' orders for the collection of money, and contribution in such proportions as had been settled and agreed unto, were as much contemned: so that such regiments, as with great difficulty were brought together, were as soon dissolved for want of pay, order, and accommodation; or else dispersed by the power of the friars; as in the city of Limerick, when the marquis was there, and had appointed several companies to be drawn into the market-place, to be employed upon a present expedition, an officer of good affections, and thought to have much credit with his soldiers, brought with him two hundred very likely soldiers well armed, and disciplined, and having received his orders from the marquis, who was upon the place, begun to march; when a Franciscan friar in his habit, and with a crucifix in his hand, came to the head of the company, and commanded them all, "upon pain of damnation, that they should not march:" upon which they all threw down their arms, and did as the friar directed them; who put the whole city into a mutiny: insomuch as the lord lieutenant was compelled to go out of it, and not without some difficulty escaped; though most of the magistrates of the city did all that was in their power to suppress the disorder, and to reduce the people



to obedience; and some of them were killed, and many wounded in the attempt. As an instance of those judgments from heaven which we lately mentioned in general, Patrick Fanning, who with the friar had the principal part in that sedition, the very next night after Ireton was without a blow possessed of that strong city, was apprehended, and the next day hanged, drawn, and quartered. Such of the commissioners who adhered firmly to the lord lieutenant, in using all their power to advance the king's service, and to reduce their miserable countrymen from effecting and contriving their own destruction, were without any credit, and all their warrants and summons neglected; when the others, who declined the service, and desired to obstruct it, had all respect and submission paid to them.

They who appeared, after the first misfortune before Dublin, to corrupt, and mislead, and dishearten the people, were the friars, and some of their inferior clergy. But now the titular bishops, who had been all made at Rome since the beginning of the rebellion, appeared more active than the other. They called an assembly of the bishops, (every one of which had signed the articles of the peace,) and chosen clergy as a representative of their church to meet with all formality at [James Town]; where, under the pretence of providing for the security of religion, they examined the whole proceedings of the war, and how the monies which had been collected had been issued out. They called the giving up the towns in Munster by the lord Inchiquin's officers, "the conspiracy and treachery of all the English, out of their malice to catholic religion;" and thereupon pressed the lord lieutenant to dismiss all the English gentlemen who yet remained with him. They called every unprosperous accident that had fallen out, "a foul miscarriage;" and published a declaration full of libellous invectives against the English, without sparing the person of the lord lieutenant; who, they said, "being of a contrary religion, and a known inveterate enemy to the catholic, was not fit to be intrusted with the conduct of a war that was raised for the support and preservation of it;" and shortly after sent an address to the lord lieutenant himself, in which they told him, "that the people were so far unsatisfied with his conduct, especially for his aversion from the catholic religion, and his favouring heretics, that they were unanimously resolved, as one man, not to submit any longer to his command, nor to raise any more money, or men, to be applied to the king's service under his authority." But, on the other side, they assured him, "that their duty and zeal was so entire and real for the king, and their resolution so absolute never to withdraw themselves from his obedience, that, if he would depart the kingdom, and commit the command thereof into the hands of any person of honour of the catholic religion, he would thereby unite the whole nation to the king; and they would immediately raise an army that should drive Ireton quickly again into Dublin;" and, that the lord lieutenant might know that they would not depart from this determination, they published soon after an excommunication against all persons who should obey any of the lieutenant's orders, or raise money or men by virtue of his authority.

During all these agitations, many of the Roman catholic nobility, and other persons of the best

quality, remained very faithful to the lord lieutenant; and cordially interposed with the bishops to prevent their violent proceedings; but had not power either to persuade or restrain them. The lord lieutenant had no reason to be delighted with his empty title to command a people who would not obey, and knew the daily danger he was in, of being betrayed, and delivered into the hands of Ireton, or being assassinated in his own quarters. And though he did not believe that the Irish would behave themselves with more fidelity and courage for the king's interest, when he should be gone; well knowing that their bishops and clergy designed nothing but to put themselves under the government of some popish prince, and had at that time sent agents into foreign parts for that purpose; yet he knew likewise that there were in truth men enough, and arms, and all provisions for the carrying on the war, who, if they were united, and heartily resolved to preserve themselves, would be much superior in number to any power Ireton could bring against them. He knew likewise, that he could safely deposit the king's authority in the hands of a person of unquestionable fidelity, whom the king would, without any scruple, trust, and whom the Irish could not except against, being of their own nation, of the greatest fortune and interest amongst them, and of the most eminent constancy to the Roman catholic religion of any man in the three kingdoms; and that was the marquis of Clanrickard. And therefore, since it was to no purpose to stay longer there himself, and it was in his power safely to make the experiment, whether the Irish would in truth perform what was in their power to perform, and which they so solemnly promised to do, he thought he should be inexcusable to the king, if he should not consent to that expedient. The great difficulty was to persuade the marquis of Clanrickard to accept the trust, who was a man, though of an unquestionable courage, yet, of an infirm health; and loved and enjoyed great ease throughout his whole life; and of a constitution not equal to the fatigue and distresses, that the conducting such a war must subject him to. He knew well, and monstrously detested, the levity, inconstancy, and infidelity of his countrymen: nor did he in any degree like the presumption of the popish bishops and clergy, and the exorbitant power which they had assumed, and usurped to themselves; and therefore he had no mind to engage himself in such a command. But by the extraordinary importunity of the marquis of Ormond, with whom he had preserved a fast and unshaken friendship, and his pressing him to preserve Ireland to the king, without which it would throw itself into the arms of a foreigner; and then the same importunity from all the Irish nobility, bishops, and clergy, (after the lord lieutenant had informed them of his purpose,) "that he would preserve his nation, which, without his acceptance of their protection, would infallibly be extirpated" and their joint promise, "that they would absolutely submit to all his commands, and hold no assembly or meeting amongst themselves, without his permission and commission," together with his unquestionable desire to do any thing, how contrary soever to his own inclination and benefit, that would be acceptable to the king, and might possibly bring some advantage to his majesty's service, he was in the end prevailed



upon to receive a commission from the lord lieutenant to be deputy of Ireland, and undertook that charge.

How well they complied afterwards with their promises and protestations, and how much better subjects they proved to be under their catholic governor, than they had been under their protestant, will be related at large hereafter. In the mean time the marquis of Ormond would not receive a pass from Ireton, who would willingly have granted it, as he did to all the English officers that desired it; but embarked himself, with some few gentlemen besides his own servants, in a small frigate, and arrived safely in Normandy; and so went to Caen; where his wife and family had remained from the time of his departure thence. This was shortly after the king's defeat at Worcester, and, as soon as his majesty arrived at Paris, he forthwith attended him, and was most welcome to him.

Scotland being thus subdued, and Ireland reduced to that obedience as the parliament could wish, nothing could be expected to be done in England for the king's advantage. From the time that Cromwell was chosen general in the place of Fairfax, he took all occasions to discountenance the presbyterians, and to put them out of all trust and employment, as well in the country as in the army; and, whilst he was in Scotland, he had intercepted some letters from one Love, a presbyterian minister in London, (a fellow who hath been mentioned before, in the time the treaty was at Uxbridge, for preaching against peace,) to a leading preacher in Scotland; and sent such an information against him, with so many successive instances that justice might be exemplarily done upon him, that, in spite of all the opposition which the presbyterians could make, who appeared publicly with their utmost power, the man was condemned and executed upon Tower-hill. And, to shew their impartiality, at the same time and place they executed Brown Bushel, who had formerly served the parliament in the beginning of the rebellion, and shortly after served the king to the end of the war, and had lived some years in England after the war expired, untaken notice of, but, upon this occasion, and to accompany this preacher, was enviously discovered, and put to death.

It is a wonderful thing what operation this presbyterian spirit had upon the minds of those who were possessed by it. This poor man Love, who had been guilty of as much treason against the king, from the beginning of the rebellion, as the pulpit could contain, was so much without remorse for any wickedness of that kind that he had committed, that he was jealous of nothing so much, as of being suspected to repent, or that he was brought to suffer for his affection to the king. And therefore, when he was upon the scaffold, where he appeared with a marvellous undauntedness, he seemed so much delighted with the memory of all that he had done against the late king, and against the bishops, that he was even then transported to speak with animosity and bitterness against both, and expressed great satisfaction in mind for what he had done against them, and was as much transported with the inward joy of mind, that he felt in being brought thither to die as a martyr, and to give testimony for the covenant; "whatsoever he had done being in the pursuit of "the ends," he said, "of that sanctified obla-

tion, to which he was in and by his conscience "engaged." And in this raving fit, without so much as praying for the king, otherwise than that he might propagate the covenant, he laid his head upon the block with as much courage as the bravest and honestest man could do in the most pious occasion.

When Cromwell returned to London, he caused several high courts of justice to be erected, by which many gentlemen of quality were condemned, and executed in many parts of the kingdom, as well as in London, who had been taken prisoners at Worcester, or discovered to have been there. And, that the terror might be universal, some were put to death for loose discourses in taverns, what they would do towards restoring the king, and others for having blank commissions found in their hands signed by the king, though they had never attempted to do any thing thereupon, nor, for ought appeared, intended to do. And under these desolate apprehensions all the royal and loyal party lay grovelling, and prostrate, after the defeat of Worcester.

There was at this time with the king the marquis of Ormond; who came thither before the chancellor of the exchequer. Though his majesty was now in unquestionable safety, the straits and necessities he was in were as unquestionable; which exposed him to all the troubles and uneasiness that the masters of very indigent families are subjected to; and the more, because all men considered only his quality, and not his fortune: so that men had the same emulations and ambitions, as if the king had all to give which was taken from him, and thought it a good argument for them to ask, because he had nothing to give; and asked very improper reversions, because he could not grant the possession; and were solicitous for honours, which he had power to grant, because he had no fortunes which he could give them.

There had been a great acquaintance between the marquis of Ormond, when he was lord Thurles, in the life of his grandfather, and the chancellor of the exchequer, which was renewed, by a mutual correspondence, when they both came to have shares in the public business, the one in Ireland, and the other in England: so that when they now met at Paris, they met as old friends, and quickly understood each other so well, that there could not be a more entire confidence between men. The marquis consulted with him in his nearest concerns, and the chancellor esteemed and cultivated the friendship with all possible industry and application. The king was abundantly satisfied in the friendship they had for each other, and trusted them both entirely; nor was it in the power of any, though it was often endeavoured by persons of no ordinary account, to break or interrupt that mutual confidence between them, during the whole time the king remained beyond the seas; whereby the king's perplexed affairs were carried on with the less trouble. And the chancellor did always acknowledge, that the benefit of this friendship was so great to him, that, without it, he could not have borne the weight of that part of the king's business which was incumbent on him, nor the envy and reproach that attended the trust.

Besides the wants and necessities which the king was pressed with in respect of himself, who had nothing, but was obliged to provide himself by credit in clothes, and all other necessities for

his person, and of his family, which he saw reduced to all extremities; he was much disquieted by the necessities in his brother the duke of York's family, (which the queen did not provide for in the least degree,) and by the disorder and faction in it. The queen complained heavily of sir George Ratcliff, and the attorney; and more of the first, because that he pretended to some right of being of the duke's family by a grant of the late king; which his present majesty determined against him; and reprehended his activity in the last summer. Sir John Berkley had most of the queen's favour; and, though he had at that time no interest in the duke's affection, he found a way to ingratiate himself with his royal highness, by insinuating into him two particulars, in both which he foresaw advantage to himself. Though no man acted the governor's part more imperiously than he had done whilst the lord Byron was absent, finding that he himself was liable in some degree to be governed upon that lord's return, he had used all the ways he could, that the duke might be exempted from any subjection to a governor, presuming, that, when that title should be extinguished, he should be possessed of some such office and relation, as should not be under the control of any but the duke himself. But he had not yet been able to bring that to pass; which was the reason that he stayed at Paris when his highness visited Flanders and Holland. Now he took advantage of the activity of the duke's spirit, and infused into him, "that it would be for his honour to put himself into action, and not to be learning his exercises in Paris whilst the army was in the field:" a proposition first intimated by the cardinal, "that the duke was now of years to learn his *métier*, and had now the opportunity to improve himself, by being in the care of a general reputed equal to any captain in Christendom, with whom he might learn that experience, and make those observations, as might enable him to serve the king his brother, who must hope to recover his right only by the sword." This the cardinal had said both to the queen and to the lord Jermyn, whilst the king was in Scotland, when no man had the hardiness to advise it in that conjuncture. But, after the king's return from England, there wanted nothing but the approbation of his majesty; and no man more desired it than the lord Byron, who had had good command, and preferred that kind of life before that which he was obliged to live in at Paris. There was no need of spurs to be employed to incite the duke; who was most impatient to be in the army. And therefore sir John Berkley could not any other way make himself so grateful to him, as by appearing to be of that mind, and by telling the duke, "that whosoever opposed it, and dissuaded the king from giving his consent, was an enemy to his highness's glory, and desired that he should live always in pupillage;" not omitting to put him in mind, "that his very entrance into the army set him at liberty, and put him into his own disposal; since no man went into the field under the direction of a governor;" still endeavouring to improve his prejudice against those who should either dissuade him from pursuing that resolution, or endeavour to persuade the king not to approve it; "which," he told him, "could proceed from nothing but want of affection to his person." By this means he

hoped to raise a notable dislike in him of the chancellor of the exchequer, who, he believed, did not like the design, because he having spoken to him of it, the other had not enlarged upon it as an argument that pleased him.

The duke pressed it with earnestness and passion, in which he dissembled not; and found the queen, as well as the king, very reserved in the point; which proceeded from their tenderness towards him, and lest they might be thought to be less tender of his safety than they ought to be. His highness then conferred with those, who, he thought, were most like to be consulted with by the king, amongst whom he knew the chancellor was one; and finding him to speak with less warmth than the rest, as if he thought it a matter worthy of great deliberation, his highness was confirmed in the jealousy which sir John Berkley had kindled in him, that he was the principal person who obstructed the king's condescension. There was at that time no man with the king who had been a counsellor to his father, or sworn to himself, but the chancellor of the exchequer. The marquis of Ormond, though he had administered the affairs in Ireland, was never sworn a counsellor in England; yet his majesty looked upon him in all respects most fit to advise him; and thought it necessary to form such a body, as should be esteemed by all men as his privy council, without whose advice he would take no resolutions. The king knew the queen would not be well pleased, if the lord Jermyn were not one; who in all other respects was necessary to that trust, in respect all addresses to the court of France were to be made by him: and the lord Wilmot, who had cultivated the king's affection during the time of their peregrination, and drawn many promises from him, and was full of projects for his service, could not be left out. The king therefore called the marquis of Ormond, the lord Jermyn, and the lord Wilmot, to the council board; and declared, "that they three, together with the chancellor of the exchequer, should be consulted with in all his affairs." The queen very earnestly pressed the king, "that sir John Berkley might likewise be made a counsellor;" which his majesty would not consent to; and thought he could not refuse the same honour to the lord Wentworth, the lord Byron, or any other person of honour who should wait upon him, if he granted it to sir John Berkley, who had no manner of pretence.

Berkley took this refusal very heavily, and thought his great parts, and the services he had performed, which were known to very few, might well enough distinguish him from other men. But, because he would not be thought without some just pretence which others had not, he very confidently insisted upon a right he had, by a promise of the late king, to be master of the wards; and that officer had usually been of the privy council. The evidence he had of that promise was an intercepted letter from the late king to the queen, which the parliament had caused to be printed. In that letter the king answered a letter he had received from her majesty, in which she put him in mind, "that he had promised her to make Jack Berkley" (which was the style in the letter) "master of the wards;" which, the king said, "he wondered at, since he could not remember that she had ever spoken to him to that purpose;" implying likewise "that he was not

"fit for it." He pressed the chancellor of the exchequer "to urge this matter of right to the king," (and said, "the queen would declare the king had promised it to her,) and to prevail with his majesty to make him presently master of the wards; which would give him such a title to the board, that others could not take his being called thither as a prejudice to them."

The chancellor had at that time much kindness for him, and did really desire to oblige him, but he durst not urge that for a reason to the king, which could be none, and what he knew, as well as a negative could be known, had no foundation of truth. For besides that he very well knew the late king had not so good an opinion of sir John Berkley, as he himself did at that time heartily wish, and endeavour to infuse into him, the king had, after that promise was pretended to be made, granted that office at Oxford to the lord Cottington; who executed it as long as offices were executed under the grant of the crown, and was possessed of the title to his death. The chancellor did therefore very earnestly endeavour to dissuade him from making that pretence and demand to the king; and told him, "the king could not at this time do a more ungracious thing, and that would lose him more the hearts and affections of the nobility and gentry of England, than in making a master of the wards, in a time when it would not be the least advantage to his majesty or the officer, to declare that he resolved to insist upon that part of his prerogative which his father had consented to part with; the resuming whereof in the full rigour, which he might lawfully do, would ruin most of the estates of England, as well of his friends as enemies, in regard of the vast arrears incurred in so many years; and therefore whatever his majesty might think to resolve hereafter, when it should please God to restore him, for the present there must be no thought of such an officer."

Sir John Berkley was not satisfied at all with the reason that was alleged; and very unsatisfied with the unkindness (as he called it) of the refusal to interpose in it; and said, "since his friends would not, he would himself require justice of the king;" and immediately, hearing that the king was in the next room, went to him; and in the warmth he had contracted by the chancellor's contradiction, pressed his majesty "to make good the promise his father had made;" and magnified the services he had done; which he did really believe to have been very great, and, by the custom of making frequent relations of his own actions, grew in very good earnest to think he had done many things which nobody else ever heard of. The king, who knew him very well, and believed little of his history, and less of his father's promise, was willing rather to reclaim him from his importunity, than to give him a positive denial, (which in his nature his majesty affected not,) lest it might indispose his mother or his brother: and so, to every part of his request concerning the being of the council, and concerning the office, gave him such reasons against the gratifying him for the present, that he could not but plainly discern that his majesty was very averse from it. But that consideration prevailed not with him; he used so great importunity, notwithstanding all the reasons which had been alleged, that at the last the king prevailed with himself, which he

used not to do in such cases, to give him a positive denial, and reprehension, at once; and so left him.

All this he imputed to the chancellor of the exchequer; and though he knew well he had not, nor could have spoken with the king from the time they had spoken together, before himself had that audience from his majesty, he declared, "that he knew all that indisposition had been infused by him; because many of the reasons, which his majesty had given against his doing what he desired, were the very same that the chancellor had urged to him;" though they could not but have occurred to any reasonable man, who had been called to consult upon that subject. This passion prevailed so far upon him, that, notwithstanding the advice of some of his best friends to the contrary, he took an opportunity to walk into the long gallery of the Louvre with the chancellor shortly after: and in, a very calm, though a very confused discourse, told him, "that, since he was resolved to break all friendship with him, which had continued now near twenty years, he thought it but just to give him notice of it, that from henceforward he might not expect any friendship from him, but that they might live towards each other with that civility only that strangers use to do." The chancellor told him, "that the same justice that disposed him to give this notice, should likewise oblige him to declare the reason of this resolution;" and asked him, "whether he had ever broken his word to him? or promised to do what he had not done?" He answered, "his exception was, that he could not be brought to make any promise; and that their judgments were so different, that he would no more depend upon him;" and so they parted, without ever after having conversation with each other whilst they remained in France.

The spring was now advanced, and the duke of York continued his importunity with the king, "that he might have his leave to repair to the army." And thereupon his majesty called his council together, the queen his mother and his brother being likewise present. There his majesty declared "what his brother had long desired of him; to which he had hitherto given no other answer, than that he would think of it; and before he could give any other, he thought it necessary to receive their advice;" nor did his majesty in the least discover what he himself was inclined to. The duke then repeated what he had desired of the king; and said, "he thought he asked nothing but what became him; if he did not, he hoped the king would not deny it to him, and that nobody would advise he should." The queen spoke not a word; and the king required the lords to deliver their opinion; who all sat silent, expecting who would begin; there being no fixed rule of the board, but sometimes, according to the nature of the business, he who was first in place begun, at other times he who was last in quality; and when it required some debate before any opinion should be delivered, any man was at liberty to offer what he would. But after a long silence, the king commanded the chancellor of the exchequer to speak first. He said, "it could not be expected, that he would deliver his opinion in a matter that was so much too hard for him, till he heard what others thought; at least, till the question was otherwise stated than it yet seemed to him to be."

He said, "he thought the council would not be willing to take it upon them to advise that the duke of York, the next heir to the crown, should go a volunteer into the French army, and that the exposing himself to so much danger, should be the effect of their counsel who ought to have all possible tenderness for the safety of every branch of the royal family; but if the duke of York, out of his own princely courage, and to attain experience in the art of war, of which there was like to be so great use, had taken a resolution to visit the army, and to spend that campaign in it, and that the question only was, whether the king should restrain him from that expedition, he was ready to declare his opinion, that his majesty should not; there being great difference between the king's advising him to go, which implies an approbation, and barely suffering him to do what his own genius inclined him to." The king and queen liked the stating of the question, as suiting best with the tenderness they ought to have; and the duke was as well pleased with it, since it left him at the liberty he desired; and the lords thought it safest for them: and so all were pleased; and much of the prejudice which the duke had entertained towards the chancellor was abated: and his royal highness, with the good liking of the French court, went to the army; where he was received by the marshal of Turenne, with all possible demonstration of respect; where, in a short time, he got the reputation of a prince of very signal courage, and to be universally beloved of the whole army by his affable behaviour.

The insupportable necessities of the king were now grown so notorious, that the French court was compelled to take notice of them; and thereupon, with some dry compliments for the smallness of the assignation in respect of the ill condition of their affairs, which indeed were not in any good posture, they settled an assignation of six thousand livres by the month upon the king, payable out of such a gabel; which, beginning six months after the king came thither, found too great a debt contracted to be easily satisfied out of such a monthly receipt, though it had been punctually complied with; which it never was. The queen, at his majesty's first arrival, had declared, "that she was not able to bear the charge of the king's diet, but that he must pay one half of the expense of her table, where both their majesties eat, with the duke of York, and the princess Henrietta," (which two were at the queen's charge till the king came thither, but from that time, the duke of York was upon the king's account,) and the very first night's supper which the king eat with the queen, begun the account; and a moiety thereof was charged to the king: so that the first money that was received for the king upon his grant, was entirely stopped by sir Harry Wood, the queen's treasurer, for the discharge of his majesty's part of the queen's table, (which expense was first satisfied, as often as money could be procured,) and the rest for the payment of other debts contracted, at his first coming, for clothes and other necessities, there being great care taken that nothing should be left to be distributed amongst his servants; the marquis of Ormond himself being compelled to put himself in pension, with the chancellor and some other gentlemen, with a poor English woman, the wife of one of the king's

servants, at a pistole a week for his diet, and to walk the streets on foot, which was no honourable custom in Paris; whilst the lord Jermyn kept an excellent table for those who courted him, and had a coach of his own, and all other accommodations incident to the most full fortune; and if the king had the most urgent occasion for the use but of twenty pistoles, as sometimes he had, he could not find credit to borrow it; which he often had experiment of. Yet if there had not been as much care to take that from him which was his own, as to hinder him from receiving the supply assigned by the king of France, his necessities would not have been so extraordinary. For when the king went to Jersey in order to his journey into Ireland, and at the same time that he sent the chancellor of the exchequer into Spain, he sent likewise the lord Colepepper into Moscow, to borrow money of that duke; and into Poland he sent Mr. Crofts upon the same errand. The former returned whilst the king was in Scotland; and the latter about the time that his majesty made his escape from Worcester. And both of them succeeded so well in their journey, that he who received least for his majesty's service had above ten thousand pounds over and above the expense of their journeys.

But, as if the king had been out of all possible danger to want money, the lord Jermyn had sent an express into Scotland, as soon as he knew what success the lord Colepepper had at Moscow, and found there were no less hopes from Mr. Crofts, and procured from the king (who could with more ease grant, than deny) warrants under his hand to both those ambassadors, to pay the monies they had received to several persons; whereof a considerable sum was made a present to the queen, more to the lord Jermyn, upon pretence of debts due to him, which were not diminished by that receipt, and all disposed of according to the modesty of the askers; whereof Dr. Goffe had eight hundred pounds for services he had performed, and, within few days after the receipt of it, changed his religion, and became one of the fathers of the oratory: so that, when the king returned in all that distress to Paris, he never received five hundred pistoles from the proceed of both those embassies; nor did any of those who were supplied by his bounty seem sensible of the obligation, or the more disposed to do him any service upon their own expense; of which the king was sensible enough, but resolved to bear that and more, rather than, by entering into any expostulation with those who were faulty, to give any trouble to the queen.

The lord Jermyn, who, in his own judgment, was very indifferent in all matters relating to religion, was always of some faction that regarded it. He had been much addicted to the presbyterians from the time that there had been any treaties with the Scots, in which he had too much privacy. And now, upon the king's return into France, he had a great design to persuade his majesty to go to the congregation at Charenton, to the end that he might keep up his interest in the presbyterian party; which he had no reason to believe would ever be able to do the king service, or willing, if they were able, without such odious conditions as they had hitherto insisted upon in all their overtures. The queen did not, in the least degree, oppose this, but rather seemed to countenance it, as the best expedient that might incline him, by

degrees, to prefer the religion of the church of Rome. For though the queen had never, to this time, by herself, or by others with her advice, used the least means to persuade the king to change his religion, as well out of observation of the injunction laid upon her by the deceased king, as out of the conformity of her own judgment, which could not but persuade her that the change of his religion would infallibly make all his hopes of recovering England desperate; yet it is as true, that, from the king's return from Worcester, she did really despair of his being restored by the affections of his own subjects; and believed that it could never be brought to pass without a conjunction of catholic princes on his behalf, and by an united force to restore him; and that such a conjunction would never be entered into, except the king himself became Roman catholic. Therefore from this time she was very well content that any attempts should be made upon him to that purpose; and, in that regard, wished that he would go to Charenton; which she well knew was not the religion he affected, but would be a little discountenance to the church in which he had been bred; and from which as soon as he could be persuaded in any degree to swerve, he would be more exposed to any other temptation. The king had not positively refused to gratify the ministers of that congregation; who, with great professions of duty, had besought him to do them that honour, before the chancellor of the exchequer came to him; in which it was believed, that they were the more like to prevail by the death of Dr. Steward; for whose judgment in matters of religion the king had reverence, by the earnest recommendation of his father: and he died after the king's return within fourteen days, with some trouble upon the importunity and artifice he saw used to prevail with the king to go to Charenton, though he saw no disposition in his majesty to yield to it.

The lord Jermyn still pressed it, "as a thing that ought in policy and discretion to be done, to reconcile that people, which was a great body in France, to the king's service, which would draw to him all the foreign churches, and thereby he might receive considerable assistance." He wondered, he said, "why it should be opposed by any man; since he did not wish that his majesty would discontinue his own devotions, according to the course he had always observed; nor propose that he should often repair thither, but only sometimes, at least once, to shew that he did look upon them as of the same religion with him; which the church of England had always acknowledged; and that it had been an instruction to the English ambassadors, that they should keep a good correspondence with those of the religion, and frequently resort to divine service at Charenton; where they had always a pew kept for them."

The chancellor of the exchequer dissuaded his majesty from going thither with equal passion; told him, "that, whatever countenance or favour the crown or church of England had heretofore shewed to those congregations, it was in a time when they carried themselves with modesty and duty towards both, and when they professed great duty to the king, and much reverence to that church; lamenting themselves, that it was not in their power, by the opposition of the state, to make their reformation so perfect as it was in

England. And by this kind of behaviour they had indeed received the protection and countenance from England as if they were of the same religion, though, it may be, the original of that countenance and protection proceeded from another less warrantable foundation; which he was sure would never find credit from his majesty. But, whatever it was, that people now had undeserved it from the king; for, as soon as the troubles begun, the Hugonots of France had generally expressed great malice to the late king, and very many of their preachers and ministers had publicly and industriously justified the rebellion, and prayed for the good success of it; and their synod itself had in such a manner inveighed against the church of England, that they, upon the matter, professed themselves to be of another religion; and inveighed against episcopacy, as if it were inconsistent with the protestant religion. That their great professor at their university of Saumur, monsieur Amiran, who was looked upon as a man of the most moderate spirit amongst their ministers, had published an apology for the general inclination of that party to the proceedings of the parliament of England, lest it might give some jealousy to their own king of their inclination to rebellion, and of their opinion that it was lawful for subjects to take up arms against their prince; which, he said, could not be done in France without manifest rebellion, and incurring the displeasure of God for the manifest breach of his commandments; because the king of France is an absolute king, independent upon any other authority. But that the constitution of the kingdom of England was of another nature; because the king there is subordinate to the parliament, which hath authority to raise arms for the reformation of religion, or for the executing the public justice of the kingdom against all those who violate the laws of the nation, so that the war might be just there, which in no case could be warrantable in France."

The chancellor told the king, "that, after such an indignity offered to him, and to his crown, and since they had now made such a distinction between the episcopal and the presbyterian government, that they thought the professors were not of the same religion, his going to Charenton could not be without this effect, that it would be concluded every where, that his majesty had renounced the church of England, and betaken himself to that of Charenton, at least that he thought the one and the other to be indifferent; which would be one of the most deadly wounds to the church of England that it had yet ever suffered." These reasons prevailed so far with the king's own natural aversion from what had been proposed, that he declared positively, "he would never go to Charenton;" which determination eased him from any farther application of that people. The reproach of this resolution was wholly charged upon the chancellor of the exchequer, as the implacable enemy of all presbyterians, and as the only man who diverted the king from having a good opinion of them: whereas in truth, the daily information he received from the king himself of their barbarous behaviour in Scotland towards him, and of their insupportable pride and pedantry in their manners, did confirm him in the judgment he had always made of their religion; and he was

the more grievous to those of that profession, because they could not, as they used to do to all those who opposed and crossed them in that manner, accuse him of being popishly affected, and governed by the papists; to whom they knew he was equally odious; and the queen's knowing him to be most disaffected to her religion, made her willing to appear most displeased for his hindering the king from going to Charenton.

There was another accident, which fell out at this time, and which the chancellor of the exchequer foresaw would exceedingly increase the queen's prejudice to him; which he did very heartily desire to avoid, and to recover her majesty's favour by all the ways he could pursue with his duty; and did never, in the least degree, dispose his majesty to deny any thing to her which she owned the desire of. Lieutenant general Middleton, who had been taken prisoner after Worcester fight, after he was recovered of his wounds was sent prisoner to the Tower of London; where were likewise many noble persons of that nation, as the earl of Crawford, the earl of Lauderdale, and many others. But as they of the parliament had a greater reverence for Middleton than for any other of that nation, knowing him to be a man of great honour and courage, and much the best officer the Scots had, so they had a hatred of him proportionable; and they thought they had him at their mercy, and might proceed against him more warrantably for his life, than against their other prisoners; because he had heretofore, in the beginning of the war, served them; and though he had quitted their service at the same time when they cashiered the earl of Essex, and made their new model, and was at liberty to do what he thought best for himself, yet they resolved to free themselves from any farther apprehensions and fear of him: to that purpose they erected a new high court of justice, for the trial of some persons who had been troublesome to them, and especially Middleton and Massey.

This last, after he had escaped from Worcester, and travelled two or three days, found himself so tormented and weakened by his wounds, that being near the seat of the earl of Stamford, whose lieutenant colonel he had been in the beginning of the war, and being well known to his lady, he chose to commit himself to her rather than to her husband; hoping, that in honour she would have found some means to preserve him. But the lady had only charity to cure his wounds, not courage to conceal his person; and such advertisements were given of him, that, as soon as he was fit to be removed, he was likewise sent to the Tower, and destined to be sacrificed by the high court of justice together with Middleton, for the future security of the commonwealth.

But now the presbyterian interest shewed itself, and doubtless, in enterprises of this nature, was very powerful; having in all places persons devoted to them, who were ready to obey their orders, though they did not pretend to be of their party. And the time approaching that they were sure Middleton was to be tried, that is, to be executed, they gave him so good and particular advertisement, that he took his leave of his friends in the Tower, and made his escape; and having friends enough to shelter him in London, after he had concealed himself there a fortnight or three weeks, that the diligence of the first examination and in-

quiry was over, he was safely transported into France. And within few days after, Massey had the same good fortune, to the grief and vexation of the very soul of Cromwell; who thirsted for the blood of those two persons.

When Middleton came to the king to Paris, he brought with him a little Scottish vicar, who was known to the king, one Mr. Knox, who brought letters of credit to his majesty, and some propositions from his friends in Scotland, and other despatches from the lords in the Tower, with whom he had conferred after Middleton had escaped from thence. He brought the relation of the terror that was struck into the hearts of that whole nation by the severe proceedings of general Monk, to whose care Cromwell had committed the reduction of that kingdom, upon the taking of Dundee, where persons of all degrees and qualities were put to the sword for many hours after the town was entered, and all left to plunder; upon which all other places rendered. All men complained of the marquis of Argyle, who prosecuted the king's friends with the utmost malice, and protected and preserved the rest according to his desire. He gave the king assurance from the most considerable persons, who had retired into the Highlands, "that they would never swerve from their duty; and that they would be able, during the winter, to infest the enemy by incursions into their quarters; and that, if Middleton might be sent to them with some supply of arms, they would have an army ready against the spring, strong enough to meet with Monk." He said, "he was addressed from Scotland to the lords in the Tower, who did not then know that Middleton had arrived in safety with the king; and therefore they had commanded him, if neither Middleton nor the lord Newburgh were about his majesty, that then he should repair to the marquis of Ormond, and desire him to present him to the king; but that, having found both those lords there, he had made no farther application than to them, who had brought him to his majesty." He told the king, "that both those in Scotland, and those in the Tower, made it their humble request, or rather a condition to his majesty; that, except it were granted, they would no more think of serving his majesty: the condition was, that whatever should have relation to his service in Scotland, and to their persons who were to venture their lives in it, might not be communicated to the queen, the duke of Buckingham, the lord Jermyn, or the lord Wilmot. They professed all duty to the queen, but they knew she had too good an opinion of the marquis of Argyle; who would infallibly come to know whatever was known to either of the other."

The king did not expect that any notable service could be performed by his friends in Scotland for his advantage, or their own redemption; yet did not think it fit to seem to undervalue the professions and overtures of those who had, during his being amongst them, made all possible demonstration of affection and duty to him; and therefore resolved to grant any thing they desired; and so promised not to communicate any thing of what they proposed to the queen, or the other three lords. But since they proposed present despatches to be made of commissions and letters, he wished them to consider, whom they would be willing to trust in the performing that service. The next

day they attended his majesty again, and desired, "that all matters relating to Scotland might be consulted by his majesty with the marquis of Ormond, the lord Newburgh, and the chancellor of the exchequer; and that all the despatches might be made by the chancellor;" which the king consented to; and bid the lord Newburgh go with them to him, and let him know his majesty's pleasure. And thereupon the lord Newburgh brought Middleton to the chancellor; who had never seen his face before.

The marquis of Ormond and the chancellor of the exchequer believed that the king had nothing at this time to do but to be quiet, and that all his activity was to consist in carefully avoiding to do any thing, that might do him hurt, and to expect some blessed conjuncture from the amity of Christian princes, or some such revolution of affairs in England by their own discontents, and divisions amongst themselves, as might make it seasonable for his majesty again to shew himself. And therefore they proposed nothing to themselves but patiently to expect one of those conjunctures, and, in the mean time, so to behave themselves to the queen, that without being received into her trust and confidence, which they did not affect, they might enjoy her grace and good acceptance. But the designation of them to this Scottish intrigue, crossed all this imagination, and shook that foundation of peace and tranquillity, upon which they had raised their present hopes: besides that the chancellor was not without some natural prejudice to the ingenuity and sincerity of that nation, and therefore he went presently to the king, and besought him with earnestness, "that he would not lay that burden upon him, or engage him in any part of the counsels of that people." He put his majesty in mind of "the continued avowed jealousy and displeasure which that whole party in that nation had ever had against him; and that his majesty very well knew, that those noble persons who served him best when he was in Scotland, and in whose affection and fidelity he had all possible satisfaction, had all imaginable prejudice against him, and would be troubled when they should hear that all their secrets were committed to him." He told his majesty, "this trust would for ever deprive him of all hope of the queen's favour; who could not but discern it within three or four days, and, by the frequent resort of the Scottish Levite to him," (who had the vanity to desire long conferences with him,) "that there was some secret affair in hand which was kept from her; and she would as easily discover, that the chancellor was privy to it, by his reading papers to his majesty, and his signing them; and would from thence conclude, that he had persuaded him to exclude her majesty from that trust; which she would never forgive." Upon the whole, he renewed his importunity, "that he might be excused from this confidence."

The king heard him with patience and attention enough; and confessed, "that he had reason not to be solicitous for that employment; but he wished him to consider withal, that he must either undertake it, or that his majesty must in plain terms reject the correspondence, and by it declare that he would no further consider Scotland as his kingdom, and the people as his subjects; which, he said, he thought he would

not advise him to do. If his majesty entertained it, it could not be imagined that all those transactions could pass through his own hand, or, if they could, his being shut up so long alone would make the same discovery. Whom then should he trust? The lord Newburgh, it was very true, was a very honest man, and worthy of any trust; but he was not a counselor, and nothing could be so much wondered at, as his frequent being shut up with him; and more, his bringing any papers to him to be signed. As to the general prejudice which he conceived was against him by that nation," his majesty told him, "the nation was much altered since he had to do with them, and that no men were better loved by them now than they who had from the beginning been faithful to his father and himself." To which he added, "that Middleton had the least in him, of any infirmities most incident to that nation, that he knew: and that he would find him a man of great honour and ingenuity, with whom he would be well pleased." His majesty said, "he would frankly declare to his mother, that he had received some intelligence out of Scotland, and that he was obliged, and had given his word to those whose lives would be forfeited if known, that he would not communicate it with any but those who were chosen by themselves; and, after this, she could not be offended with his reservation:" and concluded with a gracious conjuration and command to the chancellor, "that he should cheerfully submit, and undergo that employment; which, he assured him, should never be attended with prejudice or inconvenience to him." In this manner he submitted himself to the king's disposal, and was trusted throughout that affair; which had several stages in the years following, and did produce the inconveniences he had foreseen, and rendered him so unacceptable to the queen, that she easily entertained those prejudices against him, which those she most trusted were always ready to infuse into her, and under which he was compelled to bear many hardships.

This uncomfortable condition of the king was rendered yet more desperate, by the straits and necessities into which the French court was about this time plunged: so that they who hitherto had shewed no very good will to assist the king, were now become really unable to do it. The parliament of Paris had behaved themselves so refractorily to all their king's commands, pressed so importunately for the liberty of the princes, and so impatiently for the remove of the cardinal, that the cardinal was at last compelled to persuade the queen to consent to both: and so himself rid to Havre de Grace, and delivered the queen's warrant to set them at liberty, and after a short conference with the prince of Condé, he continued his own journey towards Germany, and passed in disguise, with two or three servants, till he came near Cologne, and there he remained at a house belonging to that elector.

When the princes came to Paris, they had received great welcome from the parliament and the city; and instead of closing with the court, which it was thought they would have done, the wound was widened without any hope of reconciliation: so that the king and queen regent withdrew from thence; the town was in arms; and fire and sword denounced against the cardinal; his goods sold at



an outcry; and a price set upon his head; and all persons who professed any duty to their king, found themselves very unsafe in Paris. During all this time the queen of England and the king, with their families, remained in the Louvre, not knowing whither to go, nor well able to stay there; the assignments, which had been made for their subsistence, not being paid them: and the loose people of the town begun to talk of the duke of York's being in arms against them. But the duke of Orleans, under whose name all the disorders were committed, and the prince of Condé, visited our king and queen with many professions of civility; but those were shortly abated likewise, when the French king's army came upon one side of the town, and the Spanish, with the duke of Lorraine's, upon the other. The French army thought they had the enemy upon an advantage, and desired to have a battle with them; which the other declined; all which time, the court had an underhand treaty with the duke of Lorraine; and, upon a day appointed, the French king sent to the king of England, to desire him to confer with the duke of Lorraine; who lay then with his army within a mile of the town. There was no reason visible for that desire, nor could it be conceived, that his majesty's interposition could be of moment: yet his majesty knew not how to refuse it; but immediately went to the place assigned; where he found both armies drawn up in battalia within cannon shot of each other. Upon his majesty's coming to the duke of Lorraine, the treaty was again received, and messages sent between the duke and marshal Turenne. In fine, the night approaching, both armies drew off from their ground, and his majesty returned to the Louvre; and before the next morning, the treaty was finished between the court and the duke of Lorraine; and he marched away with his whole army towards Flanders, and left the Spaniards to support the parliament against the power of the French army; which advanced upon them with that resolution, that, though they defended themselves very bravely, and the prince of Condé did the office of a brave general in the Fauxbourg St. Marceaux, and at the port St. Antoine, in which places many gallant persons of both sides were slain, they had been all cut off, if the city had not been prevailed with to suffer them to retire into it; which they had no mind to do. And thereupon the king's army retired to their old post, four leagues off, and attended future advantages: the king having a very great party in the parliament and the city, which abhorred the receiving and entertaining the Spaniards into their bowels.

This retreat of the duke of Lorraine broke the neck of the prince of Condé's design. He knew well he should not be long able to retain the duke of Orleans from treating with the court, or keep the Parisians at his devotion; and that the duke de Beaufort, whom they had made governor of Paris, would be weary of the contention. For the present, they were all incensed against the duke of Lorraine; and were well enough contented that the people should believe, that this defection in the duke was wrought by the activity and interposition of the king of England; and they who did know that his interest could not have produced that effect, could not tell how to interpret his majesty's journey to speak with the duke in so unreasonable a conjuncture: so that, as the people

expressed, and used all the insolent reproaches against the English court at the Louvre, and loudly threatened to be revenged, so neither the duke of Orleans, nor the prince of Condé, made any visit there, or expressed the least civility towards it. In truth, our king and queen did not think themselves out of danger, nor stirred out of the Louvre for many days, until the French court thought themselves obliged to provide for their security, by advising the king and queen to remove, and assigned St. Germain's to them for their retreat. Then his majesty sent to the duke of Orleans, and prince of Condé, "that their purpose was to leave the town:" upon which there was a guard that attended them out of the town in the evening; which could not be got to be in readiness till then; and they were shortly after met by some troops of horse sent by the French king, which conducted them by torch-light to St. Germain's; where they arrived about midnight; and remained there without any disturbance, till Paris was reduced to that king's obedience.

It is a very hard thing for people who have nothing to do, to forbear doing something which they ought not to do; and the king might well hope that, since he had nothing else left to enjoy, he might have enjoyed quiet and repose; and that a court which had nothing to give, might have been free from faction and ambition; whilst every man had composed himself to bear the ill fortune he was reduced to for conscience sake, which every man pretended to be his case, with submission and content, till it should please God to buoy up the king from the lowness he was in; who in truth suffered much more than any body else. But whilst there are courts in the world, emulation and ambition will be inseparable from them; and kings who have nothing to give, shall be pressed to promise; which oftentimes proves more inconvenient and mischievous than any present gifts could be, because they always draw on more of the same title and presence; and as they who receive the favours, are not the more satisfied, so they who are not paid in the same kind, or who, out of modesty and discretion, forbear to make such suits, are grieved and offended to see the vanity and presumption of bold men so unseasonably gratified and encouraged.

The king found no benefit [of this kind] in being stripped of all his dominions, and all his power. Men were as importunate, as hath been said before, for honours, and offices, and revenues, as if they could have taken possession of them as soon as they had been granted, though but by promise: and men who would not have had the presumption to have asked the same thing, if the king had been in England, thought it very justifiable to demand it, because he was not there; since there were so many hazards that they should never live to enjoy what he promised. The vexations he underwent of this kind cannot be expressed; and whosoever succeeded not in his unreasonable desires, imputed it only to the ill nature of the chancellor of the exchequer; and concluded, that he alone obstructed it, because they always received very gracious answers from his majesty: so that though his wants were as visible and notorious as any man's, and it appeared he got nothing for himself, he paid very dear in his peace and quiet for the credit and interest he was thought to have with his master.



The lord Wilmot had, by the opportunity of his late conversation with the king in his escape, drawn many kind expressions from his majesty; and he thought he could not be too solicitous to procure such a testimony of his grace and favour, as might distinguish him from other men, and publish the esteem the king had of him. Therefore he importuned his majesty that he would make him an earl, referring the time of his creation to his majesty's own choice: and the modesty of this reference prevailed; the king well knowing, that the same honour would be desired on the behalf of another, by one whom he should be unwilling to deny. But since it was not asked for the present, he promised to do it in a time that should appear to be convenient for his service.

There were projects of another kind, which were much more troublesome; in which the projectors still considered themselves in the first place, and what their condition might prove to be by the success. The duke of York was so well pleased with the fatigue of the war, that he thought his condition very agreeable; but his servants did not like that course of life so well, at least desired so far to improve it, that they might reap some advantages to themselves out of his overplus. Sir John Berkley was now, upon the death of the lord Byron, by which the duke was deprived of a very good servant, become the superior of his family, and called himself, without any authority for it, *Intendant des affaires de son altesse royale*; had the management of all his receipts and disbursements; and all the rest depended upon him. He desired, by all ways, to get a better revenue for his master, than the small pension he received from France; and thought no expedient so proper for him, as a wife of a great and noble fortune; which he presumed he should have the managing of.

There was then a lady in the town, mademoiselle de Longueville, the daughter of the duke de Longueville by his first wife, by whom she was to inherit a very fair revenue, and had title to a very considerable sum of money, which her father was obliged to account for: so that she was looked upon as one of the greatest and richest marriages in France, in respect of her fortune; in respect of her person not at all attractive, being a lady of a very low stature, and that stature no degree straight. This lady sir John designed for the duke; and treated with those ladies who were nearest to her, and had been trusted with the education of her, before he mentioned it to his royal highness. Then he persuaded him, "that all hopes in England were desperate: that the government was so settled there, that it could never be shaken; so that his highness must think of no other fortune than what he should make by his sword: that he was now upon the stage where he must act out his life, and that he should do well to think of providing a civil fortune for himself, as well as a martial; which could only be by marriage:" and then spoke of mademoiselle de Longueville, and made her fortune at least equal to what it was; "which," he said, "when once his highness was possessed of, he might sell; and thereby raise money to pay an army to invade England, and so might become the restorer of the king his brother: this he thought very practicable, if his highness seriously and heartily would endeavour it." The duke was not so far broken with age as to have

an aversion from marriage, and the consideration of the fortune, and the circumstances which might attend it, made it not the less acceptable; yet he made no other answer to it, "than that he must first know the king's and queen's judgment of it, before he could take any resolution what to do." Upon which sir John undertook, with his highness's approbation, to propose it to their majesties himself, and accordingly first spoke with the queen, enlarging on all the benefit which probably might attend it.

It was generally believed, that the first overture and attempt had not been made without her majesty's privity and approbation; for the lord Jermyn had been no less active in the contrivance than sir John Berkley: yet her majesty refused to deliver any opinion in it, till she knew the king's: and so at last, after the young lady herself had been spoken to, his majesty was informed of it, and his approbation desired; with which he was not well pleased; and yet was unwilling to use his authority to obstruct what was looked upon as so great a benefit and advantage to his brother; though he did not dissemble his opinion of their presumption who undertook to enter upon treaties of that nature, with the same liberty as if it concerned only their own kindred and allies: however, he was very reserved in saying what he thought of it. Whilst his majesty was in deliberation, all the ways were taken to discover what the chancellor of the exchequer's judgment was; and the lord Jermyn spoke to him of it, as a matter that would not admit any doubt on the king's part, otherwise than from the difficulty of bringing it to pass, in regard the lady's friends would not without great difficulty be induced to give their consent. But the chancellor could not be drawn to make any other answer, than, "that it was a subject so much above his comprehension, and the consequences might be such, that he had not the ambition to desire to be consulted with upon it; and that less than the king's command should not induce him to enter upon the discourse of it."

It was not long before the queen sent for him; and seeming to complain of the importunity, which was used towards her in that affair, and as if it were not grateful to her, asked him, what his opinion of it was? To which he answered, "that he did not understand the convenience of it so well, as to judge whether it were like to be of benefit to the duke of York: but he thought, that neither the king, nor her majesty, should be willing that the heir apparent of the crown should be married before the king himself; or that it should be in any woman's power to say, that, if there were but one person dead, she should be a queen:" with which her majesty, who no doubt did love the king with all possible tenderness, seemed to be moved, as if it had been a consideration she had not thought of before; and said, with some warmth, "that she would never give her consent that it should be so." However, this argument was quickly made known to the duke of York, and several glosses made upon it, to the reproach of the chancellor: yet it made such an impression, that there were then as active endeavours to find a convenient wife for the king himself, and mademoiselle, the daughter of the duke of Orleans, by his first wife, who, in the right of her mother, was already possessed of the

fair inheritance of the duchy of Mompensier, was thought of. To this the queen was much inclined, and the king himself not averse; both looking too much upon the relief it might give to his present necessities, and the convenience of having a place to repose in, as long as the storm should continue. The chancellor of the exchequer had no thought, by the conclusion he had made in the other overture, to have drawn on this proposition; and the marquis of Ormond and he were no less troubled with this, than with the former; which made them be looked upon as men of contradiction.

They represented to the king, "that, as it could administer only some competency towards his present subsistence, so it might exceedingly prejudice his future hopes, and alienate the affections of his friends in England: that the lady was elder than he by some years; which was an exception amongst private persons; and had been observed not to be prosperous to kings: that his majesty must expect to be pressed to those things in point of religion which he could never consent to; and yet he should undergo the same disadvantage as if he had consented, by many men's believing he had done so." They besought him "to set his heart entirely upon the recovery of England, and to indulge to nothing that might reasonably obstruct that, either by making him less intent upon it, or by creating new difficulties in the pursuing it." His majesty assured them, "that his heart was set upon nothing else; and, if he had inclination to this marriage, it was because he believed it might much facilitate the other: that he looked not upon her fortune, which was very great, as an annual support to him, but as a stock that should be at his disposal; by sale whereof he might raise money enough to raise a good army to attempt the recovery of his kingdoms: and that he would be well assured, that it should be in his power to make that use of it, before he would be engaged in the treaty: that he had no apprehension of the pressures which would be made in matters of religion; because, if the lady did once consent to the marriage, she would affect nothing but what might advance the recovery of his dominions; which she would quickly understand any unreasonable concessions in religion could never do." In a word, his majesty discovered enough to let them see that he stood very well inclined to the overture itself; which gave them trouble, as a thing which, in many respects, was like to prove very inconvenient.

But they were quickly freed from that apprehension. The lady carried herself in that manner, on the behalf of the prince of Condé, and so offensively to the French court, having given fire herself to the cannon in the Bastille upon the king at the port St. Antoine, and done so many reproofful things against the French king and queen, that they no sooner heard of this discourse, but they quickly put an end to it; the cardinal having long resolved, that our king should never owe any part of his restitution to any countenance or assistance he should receive from France; and, from the same conclusion, the like end was put to all overtures which had concerned the duke of York and the other lady.

There was, shortly after, an unexpected accident, that seemed to make some alteration in the affairs of Christendom; which many very reasonably

believed, might have proved advantageous to the king. The parliament, as soon as they had settled their commonwealth, and had no enemy they feared, had sent ambassadors to their sister republic, the States of the United Provinces, to invite them to enter into a stricter alliance with them, and, upon the matter, to be as one commonwealth, and to have one interest. They were received in Holland with all imaginable respect, and as great expressions made, as could be, of an equal desire that a firm union might be established between the two commonwealths: and, for the forming thereof, persons were appointed to treat with the ambassadors; which was looked upon as a matter that would easily succeed, since the prince of Orange, who could have given powerful obstructions in such cases, was now dead, and all those who adhered to him discountenanced, and removed from places of trust and power in all the provinces, and his son, an infant, born after the death of his father, at the mercy of the States even for his support; the two dowagers, his mother and grandmother, having great jointures out of the estate, and the rest being liable to the payment of vast debts. In the treaty, Saint-John, who had the whole trust of the embassy, being very powerful in the parliament, and the known confidant of Cromwell, pressed such a kind of union as must disunite them from all their other allies: so that, for the friendship of England, they must lose the friendship of all other princes, and yet lose many other advantages in trade, which they enjoyed, and which they saw the younger and more powerful commonwealth would in a short time deprive them of. This the States could not digest, and used all the ways they could to divert them from insisting upon so unreasonable conditions; and made many large overtures and concessions, which had never been granted by them to the greatest kings, and were willing to quit some advantages they had enjoyed by all the treaties with the crown of England, and to yield other considerable benefits which they always before denied to grant.

But this would not satisfy, nor would the ambassadors recede from any particular they had proposed: so that, after some months' stay, during which time they received many affronts from some English, and from others, they returned with great presents from the States, but without any effect by the treaty, or entering into any terms of alliance, and with the extreme indignation of Saint-John; which he manifested as soon as he returned to the parliament; who, disdaining likewise to find themselves undervalued, (that is, not valued above all the world besides,) presently entered upon counsels how they might discountenance and control the trade of Holland, and increase their own.

Hereupon they made that ordinance, that "inhibits all foreign ships from bringing in any merchandise or commodities into England, but such as were the proceed or growth of their own country, upon the penalty of forfeiture of all such ships." This indeed concerned all other countries; but it did, upon the matter, totally suppress all trade with Holland, which had very little merchandise of the growth of their own country, but had used to bring in their ships the growth of all other kingdoms in the world; wine from France and Spain, spices from the Indies, and all commodities from all other countries;

which they must now do no more. The Dutch ambassador expostulated this matter very warmly, "as a breach of commerce and amity, which could not consist with the peace between the two nations; and that his masters could not look upon it otherwise than as a declaration of war." The parliament answered him superciliously, "that his masters might take it in what manner they pleased; but they knew what was best for their own state, and would not repeal laws to gratify their neighbours;" and caused the act to be executed with the utmost rigour and severity.

The United Provinces now discerned, that they had raised an enemy that was too powerful for them, and that would not be treated as the crown had been. However, they could not believe it possible, that in the infancy of their republic, and when their government was manifestly odious to all the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, and the people generally weary of the taxes and impositions upon the nation for the support of their land-armies, the parliament would venture to increase those taxes and impositions proportionably to maintain a new war at sea, at so vast an expense, as could not be avoided; and therefore that they only made show of this courage to amuse and terrify them. However, at the spring, they set out a fleet stronger than of course they used to do; which made no impression upon the English; who never suspected that the Dutch durst enter into a war with them. Besides that they were confident no such counsel and resolution could be taken on a sudden, and without their having first notice of it, they having several of the States General, and more of the States of Holland, very devoted to them. And therefore they increased not their expense, but sent out their usual fleet for the guard of the coast at their season, and with no other instructions than they had been accustomed to.

The council of the admiralty of Holland, which governed the maritime affairs, without communication with the States General, gave their instructions to the admiral Van Trump, "that when he met any of the English ships of war, he should not strike to them, nor shew them any other respect than what they received from them; and if the English expostulated the matter, they should answer frankly, that the respect they had formerly shewed upon those encounters, was because the ships were the king's, and for the good intelligence they had with the crown; but they had no reason to continue the same in this alteration of government, except there were some stipulation between them to that purpose: and if this answer did not satisfy, but that force was used towards them, they should defend themselves with their utmost vigour." These instructions were very secret, and never suspected by the English commanders; who had their old instructions to oblige all foreign vessels to strike sail to them; which had never been refused by any nation.

It was about the beginning of May in the year 1652, that the Dutch fleet, consisting of above forty sail, under the command of Van Trump, rode at anchor in Dover road, being driven by a strong wind, as they pretended, from the Flanders coast, when the English fleet, under the command of Blake, of a much less number, appeared in

view; upon which the Dutch weighed anchor, and put out to sea, without striking their flag; which Blake observing, caused three guns to be fired without any ball. It was then observed, that there was an express ketch came, at the very time, from Holland, on board their admiral; and it was then conceived, that he had, by that express, received more positive orders to fight; for, upon the arrival of that express, he tacked about, and bore directly towards the English fleet; and the three guns were no sooner fired, but, in contempt of the advertisement, he discharged one single gun from his poop, and hung out a red flag; and came up to the English admiral, and gave him a broadside; with which he killed many of his men, and hurt his ship. With which though Blake was surprised, as not expecting such an assault, he deferred not to give him the same rude salutation; and so both fleets were forthwith engaged in a very fierce encounter; which continued for the space of four hours, till the night parted them, after the loss of much blood on both sides. On the part of the Dutch, they lost two ships, whereof one was sunk, and the other taken, with both the captains, and near two hundred prisoners. On the English side there were many slain, and more wounded, but no ship lost, nor officer of name. When the morning appeared, the Dutch were gone to their coast. And thus the war was entered into, before it was suspected in England.

With what consideration soever the Dutch had embarked themselves in this sudden enterprise, it quickly appeared they had taken very ill measures of the people's affections. For the news of this conflict no sooner arrived in Holland, but there was the most general consternation, amongst all sorts of men, that can be imagined; and the States themselves were so much troubled at it, that, with marvellous expedition, they despatched two extraordinary ambassadors into England; by whom they protested, "that the late unhappy engagement between the fleets of the two commonwealths had happened without their knowledge, and contrary to the desire of the lords the States General: that they had received the fatal tidings of so rash an attempt and action, with amazement and astonishment; and that they had immediately entered into consultation, how they might best close this fresh bleeding wound, and to avoid the farther effusion of Christian blood, so much desired by the enemies of both states; and therefore they most earnestly desired them, by their mutual concurrence in religion, and by their mutual love of liberty, that nothing might be done with passion and heat; which might widen the breach; but that they might speedily receive such an answer, that there might be no farther obstruction to the trade of both commonwealths."

To which this answer was presently returned to them, "that the civility which they had always shewed towards the States of the United Provinces was so notorious, that nothing was more strange than the ill return they had made to them: that the extraordinary preparations which they had made, of a hundred and fifty ships, without any apparent necessity, and the instructions which had been given to their seamen, had administered too much cause to believe, that the lords the States General of the United Provinces had a purpose to usurp the known

"right which the English have to the seas, and  
 "to destroy their fleets; which, under the protection of the Almighty, are their walls and  
 "bulwarks; that so they might be exposed to the  
 "invasion of any powerful enemy: therefore they  
 "thought themselves obliged to endeavour, by  
 "God's assistance, to seek reparation for the injuries and damage they had already received,  
 "and to prevent the like for the future: however,  
 "they should never be without an intention and  
 "desire, that some effectual means might be found  
 "to establish a good peace, union, and right understanding between the two nations."

With this haughty answer they vigorously prosecuted their revenge, and commanded Blake presently to sail to the northward; it being then the season of the year for the great fisheries of the Dutch upon the coasts of Scotland, and the isles of Orkney, (by the benefit whereof they drive a great part of their trade over Europe;) where he now found their multitude of fishing boats, guarded by twelve ships of war; all which, with the fish they had made ready, he brought away with him as good prize.

When Blake was sent to the north, sir George Ayscue, [being just returned from the West Indies,] was sent with another part of the fleet to the south; who, at his very going out, met with thirty sail of their merchants between Dover and Calais; a good part whereof he took or sunk; and forced the rest to run on shore upon the French coast; which is very little better than being taken. From thence he stood westward; and near Plymouth, in the middle of August, with thirty sail of men of war, he engaged the whole Dutch fleet, consisting of sixty ships of war, and thirty merchants. It was near four of the clock in the afternoon when both fleets begun to engage, so that the night quickly parted them; yet not before two of the Holland ships of war were sunk, and most of the men lost; the Dutch in that action applying themselves most to spoil the tackling and sails of the English; in which they had so good success, that the next morning they were not able to give them farther chase, till their sails and rigging could be repaired. But no day passed without the taking and bringing in many and valuable Dutch ships into the ports of England, which, having begun their voyages before any notice given to them of the war, were making haste home without any fear of their security: so that, there being now no hope of a peace by the mediation of their ambassadors, who could not prevail in any thing they proposed, they returned; and the war was proclaimed on either side, as well as prosecuted.

The king thought he might very reasonably hope to reap some benefit and advantage from this war, so briskly entered upon on both sides; and when he had sat still till the return of the Dutch ambassadors from London, and that all treaties were given over, he believed it might contribute to his ends, if he made a journey into Holland, and made such propositions upon the place as he might be advised to: but when his majesty imparted this design to his friends there, who did really desire to serve him, he was very warmly dissuaded from coming thither; and assured, "that it was so far from being yet seasonable, "that it would more advance a peace than any "thing else that could be proposed; and would,

"for the present, bring the greatest prejudice to  
 "his sister, and to the affairs of his nephew the  
 "prince of Orange, that could be imagined."

The king hereupon took a resolution to make an attempt which could do him no harm, if it did not produce the good he desired. The Dutch ambassador then resident at Paris, monsieur Borrel, who had been pensioner of Amsterdam, was very much devoted to the king's service, having been formerly ambassador in England, and had always dependence upon the princes of Orange successively. He communicated in all things with great freedom with the chancellor of the exchequer; who visited him constantly once a week, and received advertisements and advices from him, and the ambassador frequently came to his lodging. The king, upon conference only with the marquis of Ormond and the chancellor, and enjoining them secrecy, caused a paper to be drawn up; in which he declared, "that he had very  
 "good reason to believe, that there were many  
 "officers and seamen engaged in the service of  
 "the English fleet, who undertook that service in  
 "hope to find a good opportunity to serve his  
 "majesty; and that, if the Dutch were willing to  
 "receive him, he would immediately put himself  
 "on board their fleet, without requiring any command, except of such ships only, as, upon their  
 "notice of his being there, should repair to him  
 "out of the rebels' fleet: by this means," he presumed, "he should be able much to weaken their  
 "naval power, and to raise divisions in the king-  
 "dom, by which the Dutch would receive benefit  
 "and advantage." Having signed this paper, he sent the chancellor with it open, to shew to the Dutch ambassador, and to desire him to send it enclosed in his letter to the States. The ambassador was very much surprised with it, and made some scruple of sending it, lest he might be suspected to have advised it. For they were extremely jealous of him for his affection to the king, and for his dependence upon the house of Orange. In the end, he desired "the king would  
 "enclose it in a letter to him, and oblige him to  
 "send it to the States General:" which was done accordingly; and he sent it by the post to the States.

The war had already made the councils of the States less united than they had been, and the party that was known to be inclined to the prince of Orange recovered courage, and joined with those who were no friends to the war; and, when this message from the king was read, magnified the king's spirit in making this overture, and wished that an answer of very humble thanks and acknowledgment might be returned to his majesty. They said, "no means ought to be neglected that  
 "might abate the pride and power of the enemy:" and as soon as the people heard of it, they thought it reasonable to accept the king's offer. De Wit, who was pensioner of Holland, and had the greatest influence upon their counsels, had no mind to have any conjunction with the king; which, he foresaw, must necessarily introduce the pretences of the prince of Orange, to which he was an avowed and declared enemy. He told them, "indeed it was a very generous offer of the king;  
 "but if they should accept it, they could never  
 "recede from his interest; which, instead of  
 "putting an end to the war, of which they were  
 "already weary, would make it without end, and

"would be the ruin of their state: that, whilst they were free from being engaged in any interest but their own, they might reasonably hope that both sides would be equally weary of the war, and then a peace would easily ensue; which they should otherwise put out of their own power;" so that thanks were returned to the king for his good will; and they pursued their own method in their counsels, and were much superior to those who were of another opinion, desiring nothing so much, as to make a peace upon any conditions.

Nor can it appear very wonderful, that the Dutch made show of so much phlegm in this affair, when the very choler and pride of the French was, about the same time, so humbled by the spirit of the English, that, though they took their ships every day, and made them prize, and had now seized upon their whole fleet that was going to the relief of Dunkirk, (that was then closely besieged by the Spaniard, and, by the taking that fleet, was delivered into their hands,) yet the French would not be provoked to be angry with them, or to express any inclination to the king; but sent an ambassador, which they had not before done, to expostulate very civilly with the parliament for having been so unneighbourly, but in truth to desire their friendship upon what terms they pleased; the cardinal fearing nothing so much, as that the Spaniard would make such a conjunction with the new commonwealth, as should disappoint and break all his designs.

The insupportable losses which the Dutch every day sustained by the taking their merchants' ships, and their ships of war, and the total obstruction of their trade, broke their hearts, and increased their factions and divisions at home. All the seas were covered with the English fleets; which made no distinctions of seasons, but were as active in the winter as the summer; and engaged the Dutch upon any inequality of number. [The Dutch having been beaten in the month of October, and Blake having received a brush from them in the month of December,] in the month of February, the most dangerous season of the year, they having appointed a rendezvous of about one hundred and fifty merchantmen, sent a fleet of above one hundred sail of men of war to convoy them; and Blake, with a fleet much inferior in number, engaged them in a very sharp battle from noon till the night parted them: which disposed them to endeavour to preserve themselves by flight; but, in the morning, they found that the English had attended them so close, that they were engaged again to fight, and so unprosperously, that, after the loss of above two thousand men, who were thrown overboard, besides a multitude hurt, they were glad to leave fifty of their merchantmen to the English, that they might make their flight the more securely.

This last loss made them send again to the parliament to desire a peace; who rejected the overture, as they pretended, "for want of formality," (for they always pretended a desire of an honourable peace,) the address being made only by the States of Holland and West-Friesland, the States General being at that time not assembled. It was generally believed, that this address from Holland was not only with the approbation, but by the direction of Cromwell; who had rather consented to those particulars, which were natu-

rally like to produce that war, to gratify Saint-John, (who was inseparable from him in all his other counsels, and was incensed by the Dutch,) than approved the resolution. And now he found, by the charge of the engagements had already passed on both sides, what an insupportable charge that war must be attended with. Besides, he well discerned that all parties, friends and foes, presbyterians, independents, levellers, were all united as to the carrying on the war; which could proceed from nothing, but that the excess of the expense might make it necessary to disband a great part of the land army (of which there appeared no use) to support the navy; which they could not now be without. Nor had he authority to place his own creatures there, all the officers thereof being nominated and appointed solely by the parliament: so that when this address was made by the Dutch, he set up his whole rest and interest, that it might be well accepted, and a treaty thereupon entered into; which when he could not bring to pass, he laid to heart; and deferred not long, as will appear, to take vengeance upon the parliament with a witness, and by a way they least thought of.

Though Cromwell was exercised with these contradictions and vexations at home, by the authority of the parliament, he found not the least opposition from abroad. He was more absolute in the other two kingdoms, more feared, and more obeyed, than any king had ever been; and all the dominions belonging to the crown owned no other subjection than to the commonwealth of England. The isles of Guernsey, and Jersey, were reduced; the former presently after the battle of Worcester; and the other, after the king's return to Paris; sir George Carteret having well defended Jersey as long as he could, and being so overpowered that he could no longer defend the island, he retired into castle Elizabeth; which he had well fortified, and provided with all things necessary for a siege; presuming that, by the care and diligence of the lord Jermyn, who was governor thereof, he should receive supplies of men and provisions, as he should stand in need of them; as he might easily have done in spite of any power of the parliament by sea or land. But it had been the principal reason that Cromwell had hitherto kept the better quarter with the cardinal, lest the bait of those two islands, which the king could have put into his hands when he would, should tempt him to give his majesty any assistance. But the king was so strict and punctual in his care of the interest of England, when he seemed to be abandoned by it, that he chose rather to suffer those places of great importance to fall into Cromwell's power, than to deposit them, upon any conditions, into French hands; which, he knew, would never restore them to the just owner, what obligations soever they entered into.

When that castle had been besieged three months, and the enemy could not approach nearer to plant their ordnance than, at least, half an English mile, the sea encompassing it round more than so far from any land, and it not being possible for any of their ships to come within such a distance, they brought notwithstanding mortar pieces of such an incredible greatness, and such as had never been before seen in this part of the world, that from the highest point of the hill, near St. Hilary's, they shot granadoes of a vast bigness

into the castle, and beat down many houses; and, at last, blowed up a great magazine, where most of the provision of victuals lay; and killed many men. Upon which sir George Carteret sent an express to give the king an account of the condition he was in, and to desire a supply of men and provisions; which it being impossible for his majesty to procure, he sent him orders to make the best conditions he could; which he shortly after did; and came himself to Paris, to give the king a larger information of all that had passed in that affair; and afterwards remained in France under many mortifications, by the power and prosecution of Cromwell, till the king's happy restoration.

All the foreign plantations had submitted to the yoke without a blow; and indeed without any other damage or inconvenience, than the having citizens and inferior persons put to govern them, instead of gentlemen, who had been intrusted by the king in those places. New England had been too much allied to all the conspiracies and combinations against the crown, not to be very well pleased that men of their own principles prevailed; and settled a government themselves were delighted with. The Barbadoes, which was much the richest plantation, was principally inhabited by men who had retired thither only to be quiet, and to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, and without any ill thoughts towards the king; many of them having served him with fidelity and courage during the war; and, that being ended, made that island their refuge from farther prosecutions. But having now gotten good estates there, (as it is incredible to what fortunes men raised themselves in few years, in that plantation,) they were more willing to live in subjection to that government at that distance, than to return into England, and be liable to the penalties of their former transgressions; which, upon the articles of surrender, they were indemnified for: nor was there any other alteration there, than the removing the lord Willoughby of Parham, (who was, upon many accounts, odious to the parliament, as well as by being governor there by the king's commission,) and putting an inferior mean man in his place.

More was expected from Virginia; which was the most ancient plantation; and so was thought to be better provided to defend itself, and to be better affected. Upon both which suppositions, and out of confidence in sir William Berkeley, the governor thereof, who had industriously invited many gentlemen, and others, thither as to a place of security, which he could defend against any attempt, and where they might live plentifully, many persons of condition, and good officers in the war, had transported themselves, with all the estate they had been able to preserve; with which the honest governor, for no man meant better, was so confirmed in his confidence, that he writ to the king almost inviting him thither, as to a place that wanted nothing. And the truth is, that, whilst the parliament had nothing else to do, that plantation in a short time was more improved in people and stock, than it had been from the beginning to that time, and had reduced the Indians to very good neighbourhood. But, alas! they were so far from being in a condition to defend themselves, all their industry having been employed in the making the best advantage of their particular

plantations, without assigning time or men to provide for the public security in building forts, or any places of retreat, that there no sooner appeared two or three ships from the parliament, than all thoughts of resistance were laid aside. Sir William Berkeley, the governor, was suffered to remain there as a private man, upon his own plantation; which was a better subsistence than he could have found any where else. And in that quiet posture he continued, by the reputation he had with the people, till, upon the noise and fame of the king's restoration, he did as quietly resume the exercise of his former commission, and found as ready an obedience.

We shall not in this place enlarge upon the affairs of Scotland, (which will be part of the argument of the next book,) where Monk for the present governed with a rod of iron, and found no contradiction or opposition to his good will and pleasure. In Ireland, if that people had not been prepared and ripe for destruction, there had happened an alteration which might have given some respite to it, and disposed the nation to have united themselves under their new deputy, whom they had themselves desired, under all the solemn obligations of obedience. Shortly after the departure of the marquis of Ormond, Cromwell's deputy, Ireton, who had married his daughter, died in Limerick of the plague; which was gotten into his army, that was so much weakened by it, and there were so great factions and divisions among the officers after his sudden death, that great advantages might have been gotten by it. His authority was so absolute, that he was entirely submitted to in all the civil, as well as martial affairs. But his death was thought so little possible, that no provision had been made for that contingency. So that no man had authority to take the command upon him, till Cromwell's pleasure was farther known; who put the charge of the army under Ludlow, a man of a very different temper from the other; but appointed the civil government to run in another channel, so that there remained jealousy and discontent enough still between the council and the officers to have shaken a government that was yet no better established.

Ireton, of whom we have had too much occasion to speak formerly, was of a melancholic, reserved, dark nature, who communicated his thoughts to very few; so that, for the most part, he resolved alone, but was never diverted from any resolution he had taken; and he was thought often by his obstinacy to prevail over Cromwell himself, and to extort his concurrence contrary to his own inclinations. But that proceeded only from his dissembling less; for he was never reserved in the owning and communicating his worst and most barbarous purposes; which the other always concealed and disavowed. Hitherto their concurrence had been very natural, since they had the same ends and designs. It was generally conceived by those who had the opportunity to know them both very well, that Ireton was a man so radically averse from monarchy, and so fixed to a republic government, that, if he had lived, he would either, by his counsel and credit, have prevented those tyrannical excesses in Cromwell, or publicly opposed and declared against them, and carried the greatest part of the army with him; and that Cromwell, who best knew his nature and his temper, had therefore carried him into Ireland, and

left him there, that he might be without his counsels or importunities, when he should find it necessary to put off his mask, and to act that part which he foresaw it would be requisite to do. Others thought, his parts lay more towards civil affairs; and were fitter for the modelling that government, which his heart was set upon, (being a scholar, conversant in the law, and in all that learning which had expressed the greatest animosity and malice against the regal government,) than for the conduct of an army to support it; his personal courage being never reckoned among his other abilities.

What influence soever his life might have had upon the future transactions, certain it is, his death had none upon the state of Ireland to the king's advantage. The marquis of Clanrickard left no way unattempted that might apply the visible strength and power of the Irish nation, to the preservation of themselves, and to the support of the king's government. He sent out his orders and warrants for the levying of new men, and to draw the old troops together, and to raise money: but few men could be got together, and when they were assembled, they could not stay together for want of money to pay them: so that he could never get a body together to march towards the enemy; and if he did prevail with them to march a whole day with him, he found, the next morning, that half of them were run away. And it quickly appeared, that they had only made those ample vows and protestations, that they might be rid of the marquis of Ormond, without any purpose of obeying the other. The greatest part of the popish clergy, and all the Irish of Ulster, had no mind to have any relation to the English nation, and as little to return to their obedience to the crown. They blamed each other for having deserted the nuncio, and thought of nothing but how they might get some foreign prince to take them into his protection. They first chose a committee, Plunket and Brown, two lawyers, who had been eminent conductors of the rebellion from the beginning, and men of good parts, and joined others with them, who were in France and Flanders. Then they moved the lord deputy, to send these gentlemen into Flanders, "to invite the duke of Lorrain to assist them with arms, money, and ammunition, undertaking to have good intelligence from thence, that the duke (who was known to wish well to the king) was well prepared to receive their desire, and resolved, out of his affection to the king, to engage himself cordially in the defence of that catholic kingdom, his zeal to that religion being known to be very great."

The marquis of Clanrickard had no opinion of the expedient, and less that the duke would engage himself on the behalf of a people who had so little reputation in the world, and therefore refused to give any commission to those gentlemen, or to any other to that purpose, without first receiving the king's order, or at least the advice of the marquis of Ormond, who was known to be safely arrived in France. But that was looked upon as delay, which their condition could not bear, and the doubting the truth of the intelligence and information of the duke of Lorrain's being willing to undertake their relief, was imputed to want of good will to receive it. And then all the libels, and scandals, and declarations, which had been published against

the marquis of Ormond, were now renewed, with equal malice and virulency, against the marquis of Clanrickard; and they declared, "that God would never bless his withered hand, which had always concurred with Ormond in the prosecution and persecution of the catholics confederates from the beginning of their engagement for the defence of their religion; and that he had still had more conversation with heretics, than with catholics: that he had refused always to submit to the pope's authority; and had treated his nuncio with less respect than was due from any good catholic; and that all the catholics who were cherished or countenanced by him, were of the same faction." In the end, he could not longer resist the importunity of the assembly of the confederate catholics, (which was again brought together,) and of the bishops and clergy that governed the other; but gave his consent to send the same persons they recommended to him; and gave them his credentials to the duke of Lorrain; but required them "punctually to observe his own instructions, and not to presume to depart from them in the least degree." Their instructions were, "to give the marquis of Ormond notice of their arrival; and to shew him their instructions; and to conclude nothing without his positive advice;" who, he well knew, would communicate all with the queen; and that likewise, "when they came into Flanders, they should advise with such of the king's council as should be there, and proceed in all things as they should direct."

What instructions soever the lord deputy prescribed to them, the commissioners received others from the council and assembly of their clergy, which they thought more to the purpose, and resolved to follow; by which they were authorized to yield to any conditions which might prevail with the duke of Lorrain to take them into his protection, and to engage him in their defence, even by delivering all they had of the kingdom into his hands. Though they landed in France, they gave no notice of their business or their arrival to the queen, or to the marquis of Ormond; but prosecuted their journey to Brussels, and made their address, with all secrecy, to the duke of Lorrain. There were, at the same time, at Antwerp, the marquis of Newcastle, the chancellor of the exchequer, (who was newly returned from his embassy in Spain,) and secretary Nicholas; all three had been of the king's council; to neither of whom they so much as gave a visit. And though the duke of York, during this time, passed through Brussels, in his journey to Paris; they imparted not their negotiations to his highness.

The duke of Lorrain had a very good mind to get footing in Ireland; where, he was sure, there wanted no men to make armies enough, which were not like to want courage to defend their country and religion. And the commissioners very frankly offered "to deliver up Galloway, and all the places which were in their possession, into his hands, with the remainder of the kingdom, as soon as it could be reduced; and to obey him absolutely as their prince." But he, as a reserve to decline the whole, if it appeared to be a design fuller of difficulty than he then apprehended, discoursed much of his affection to the king, and his resolution "not to accept any thing that was proposed, without his majesty's privacy



"and full approbation." But in the mean time, and till that might be procured, he was content to send the abbot of St. Catharine's, a Lorrainer, and a person principally trusted by him, as his ambassador into Ireland, to be informed of the true state of that kingdom, and what real strength the confederate catholics were possessed of, and at what unity among themselves. With him he sent about three or four thousand pistoles, to supply their present necessities, and some arms and ammunition. The duke writ to the lord deputy the marquis of Clanrickard, as the king's governor, and the person by whose authority all those propositions had been made to him by the commissioners.

The abbot upon his arrival (though he was civilly received) quickly found, that the marquis knew nothing of what the commissioners had proposed or offered; and would by no means so much as enter upon any treaty with him; but disavowed all that they had said or done, with much vehemence, and with a protestation, "that he would cause their heads to be cut off, if they returned, or came into his hands." And the marquis did, at the same time, write very large letters both to the king, and the marquis of Ormond, of their presumption and wickedness; and very earnestly desired, "that they might be imprisoned, and kept till they might undergo a just trial."

As the marquis expressed all possible indignation, so many of the catholic nobility, and even some of their clergy, who never intended to withdraw their loyalty from the crown of England, how weakly soever they had manifested it, indeed all the Irish nation, but those of Ulster, who were of the old Septs, were wonderfully scandalized to find that all their strength was to be delivered presently up into the possession of a foreign prince; upon whose good nature only, it must be presumed that he would hereafter restore it to the king. It was now time for the popish bishops, and their confederates, to make good what had been offered by the commissioners with their authority; which though they thought not fit to own, they used all their endeavours now in procuring to have it consented to, and ratified. They very importunately advised, and pressed the lord deputy, "to confirm what had been offered, as the only visible means to preserve the nation, and a root out of which the king's right might again spring and grow up;" and when they found, that he was so far from yielding to what they desired, that, if he had power, he would proceed against them with the utmost severity for what they had done, that he would no more give audience to the ambassador, and removed from the place where they were, to his own house and castle at Portumny, to be secure from their importunity or violence, they barefaced owned all that the commissioners had propounded, "as done by their order, who could make it good;" and desired the ambassador "to enter into a treaty with them;" and declared, "that they would sign such articles, with which the duke of Lorrain should be well satisfied." They undervalued the power of the marquis of Clanrickard, as not able to oppose any agreement they should make, nor able to make good any thing he should promise himself, without their assistance.

The ambassador was a wise man, and of phlegm enough; and though he heard all they would say,

and received any propositions they would give him in writing, yet he quickly discerned, that they were so unskilful as to the managery of any great design, and so disjointed among themselves, that they could not be depended upon to any purpose; and excused himself from entering upon any new treaty with them, as having no commission to treat but with the lord deputy. But he told them, "he would deliver all that they had, or would propose to him, to the duke his master; who, he presumed, would speedily return his answer, and proceed with their commissioners in such a manner as would be grateful to them." So he returned in the same ship that brought him, and gave the duke such an account of his voyage, and that people, that put an end to that negociation; which had been entered into, and prosecuted, with less wariness, circumspection, and good husbandry, than that prince was accustomed to use.

When the ambassador was gone, they prosecuted the deputy, with all reproaches of betraying and ruining his country; and had several designs upon his person, and communicated whatever attempt was resolved to the enemy: yet there were many of the nobility and gentry that continued firm, and adhered to him very faithfully; which defended his person from any violence they intended against him, but could not secure him against their acts of treachery, nor keep his counsels from being betrayed. After the defeat of Worcester was known and published, they less considered all they did; and every one thought he was to provide for his own security that way that seemed most probable to him; and whosoever was most intent upon that, put on a new face, and application to the deputy, and loudly urged "the necessity of uniting themselves for the public safety, which was desperate any other way:" whilst in truth every man was negotiating for his own indemnity with Ludlow, (who commanded the English,) or for leave to transport regiments; which kept the soldiers together, as if they had been the deputy's army.

The deputy had a suspicion of a fellow, who was observed every day to go out, and returned not till the next; and appointed an officer of trust, with some horse, to watch him, and search him; which they did; and found about him a letter, which contained many reproaches against the marquis, and the intelligence of many particulars; which the messenger was carrying to Ludlow. It was quickly discovered that the letter was written by one Father Cohogan, a Franciscan friar in Galway; where the deputy then was; but much of the intelligence was such as could not be known by him, but must come from some who were in the most private consultations. The deputy caused the friar to be imprisoned, and resolved to proceed exemplarily against him, after he had first discovered his complices. The friar confessed the letter to be of his writing, but refused to answer to any other question; and demanded his privilege of a churchman, and not to be tried by the deputy's order. The conclusion was, the popish bishops caused him to be taken out of the prison; and sent to the deputy, "that if he would send to them his evidence against the friar, who was an ecclesiastical person, they would take care that justice should be done."

This proceeding convinced the deputy, that he should not be able to do the king any service in that company; nor durst he stay longer in that



town, lest they should make their own peace by delivering up him and the town together; which they would have made no scruple to have done. From that time he removed from place to place, not daring to lodge twice in the same place together, lest he should be betrayed; and sometimes without any accommodations: so that, not having been accustomed to those hardships, he contracted those diseases which he could never recover. In this manner he continued till he received commands from the king. For as soon as he had advertisement of the king's arrival at Paris, and it was very evident, by the behaviour of the Irish, that they would be no more applied to the king's service under his command than under the marquis of Ormond's, he sent the earl of Castlehaven (who had been formerly a general of the confederate catholics, and remained with great constancy with the marquis of Clanrickard, as long as there was any hope) to the king, with so particular an account, under his own hand, of all that had passed, from the time that he had received his commission from the marquis of Ormond, that it even contained almost a diurnal, in which he made so lively a description of the proceedings of the Irish, of their overtures to the duke of Lorraine, and of their several tergiversations and treacheries towards him, that any man might discern, especially they who knew the generosity of the marquis, his nature, and his custom of living, that he had submitted to a life very uncomfortable and melancholic; and desired his majesty's leave that he might retire, and procure a pass to go into England; where he had some estate of his own, and many friends, who

would not suffer him to starve; which his majesty made haste to send to him, with as great a testimony of his gracious acceptance of his service and affection, as his singular merit deserved.

Thereupon the marquis sent to Ludlow for a pass to go into England, and render himself to the parliament; which he presently sent him; and so the marquis transported himself to London; where he was civilly treated by all men, as a man who had many friends, and could have no enemies but those who could not be friends to any. But by the infirmities he had contracted in Ireland, by those unnatural fatigues and distresses he had been exposed to, he lived not to the end of a year; and had resolved, upon the recovery of any degree of health, to have transported himself to the king, and attended his fortune. He left behind him so full a relation of all material passages, as well from the beginning of that rebellion, as during the time of his own administration, that I have been the less particular in the accounts of what passed in the transactions of that kingdom, presuming that more exact work of his will, in due time, be communicated to the world.

The affairs of the three nations being in this posture at the end of the year [1652], and there being new accidents, and alterations of a very extraordinary nature, in the year following, which were attended with much variety of success, though not with that benefit to the king as might have been expected naturally from those emotions, we shall here conclude this book, and reserve the other for the next.

END OF THE THIRTEENTH BOOK.

## THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

### BOOK XIV.

**I**F God had not reserved the deliverance and restoration of the king to himself, and resolved to accomplish it when there appeared least hope of it, and least worldly means to bring it to pass; there happened at this time another very great alteration in England, that, together with the continuance of the war with Holland, and affronts every day offered to France, might very reasonably have administered great hopes to the king of a speedy change of government. From the time of the defeat at Worcester, and the reduction of Scotland and Ireland to perfect obedience, Cromwell did not find the parliament so supple to observe his orders, as he expected they would have been. The presbyterian party, which he had discountenanced all he could, and made his army of the independent party, were bold in contradicting him in

the house, and crossing all his designs in the city, and exceedingly inveighed against the license that was practised in religion, by the several factions of independents, anabaptists, quakers, and the several species of these; who contemned all magistrates, and the laws established. All these, how contradictory soever to one another, Cromwell cherished and protected, that he might not be overrun by the presbyterians; of whom the time was not yet come that he could make use: yet he seemed to shew much respect to some principal preachers of that party; and consulted much with them, how the distempers in religion might be composed.

Though he had been forward enough to enter upon the war of Holland, that so there might be no proposition made for the disbanding any part of his army, which otherwise could not be prevented,

yet he found the expense of it was so great, that the nation could never bear that addition of burden to the other of land forces; which how apparent soever, he saw the parliament so fierce for the carrying on that war, that they would not hearken to any reasonable conditions of peace; which the Dutch appeared most solicitous to make upon any conditions. But that which troubled him most, was the jealousy that his own party of independents had contracted against him: that party, that had advanced him to the height he was at, and made him superior to all opposition, even his beloved Vane, thought his power and authority to be too great for a commonwealth, and that he and his army had not dependence enough upon, or submission to, the parliament. So that he found those who had exalted him, now most solicitous to bring him lower; and he knew well enough what any diminution of his power and authority must quickly be attended with. He observed, that those his old friends very frankly united themselves with his and their old enemies, the presbyterians, for the prosecution of the war with Holland, and obstructing all the overtures towards peace; which must, in a short time, exhaust the stock, and consequently disturb any settlement in the kingdom.

In this perplexity he resorts to his old remedy, his army; and again erects another council of officers, who, under the style, first, of petitions, and then of remonstrances, interposed in whatsoever had any relation to the army; used great importunity for "the arrears of their pay; that they might not be compelled to take free quarter upon their fellow subjects, who already paid so great contributions and taxes; which they were well assured, if well managed, would abundantly defray all the charges of the war, and of the government." The sharp answers the parliament gave to their addresses, and the reprehensions for their presumption in meddling with matters above them, gave the army new matter to reply to; and put them in mind of some former professions they had made, "that they would be glad to be eased of the burden of their employment; and that there might be successive parliaments to undergo the same trouble they had done." They therefore desired them, "that they would remember how many years they had sat; and though they had done great things, yet it was a great injury to the rest of the nation, to be utterly excluded from bearing any part in the service of their country, by their engrossing the whole power into their hands; and thereupon besought them, that they would settle a council for the administration of the government during the interval, and then dissolve themselves, and summon a new parliament; which," they told them, "would be the most popular action they could perform."

These addresses in the name of the army, being confidently delivered by some officers of it, and as confidently seconded by others who were members of the house, it was thought necessary, that they should receive a solemn debate, to the end that when the parliament had declared its resolution and determination, all persons might be obliged to acquiesce therein, and so there would be an end put to all addresses of that kind.

There were many members of the house, who, either from the justice and reason of the request, or seasonably to comply with the sense of the

army, to which they foresaw they should be at last compelled to submit, seemed to think it necessary, for abating the great envy, which was confessedly against the parliament throughout the kingdom, that they should be dissolved, to the end the people might make a new election of such persons as they thought fit to trust with their liberty and property, and whatsoever was dearest to them. But Mr. Martyn told them, "that he thought they might find the best advice from the scripture, what they were to do in this particular: that when Moses was found upon the river, and brought to Pharaoh's daughter, she took care that the mother might be found out, to whose care he might be committed to be nursed; which succeeded very happily." He said, "their commonwealth was yet an infant, of a weak growth, and a very tender constitution; and therefore his opinion was, that nobody could be so fit to nurse it, as the mother who brought it forth; and that they should not think of putting it under any other hands, until it had obtained more years and vigour." To which he added, "that they had another infant too under their hands, the war with Holland, which had thrived wonderfully under their conduct; but he much doubted that it would be quickly strangled, if it were taken out of their care who had hitherto governed it."

These reasons prevailed so far, that, whatsoever was said to the contrary, it was determined, that the parliament would not yet think of dissolving, nor would take it well, that any persons should take the presumption any more to make overtures to them of that nature, which was not fit for private and particular persons to meddle with: and, to put a seasonable stop to any farther presumption of that kind, they appointed a committee "speedily to prepare an act of parliament by which it should be declared to be high treason, for any man to propose or contrive the dissolution of this parliament, or to change the present government settled and established."

This bill being prepared by the committee, they resolved to pass it with all possible expedition. So Cromwell clearly discerned, that by this means they would never be persuaded to part with that authority and power, which was so profitable, and so pleasant to them: yet the army declared they were not satisfied with the determination, and continued their applications to the same purpose, or to others as unagreeable to the sense of the house; and did all they could to infuse the same spirit into all the parts of the kingdom, to make the parliament odious, as it was already very abundantly; and Cromwell was well pleased that the parliament should express as much prejudice against the army.

All things being thus prepared, Cromwell thought this a good season to expose these enemies of peace to the indignation of the nation; which, he well knew, was generally weary of the war, and hoped, if that were at an end, that they should be eased of the greatest part of their contributions, and other impositions: thereupon, having adjusted all things with the chief officers of the army, who were at his devotion, in the month of April, that was in the year 1653, he came into the house of parliament in a morning when it was sitting, attended with the officers, who were likewise members of the house, and told

them, "that he came thither to put an end to their power and authority; which they had managed so ill, that the nation could be no otherwise preserved than by their dissolution; which he advised them, without farther debate, quietly to submit unto."

Thereupon another officer, with some files of musketeers, entered into the house, and stayed there till all the members walked out; Cromwell reproaching many of the members by name, as they went out of the house, with their vices and corruptions; and amongst the rest, sir Harry Vane with his breach of faith and corruption; and having given the mace to an officer to be safely kept, he caused the doors to be locked up; and so dissolved that assembly, which had sat almost thirteen years, and under whose name he had wrought so much mischief, and reduced three kingdoms to his own entire obedience and subjection, without any example or precedent in the Christian world that could raise his ambition to such a presumptuous undertaking, and without any rational dependence upon the friendship of one man, who had any other interest to advance his designs, but what he had given him by preferring him in the war.

When he had thus prosperously passed this Rubicon, he lost no time in publishing a declaration of the grounds and reasons of his proceeding, for the satisfaction of the people: in which he put them in mind, "how miraculously God had appeared for them in reducing Ireland and Scotland to so great a degree of peace, and England to a perfect quiet: whereby the parliament had opportunity to give the people the harvest of all their labour, blood, and treasure, and to settle a due liberty in reference to civil and spiritual things, whereunto they were obliged by their duty, engagements, and those great and wonderful things God had wrought for them. But that they had made so little progress towards this good end, that it was matter of much grief to the good people of the land, who had thereupon applied themselves to the army, expecting redress by their means; who, being very unwilling to meddle with the civil authority, thought fit that some officers, who were members of the parliament, should move and desire the parliament to proceed vigorously in reforming what was amiss in the commonwealth, and in settling it upon a foundation of justice and righteousness: that they found this, and some other endeavours they had used, produced no good effect, but rather an averseness to the things themselves, with much bitterness and aversion to the people of God, and his Spirit acting in them: insomuch as the godly party in the army was now become of no other use, than to countenance the ends of a corrupt party, that desired to perpetuate themselves in the supreme government of the nation: that, for the obviating those evils, the officers of the army had obtained several meetings with some members of the parliament, to consider what remedies might properly be applied; but that it appeared very evident unto them, that the parliament, by want of attendance of many of their members, and want of integrity in others who did attend, would never answer those ends, which God, his people, and the whole nation, expected from them; but that this cause, which God had so

greatly blessed, must needs languish under their hands, and by degrees be lost, and the lives, liberties, and comforts of his people, be delivered into their enemies' hands. All which being seriously and sadly considered by the honest people of the nation, as well as by the army, it seemed a duty incumbent upon them, who had seen so much of the power and presence of God, to consider of some effectual means, whereby to establish righteousness and peace in these nations: that, after much debate, it had been judged necessary, that the supreme government should be, by the parliament, devolved for a time upon known persons, fearing God, and of approved integrity, as the most hopeful way to countenance all God's people, preserve the law, and administer justice impartially; hoping thereby, that people might forget monarchy, and understand their true interest in the election of successive parliaments, and so the government might be settled upon a right basis, without hazard to this glorious cause, or necessity to keep up armies for the defence thereof: that being resolved, if possible, to decline all extraordinary courses, they had prevailed with about twenty members of the parliament to give them a conference; with whom they debated the justice and necessity of that proposition; but found them of so contrary an opinion, that they insisted upon the continuance of the present parliament, as it was then constituted, as the only way to bring those good things to pass which they seemed to desire: that they insisted upon this with so much vehemence, and were so much transported with passion, that they caused a bill to be prepared for the perpetuating this parliament, and investing the supreme power in themselves. And for the preventing the consummation of this act, and all the sad and evil consequences, which, upon the grounds thereof, must have ensued, and whereby, at one blow, the interest of all honest men, and of this glorious cause, had been in danger to be laid in the dust, they had been necessitated (though with much repugnance) to put an end to the parliament."

There needs not be any other description of the temper of the nation at that time, than the remembering that the dissolution of that body of men, who had reigned so long over the three nations, was generally very grateful and acceptable to the people, how wonderful soever the circumstances thereof had been; and that this declaration, which was not only subscribed by Cromwell and his council of officers, but was owned by the admirals at sea, and all the captains of ships, and by the commanders of all the land forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was looked upon as very reasonable; and the declaration, that issued thereupon, by which the people were required to live peaceably, and quietly to submit themselves to the government of the council of state, which should be nominated by the general, until such a time as a parliament, consisting of persons of approved fidelity and honesty, could meet, and take upon them the government of these nations, found an equal submission and obedience.

The method he pursued afterwards, for the composing a government, by first putting it into a most ridiculous confusion, and by divesting himself of all pretences to authority, and putting what he had no title to keep into the hands of men so

well chosen, that they should shortly after delegate the power legally to him for the preservation of the nation, was not less admirable; and puts me in mind of what Seneca said of Pompey, "that he had brought the people of Rome to that pass, by magnifying their power and authority, *ut salvis esse non possit nisi beneficio servitutis.*" And if Cromwell had not now made himself a tyrant, all bonds, being broken, and the universal guilt diverting all inclinations to return to the king's obedience, they must have perished together in such a confusion, as would rather have exposed them as a prey to foreigners, than disposed them to the only reasonable way for their preservation; there being no man that durst mention the king, or the old form of government.

It was upon the twenty-fourth [twentieth] of April that the parliament had been dissolved; and though Cromwell found that the people were satisfied in it, and the declaration published thereupon, yet he knew it would be necessary to provide some other visible power to settle the government, than the council of officers; all whom he was not sure he should be able long entirely to govern, many of them having clear other notions of a republic than he was willing England should be brought to. A parliament was still a name of more veneration than any other assembly of men was like to be, and the contempt the last was fallen into was like to teach the next to behave itself with more discretion. However the ice was broken for dissolving them, when they should do otherwise; yet he was not so well satisfied in the general temper, as to trust the election of them to the humour and inclination of the people.

He resolved therefore to choose them himself, that he might with the more justice unmake them when he should think fit; and with the advice of his council of officers, for he made yet no other council of state, he made choice of a number of men, consisting of above one hundred and forty persons, who should meet as a parliament to settle the government of the nation. It can hardly be believed that so wild a notion should fall into any man's imagination, that such a people should be fit to contribute towards any settlement, or that from their actions any thing could result, that might advance his particular design. Yet, upon the view and consideration of the persons made choice of, many did conclude, "that he had made his own scheme entirely to himself; and though he communicated it with no man, concluded it the most natural way to ripen and produce the effects it did afterwards, to the end he proposed to himself."

There were amongst them some few of the quality and degree of gentlemen, and who had estates, and such a proportion of credit and reputation, as could consist with the guilt they had contracted. But much the major part of them consisted of inferior persons, of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest trades, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching; which was now practised by all degrees of men, but scholars, throughout the kingdom. In which number, that there may be a better judgment made of the rest, it will not be amiss to name one, from whom that parliament itself was afterwards denominated, who was Praise-God (that was his Christian name) Barebone, a leatherseller in Fleet-street, from whom (he being an eminent speaker in it) it was

afterwards called Praise-God Barebone's parliament. In a word, they were a pack of weak senseless fellows, fit only to bring the name and reputation of parliaments lower than it was yet.

It was fit these new men should be brought together by some new way: and a very new way it was; for Cromwell by his warrants, directed to every one of them, telling them "of the necessity of dissolving the late parliament, and of an equal necessity, that the peace, safety, and good government of the commonwealth should be provided for, and therefore that he had, by the advice of his council of officers, nominated divers persons fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs was to be committed, and that having good assurance of their love to, and courage for God, and the interest of his cause, and the good people of this commonwealth;" he concluded in these words, "I, Oliver Cromwell, captain general and commander in chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, within this commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you personally to be and appear at the council-chamber at Whitehall, upon the fourth day of July next, then and there to take upon you the said trust. And you are hereby called and appointed to serve as a member of the county of" &c. Upon this wild summons, the persons so nominated appeared at the council-chamber upon the fourth of July, which was near three months after the dissolution of the former parliament.

Cromwell, with his council of officers, was ready to receive them, and made them a long discourse of "the fear of God, and the honour due to his name," full of texts of scripture; and remembered "the wonderful mercies of God to this nation, and the continued series of providence, by which he had appeared in carrying on his cause, and bringing affairs into that present glorious condition, wherein they now were." He put them in mind of "the noble actions of the army in the famous victory of Worcester, of the applications they had made to the parliament, for a good settlement of all the affairs of the commonwealth, the neglect whereof made it absolutely necessary to dissolve it." He assured them by many arguments, some of which were urged out of scripture, "that they had a very lawful call to take upon them the supreme authority of the nation;" and concluded with a very earnest desire, "that great tenderness might be used towards all conscientious persons, of what judgment soever they appeared to be."

When he had finished his discourse, he delivered to them an instrument, engrossed in parchment under his hand and seal, whereby, with the advice of his council of officers, he did devolve and intrust the supreme authority of this commonwealth into the hands of those persons therein mentioned; and declared, "that they, or any forty of them, were to be held and acknowledged the supreme authority of the nation, to which all persons within the same, and the territories thereunto belonging, were to yield obedience and subjection to the third day of the month of November, which should be in the year 1654," which was about a year and three months from the time that he spoke to them; and three months before the time prescribed should expire, they were to make choice of other persons to succeed them, whose

power and authority should not exceed one year, and then they were likewise to provide and take care for a like succession in the government. Being thus invested with this authority, they repaired to the parliament house, and made choice of one Rouse to be their speaker, an old gentleman of Devonshire, who had been a member of the former parliament, and in that time been preferred and made provost of the college of Eton, which office he then enjoyed, with an opinion of having some knowledge in the Latin and Greek tongues, but of a very mean understanding, but thoroughly engaged in the guilt of the times.

At their first coming together, some of them had the modesty to doubt, that they were not in many respects so well qualified as to take upon them the style and title of a parliament. But that modesty was quickly subdued, and they were easily persuaded to assume that title, and to consider themselves as the supreme authority in the nation. These men thus brought together continued in this capacity near six months, to the amazement and even mirth of the people. In which time they never entered upon any grave and serious debate, that might tend to any settlement, but generally expressed great sharpness and animosity against the clergy, and against all learning, out of which they thought the clergy had grown, and still would grow.

There were now no bishops for them to be angry with; they had already reduced all that order to the lowest beggary. But their quarrel was against all who had called themselves ministers, and who, by being called so, received tithes, and respect from their neighbours. They resolved the function itself to be Antichristian, and the persons to be burdensome to the people, and the requiring and payment of tithes to be absolute Judaism, and they thought fit that they should be abolished altogether; and that there might not for the time to come be any race of people who might revive those pretences, they thought fit, "that all lands belonging to the universities, and colleges in those universities, might be sold, and the monies that should arise thereby, be disposed for the public service, and to ease the people from the payment of taxes and contributions."

When they had tired and perplexed themselves so long in such debates, as soon as they were met in the morning upon the twelfth of December, and before many of them were come who were like to dissent from the motion, one of them stood up and declared, "that he did believe, they were not equal to the burden that was laid upon them, and therefore that they might dissolve themselves, and deliver back their authority into their hands from whom they had received it;" which being presently consented to, their speaker, with those who were of that mind, went to Whitehall, and redelivered to Cromwell the instrument they had received from him, acknowledged their own impotency, and besought him to take care of the commonwealth.

By this frank donation he and his council of officers were once more possessed of the supreme sovereign power of the nation. And in few days after, his council were too modest to share with him in this royal authority, but declared, "that the government of the commonwealth should reside in a single person; that that person should be Oliver Cromwell, captain general of

"all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that his title should be lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the dominions and territories thereunto belonging; and that he should have a council of one and twenty persons to be assistant to him in the government."

Most men did now conclude, that the folly and sottishness of this last assembly was so much foreseen, that, from their very first coming together, it was determined what should follow their dissolution. For the method that succeeded could hardly have been composed in so short a time after, by persons who had not consulted upon the contingency some time before. It was upon the twelfth of December, that the small parliament was dissolved, when many of the members, who came to the house as to their usual consultations, found that they who came before, were gone to Whitehall to be dissolved; which the other never thought of: and upon the sixteenth day, the commissioners of the great seal, with the lord mayor and aldermen, were sent for to attend Cromwell and his council to Westminster hall; it being then vacation-time; and being come thither, the commissioners sitting upon their usual seat, and not knowing why they were sent for, the declaration of the council of officers was read, whereby Cromwell was made protector; who stood in the court uncovered, whilst what was contained in a piece of parchment was read, which was called the *instrument of government*; whereby it was ordained, "that the protector should call a parliament once in every three years; that the first parliament should be convened upon the third day of September following, which would be in the year 1654; and that he should not dissolve any parliament once met, till they had sat five months; that such bills as should be presented to him by the parliament, if they should not be confirmed by him within twenty days, should pass without him, and be looked upon as laws: that he should have a select council to assist him, which should not exceed the number of one and twenty, nor be less than thirteen: that immediately after his death the council should choose another protector before they rose: that no protector after him should be general of the army: that the protector should have power to make peace and war: that, with the consent of his council, he should make laws, which should be binding to the subjects during the intervals of parliament."

Whilst this was reading, Cromwell had his hand upon the Bible; and it being read, he took his oath, "that he would not violate any thing that was contained in that instrument of government; but would observe, and cause the same to be observed; and in all things, according to the best of his understanding, govern the nation according to the laws, statutes, and customs, seeking peace, and causing justice and law to be equally administered."

This new invented ceremony being in this manner performed, he himself was covered, and all the rest bare; and Lambert, who was then the second person in the army, carried the sword before his highness (which was the style he took from thenceforth) to his coach, all they whom he called into it sitting bare; and so he returned to Whitehall; and immediately proclamation was made by a herald, in the palace-yard at Westminster

ster, "that the late parliament having dissolved themselves, and resigned their whole power and authority, the government of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by a lord protector, and successive triennial parliaments, was now established: and whereas Oliver Cromwell, captain general of all the forces of the commonwealth, is declared lord protector of the said nations, and had accepted thereof, publication was now made of the same; and all persons, of what quality or condition soever, in any of the said three nations, were strictly charged and commanded to take notice thereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the government so established; and all sheriffs, mayors, &c. were required to publish this proclamation, to the end that none might have cause to pretend ignorance therein." Which proclamation was at the same time published in Cheapside by the lord mayor of London; and, with all possible expedition, by the sheriffs, and other officers, throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland. And a few days after, the city of London invited their new protector to a very splendid entertainment at Grocers' hall, the streets being railed, and the solemnity of his reception such as had been at any time performed to the king: and he, as like a king, graciously conferred the honour of knighthood upon the lord mayor at his departure.

In this manner, and with so little pains, this extraordinary man, without any other reason than because he had a mind to it, and without the assistance, and against the desire of all noble persons or men of quality, or three men, who, in the beginning of the troubles, were possessed of three hundred pounds lands by the year, mounted himself into the throne of three kingdoms, without the name of king, but with a greater power and authority than had ever been exercised or claimed by any king; and received greater evidence and manifestation of respect and esteem from all the kings and princes in Christendom, than had ever been shewed to any monarch of those nations: which was so much the more notorious, in that they all abhorred him, when they trembled at his power, and courted his friendship.

Though, during this last year's unsettlement in England, Cromwell had, *ex plenitudine potestatis*, taken care that there was a good winter guard of ships in the Downs, yet the Dutch had enjoyed a very fruitful harvest of trade during that confusion, and suspension of power; and had sent out their fleets of merchantmen under a convoy, by the north of Scotland; and, by the return of that convoy, received their fleet from the Baltic with security; so that, upon the hope those domestic contentions in England would not be so soon composed, they begun to recover their spirits again. But Cromwell was no sooner invested in his new dignity, but, with great diligence, he caused a strong fleet to be made ready against the spring; and committed the command thereof to three admirals jointly; Blake, a man well known, but not thought entirely enough devoted to Cromwell; Monk, whom he called out of Scotland as his own creature; and Dean, a mere seaman, grown, from a common mariner, to the reputation of a bold and excellent officer.

This fleet, in the beginning of June in the year 1653, met with the Dutch about the middle seas

over between Dover and Zealand; and made what haste they could to engage them. But the wind not being favourable, it was noon before the fight begun; which continued very sharp till the night parted them, without any visible advantage to either side, save that Dean, one of the English admirals, was killed by a cannon shot from the rear-admiral of the Dutch. The next morning, the Dutch having the advantage of the small wind that was, the English charged so furiously upon the thickest part of them, without discharging any of their guns till they were at a very small distance, that they broke their squadrons; and in the end forced them to fly, and make all the sail they could for their own coasts, leaving behind them eleven of their ships; which were all taken; besides six which were sunk. The execution on the Dutch was very great, as was likewise the number of the prisoners, as well officers as soldiers. The loss of the English was greatest in their general Dean: there was, besides him, but one captain, and about two hundred common seamen, killed: the number of the wounded was greater; nor did they lose one ship, nor were so disabled but that they followed with the whole fleet to the coast of Holland, whither the other fled; and being got into the Flie, and the Texel, the English for some time blocked them up in their own harbours, taking all such ships as came bound for those ports.

This great defeat so humbled the States, that they made all possible haste to send four commissioners into England to mediate for a treaty, and a cessation of arms; who were received very loftily by Cromwell, and with some reprehension for their want of wariness in entering into so unequal a contention: yet he declared a gracious inclination to a treaty, till the conclusion whereof he could admit no cessation; which being known in Holland, they would not stay so long under the reproach and disadvantage of being besieged, and shut up in their ports; but made all possible haste to prepare another fleet, strong enough to remove the English from their coasts; which they believed was the best expedient to advance their treaty: and there cannot be a greater instance of the opulency of that people, than that they should be able, after so many losses, and so late a great defeat, in so short a time to gather a strong fleet enough together to visit those who had so lately overcome them, and who shut them within their ports.

Their admiral Trump had, with some of the fleet, retired into the Wierings, at too great a distance from the other ports for the English fleet to divide itself. He had, with a marvellous industry, caused his hurt ships to be repaired; and more severe punishment to be inflicted on those who had behaved themselves cowardly, than had ever been used in that State. And the States published so great and ample rewards to all officers and seamen who would, in that conjuncture, repair to their service, that by the end of July, within less than two months after their defeat, he came out of the Wierings with a fleet of ninety and five men of war; which as soon as the English had notice of, they made towards him. But the wind rising, they were forced to stand more to sea, for fear of the sands and shelves upon that coast. Whereupon Van Trump, all that night, stood into the Texel; where he joined five and twenty more of

their best ships; and with this addition, which made an hundred and twenty sail, he faced the English; who kept still to the sea; and having got a little more room, and the weather being a little clearer, tacked about, and were received by the Dutch with great courage and gallantry.

The battle continued very hot, and bloody on both sides, from six of the clock in the morning till one in the afternoon; when the admiral of Holland, the famous Van Trump, whilst he very signally performed the office of a brave and bold commander, was shot with a musket bullet into the heart, of which he fell dead without speaking word. This blow broke the courage of the rest; who seeing many of their companions burnt and sunk, after having endured very hot service, before the evening, fled, and made all the sail they could towards the Texel: the English were not in a condition to pursue them; but found themselves obliged to retire to their own coast, both to preserve and mend their maimed and torn ships, and refresh their wounded men.

This battle was the most bloody that had been yet fought, both sides rather endeavouring the destruction of their enemy's fleet than the taking their ships. On the Hollander's part, between twenty and thirty of their ships of war were fired, or sunk, and above one thousand prisoners taken. The victory cost the English dear too; for four hundred common men and eight captains were slain outright, and above seven hundred common men and five captains wounded. But they lost only one ship, which was burned: and two or three more, though carried home, were disabled for farther service. The most sensible part of the loss to the Dutch was the death of their admiral Van Trump, who, in respect of his maritime experience, and the frequent actions he had been engaged in, might very well be reckoned amongst the most eminent commanders at sea of that age, and to whose memory his country is farther indebted than they have yet acknowledged.

This was the last engagement at sea between the two commonwealths: for as the Dutch were, by this last defeat, and loss of their brave admiral, totally dispirited, and gave their commissioners at London order to prosecute the peace upon any conditions, so Cromwell was weary enough of so chargeable a war, and knew he had much to do to settle the government at home, and that he might choose more convenient enemies abroad, who would neither be able to defend themselves as well, or to do him so much harm, as the Hollanders had done, and could do. And therefore when he had drawn the Dutch to accept of such conditions as he thought fit to give them; among which one was, "that they should not suffer any of the king's party, or any enemy to the commonwealth of England, to reside within their dominions:" and another, which was contained in a secret article, to which the great seal of the States was affixed, by which they obliged themselves "never to admit the prince of Orange to be their stateholder, general, or admiral; and likewise to deliver up the island of Polorone in the East Indies" (which they had taken from the English in the time of king James, and usurped it ever since) "into the hands of the East India English company again;" and to pay a good sum of money for the old barbarous violence exercised so many years since at Amboyna; for

which the two last kings could never obtain satisfaction and reparation: about the middle of April 1654, he made a peace with the States General, with all the advantages he could desire, having indeed all the persons of power and interest there, fast bound to him upon their joint interest.

And having now rendered himself terrible abroad, he forced Portugal to send an ambassador to beg peace, and to submit to expiate the offence they had committed in receiving prince Rupert, by the payment of a great sum of money; and brought the two crowns of France and Spain to sue for his alliance. He suspended for a time to choose a new enemy, that he might make himself as much obeyed at home, as he was feared abroad; and, in order to that, he prosecuted all those who had been of the king's party with the utmost rigour; laid new impositions upon them, and, upon every light rumour of a conspiracy, clapped up all those whom he thought fit to suspect into close prisons; enjoined others not to stir from their own houses, and banished all who had ever been in arms for the king, from the cities of London and Westminster; and laid other penalties upon them, contrary to the articles granted to them when they gave up their arms, and to the indemnity upon making their compositions.

The discontents were general over the whole kingdom, and among all sorts of people, of what party soever. The presbyterians preached boldly against the liberty of conscience, and the monstrous license that sprung from thence; and they who enjoyed that license were as unsatisfied with the government as any of the rest, talked more loudly, and threatened the person of Cromwell more than any. But into these distempers Cromwell was not inquisitive; nor would give those men an opportunity to talk, by calling them in question, who, he knew, would say more than he was willing any body should hear; but intended to mortify those unruly spirits at the charge of the king's party, and with the spectacle of their suffering upon any the most trivial occasion. And if, in this general license of discourse, any man, who was suspected to wish well to the king, let fall any light word against the government, he was sure to be cast in prison, and to be pursued with all possible severity and cruelty: and he could not want frequent opportunities of revenge this way. It was the greatest consolation to miserable men, who had, in themselves or their friends, been undone by their loyalty, to meet together, and lament their conditions: and this brought on invectives against the person of Cromwell; wine, and the continuance of the discourse, disposing them to take notice of the universal hatred that the whole nation had of him, and to fancy how easy it would be to destroy him. And commonly there was, in all those meetings, some corrupted person of the party, who fomented most the discourse, and, for a vile recompense, betrayed his companions, and informed of all, and more than had been said. Whereupon a new plot was discovered against the commonwealth and the person of the protector, and a high court of justice was presently erected to try the criminals; which rarely absolved any man who was brought before them. But to this kind of trial they never exposed any man but those of the king's party; the other, of whom they were more afraid, had too many friends to suffer them to be brought



before such a tribunal; which had been first erected to murder the king himself, and continued to root out all who adhered to him. No man who had ever been against the king (except he became afterwards for him) was ever brought before that extravagant power; but such were remitted to the trial of the law by juries, which seldom condemned any.

The very next month after the peace was made, for the better establishment of Cromwell's empire, a high court of justice was erected for the trial of persons accused of "holding correspondence with "Charles Stuart," (which was the style they allowed the king,) "and for having a design against "the life of the protector, to seize upon the "Tower, and to proclaim the king." The chief persons they accused of this were, Mr. Gerard, a young gentleman of a good family, who had been an ensign in the king's army, but was not at present above twenty-two years of age, without any interest or fortune: the other, one Mr. Vowel; who kept a school, and taught many boys about Islington. Mr. Gerard was charged with "having "been at Paris, and having there spoken with the "king;" which he confessed; and declared, "that "he went to Paris upon a business that concerned "himself," (which he named,) "and when he had "despatched it, and was to return for England, "he desired the lord Gerard, his kinsman, to "present him to the king, that he might kiss his "hand; which he did in a large room, where "were many present; and that, when he asked "his majesty, whether he would command him "any service into England? his majesty bid him "to commend him to his friends there, and to "charge them that they should be quiet, and not "engage themselves in any plots; which must "prove ruinous to them, and could do the king "no good:" which was very true: for his majesty had observed so much of the temper of the people at his being at Worcester, and his concealment after, the fear they were under, and how fruitless any insurrection must be, that he endeavoured nothing more than to divert and suppress all inclinations that way. However, this high court of justice received proof, that Mr. Gerard and Mr. Vowel had been present with some other gentlemen in a tavern, where discourse had been held, "how easy a thing it was to kill the protector, "and at the same time to seize upon the Tower "of London, and that, if at the same time the "king were proclaimed, the city of London would "presently declare for his majesty, and nobody "would oppose him."

Upon this evidence, these two gentlemen were condemned to be hanged; and upon the tenth of July, about two months after they had been in prison, a gallows was erected at Charing-cross; whither Mr. Vowel was brought; who was a person utterly unknown to the king, and to any person intrusted by him, but very worthy to have his name and memory preserved in the list of those who shewed most magnanimity and courage in sacrificing their lives for the crown. He expressed a marvellous contempt of death; "which," he said, "he suffered without having committed "any fault." He professed his duty to the king, and his reverence for the church; and earnestly and pathetically advised the people to return to their fidelity to both; "which," he told them, "they would at last be compelled to do after all

"their sufferings." He addressed himself most to the soldiers; told them, "how unworthily they "prostituted themselves to serve the ambition of "an unworthy tyrant;" and conjured them to "forsake him, and to serve the king; which, he "was sure, they would at last do." And so having devoutly recommended the king, and the kingdom, and himself, to God in very pious prayers, he ended his life with as much Christian resolution, as can be expected from the most composed conscience.

The protector was prevailed with to shew more respect to Mr. Gerard in causing him to be beheaded, who was brought the afternoon of the same day to a scaffold upon the Tower-hill. But they were so ill pleased with the behaviour of him who suffered in the morning, that they would not permit the other to speak to the people, but pressed him to discover all the secrets of the plot and conspiracy. He told them, "that if he had "a hundred lives, he would lose them all to do "the king any service; and was now willing to "die upon that suspicion; but that he was very "innocent of what was charged against him; "that he had not entered into or consented to "any plot or conspiracy, nor given any countenance to any discourse to that purpose;" and offered again to speak to the people, and to magnify the king; upon which they would not suffer him to proceed; and thereupon, with great and undaunted courage, he laid down his head upon the block.

The same day was concluded with a very exemplary piece of justice, and of a very different nature from the other two. The ambassador of Portugal had a very splendid equipage, and in his company his brother don Pantaleon Sa, a knight of Malta, and a man eminent in many great actions; who out of curiosity accompanied his brother in this embassy, that he might see England. This gentleman was of a haughty and imperious nature; and one day being in the new exchange, upon a sudden accident and mistake, had a quarrel with that Mr. Gerard, whom we now left without his head; who had then returned some negligence and contempt to the rhodomontades of the Portuguese, and had left him sensible of receiving some affront. Whereupon the don repaired thither again the next day, with many servants, better armed, and provided for any encounter, imagining he should there find his former adversary, who did not expect that visit. But the Portuguese not distinguishing persons, and finding many gentlemen walking there, and, amongst the rest, one he believed very like the other, he thought he was not to lose the occasion, and entered into a new quarrel; in which a gentleman utterly unacquainted with what had formerly passed, and walking there accidentally, was killed, and others hurt; upon which, the people rising from all the neighbour places, don Pantaleon thought fit to make his retreat to his brother's house; which he did, and caused the gates to be locked, and put all the servants in arms to defend the house against the people; which had pursued him, and flocked now together from all parts to apprehend those who had caused the disorder, and had killed a gentleman.

The ambassador knew nothing of the affair, but looked upon himself as affronted, and assaulted by a rude multitude; and took care to defend his



house till the justice should allay the tumult. Cromwell was quickly advertised of the insolence, and sent an officer with soldiers to demand and seize upon all the persons who had been engaged in the action: and so the ambassador came to be informed of the truth of the story, with which he was exceedingly afflicted and astonished. The officer demanded the person of his brother, who was well known, and the rest of those who were present, to be delivered to him, without which he would break open the house, and find them wherever they were concealed. The ambassador demanded the privilege that was due to his house by the law of nations, and which he would defend against any violence with his own life, and the lives of all his family; but finding the officer resolute, and that he should be too weak in the encounter, he desired respite till he might send to the protector; which was granted to him. He complained of the injury that was done him, and desired an audience. Cromwell sent him word, "that a gentleman had been murdered, and many others hurt; and that justice must be satisfied; and therefore required that all the persons engaged might be delivered into the hands of his officer; without which, if he should withdraw the soldiers, and desist the requiring it, the people would pull down the house, and execute justice themselves; of which he would not answer for the effect. When this was done, he should have an audience, and all the satisfaction it was in his power to give." The ambassador desired, "that his brother, and the rest, might remain in his house, and he would be responsible, and produce them before the justice as the time should be assigned." But nothing would serve but the delivery of the persons, and the people increased their cry, "that they would pull down the house." Whereupon the ambassador was compelled to deliver up his brother, and the rest of the persons; who were all sent prisoners to Newgate. The ambassador used all the instances he could for his brother, being willing to leave the rest to the mercy of the law; but could receive no other answer but "that justice must be done;" and justice was done to the full; for they were all brought to their trial at the sessions at Newgate, and there so many of them condemned to be hanged as were found guilty. The rest of those who were condemned were executed at Tyburn; and don Pantaleon himself was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, as soon as Mr. Gerard was executed; where he lost his head with less grace than his antagonist had done.

Though the protector had nothing now to do but at home, Holland having accepted peace upon his own terms, Portugal bought it at a full price, and upon an humble submission, Denmark being contented with such an alliance as he was pleased to make with them, and France and Spain contending, by their ambassadors, which should render themselves most acceptable to him; Scotland lying under a heavy yoke by the severe government of Monk, who after the peace with the Dutch was sent back to govern that province, which was reduced under the government of the English laws, and their kirk, and kirkmen, entirely subdued to the obedience of the state without reference to assemblies, or synods; Ireland being confessedly subdued, and no opposition made to the protector's commands; so that com-

missions were sent to divide all the lands which had belonged to the Irish, or to those English who had adhered to the king, amongst those adventurers who had supplied money for the war, and the soldiers and officers; who were in great arrears for their pay, and who received liberal assignments in lands; one whole province being reserved for a demesne for the protector; and all these divisions made under the government of his younger son, Harry Cromwell, whom he sent thither as his lieutenant of that kingdom; who lived in the full grandeur of the office: notwithstanding all this, England proved not yet so towardsly as he expected. Vane, and the most considerable men of the independent party, from the time he had turned them out of the parliament, and so dissolved it, retired quietly to their houses in the country; poisoned the affections of their neighbours towards the government; and lost nothing of their credit with the people; yet carried themselves so warily, that they did nothing to disturb the peace of the nation, or to give Cromwell any advantage against them upon which to call them in question.

There were another less wary, because a more desperate party, which were the levellers; many whereof had been the most active agitators in the army, who had executed his orders and designs in incensing the army against the parliament, and had been at that time his sole confidants and bed-fellows; who, from the time that he assumed the title of protector, which to them was as odious as that of king, professed a mortal hatred to his person; and he well knew both these people had too much credit in his army, and with some principal officers of it. Of these men he stood in more fear than of all the king's party; of which he had in truth very little apprehension, though he coloured many of the preparations he made against the other, as if provided against the dangers threatened from them.

But the time drew near now, when he was obliged by the instrument of government, and upon his oath, to call a parliament; which seemed to him the only means left to compose the minds of the people to an entire submission to his government. In order to this meeting, though he did not observe the old course in sending writs out to all the little boroughs throughout England, which use to send burgesses, (in which there is so great an inequality, that some single counties send more members to the parliament, than six other counties do,) he seemed to take a more equal way by appointing more knights for every shire to be chosen, and fewer burgesses; whereby the number of the whole was much lessened; and yet, the people being left to their own election, it was not thought an ill temperament, and was then generally looked upon as an alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time. And so, upon the receipt of his writs, elections were made accordingly in all places; and such persons, for the most part, chosen and returned, as were believed to be the least affected to the present government, and to those who had any authority in it; there being strict order given, "that no person who had ever been against the parliament during the time of the civil war, or the sons of any such persons, should be capable of being chosen to sit in that parliament;" nor were any such persons made choice of.

The day of their meeting was the third of September in the year 1654, within less than a year after he had been declared protector; when, after they had been at a sermon in the Abbey at Westminster, they all came into the painted chamber; where his highness made them a large discourse; and told them, "that that parliament was such a congregation of wise, prudent, and discreet persons, that England had scarce seen the like: that he should forbear relating to them the series of God's providence all along to that time, because it was well known to them; and only declare to them, that the erection of his present power was a suitable providence to the rest, by shewing what a condition these nations were in at its erection: that then every man's heart was against another's, every man's interest divided against another's, and almost every thing grown arbitrary: that there was grown up a general contempt of God and Christ, the grace of God turned into wantonness, and his Spirit made a cloak for all wickedness and profaneness; nay, that the axe was even laid to the root of the ministry, and swarms of Jesuits were continually wafted over hither to consume and destroy the welfare of England: that the nation was then likewise engaged in a deep war with Portugal, Holland, and France; so that the whole nation was one heap of confusion: but that this present government was calculated for the people's interest, let malignant spirits say what they would; and that, with humbleness towards God, and modesty towards them, he would recount somewhat in the behalf of the government. First, it had endeavoured to reform the law; it had put into the seat of justice men of known integrity and ability; it had settled a way for probation of ministers to preach the gospel: and besides all this, it had called a free parliament: that, blessed be God, they that day saw a free parliament: then as to wars, that a peace was made with Denmark, Sweden, the Dutch, and Portugal, and was likewise near concluding with France: that these things were but entrances, and doors of hopes; but now he made no question to enable them to lay the top stone of the work, recommending to them that maxim, that peace, though it were made, was not to be trusted further than it consisted with interest: that the great work which now lay upon this parliament, was, that the government of England might be settled upon terms of honour: that they would avoid confusions, lest foreign states should take advantage of them: that, as for himself, he did not speak like one that would be a lord over them, but as one that would be a fellow-servant in that great affair:" and concluded, "that they should go to their house, and there make choice of a speaker:" which they presently did, and seemed very unanimous in their first act, which was the making choice of William Lenthall to be their speaker; which agreement was upon very disagreeing principles. Cromwell having designed him, for luck's sake, and being well acquainted with his temper, concluded, that he would be made a property in this, as well as he had been in the long parliament, when he always complied with that party that was most powerful. And the other persons who meant nothing that Cromwell did, were well pleased, out of hope that the same man's being in the chair might facilitate

the renewing and reviving the former house; which they looked upon as the true legitimate parliament, strangled by the tyranny of Cromwell, and yet that it had life enough left in it.

Lenthall was no sooner in his chair than it was proposed, "that they might in the first place consider by what authority they came thither, and whether that which had convened them had a lawful power to that purpose." From which subject the protector's creatures, and those of the army, endeavoured to divert them by all the arguments they could. Notwithstanding which, the current of the house insisted upon the first clearing that point, as the foundation, upon which all their counsels must be built: and as many of the members positively enough declared against that power, so one of them, more confident than the rest, said plainly, "that they might easily discern the snares which were laid to entrap the privileges of the people; and for his own part, as God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one person, so now he could not endure to see the nation's liberties shackled by another, whose right to the government could not be measured otherwise than by the length of his sword, which alone had emboldened him to command his commanders." This spirit prevailed so far, that, for eight days together, those of the council of officers, and others, (who were called the court party,) could not divert the question from being put, "whether the government should be by a protector and a parliament," any other way than by lengthening the debate, and then adjourning the house when the question was ready to be put, because they plainly saw that it would be carried in the negative.

The continuance of this warm debate in the house, in which the protector's own person was not treated with much reverence, exceedingly perplexed him; and obliged him once more to try, what respect his sovereign presence would produce towards a better composure. So he came again to the painted chamber, and sent for his parliament to come to him; and then told them, "that the great God of heaven and earth knew what grief and sorrow of heart it was to him, to find them falling into heats and divisions; that he would have them take notice of this, that the same government made him a protector, that made them a parliament: that as they were intrusted in some things, so was he in others: that in the government were certain fundamentals, which could not be altered, to wit, that the government should be in a single person and a parliament; that parliaments should not be perpetual, and always sitting; that the militia should not be trusted into one hand, or power, but so as the parliament might have a check on the protector, and the protector on the parliament; that in matters of religion there ought to be a liberty of conscience, and that persecution in the church was not to be tolerated. These, he said, were unalterable fundamentals. As for other things in the government, they were examinable and alterable as the state of affairs did require: that, for his own part, he was even overwhelmed with grief, to see that any of them should go about to overthrow what was settled, contrary to the trust they had received from the people; which could not but bring very great inconveniences upon themselves and the nation." When he

had made this frank declaration unto them what they were to trust to, the better to confirm them in their duty, he had appointed a guard to attend at the door of the parliament house, and there to restrain all men from entering into the house who refused to subscribe this following engagement: "I do hereby promise and engage to be true and faithful to the lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not (according to the tenor of this indenture, whereby I am returned to serve in parliament) propose or give my consent to alter the government as it is settled in one person and a parliament."

This engagement the major part of the members utterly refused to sign; and called it a violation of the privilege of parliament, and an absolute depriving them of that freedom which was essential to it. So they were excluded, and restrained from entering into the house: and they who did subscribe it, and had thereupon liberty to sit there, were yet so refractory to any proposition that might settle him in the government in the manner he desired it, that, after the five months near spent in wrangling, and useless discourses, (during which he durst not attempt the dissolution of them, by his instrument of government,) he took the first opportunity to dissolve them; and upon the two and twentieth of January, with some reproaches, he let them know he could do the business without them; and so dismissed them with much evidence of his displeasure: and they again retired to their habitations, resolved to wait another opportunity of revenge, and in the mean time to give no evidence of their submitting to his usurpation, by undertaking any employment or office under his authority, he as carefully endeavouring and watching to find such an advantage against them, as might make them liable to the penalty of the laws. Yet even his weakness and impotency upon such a notorious advantage appeared in two very notable instances, which happened about that time, in the case of two persons, whose names were then much taken notice of upon the stage of affairs, John Wildman and John Lilburn.

The former had been bred a scholar in the university of Cambridge, and being young, and of a pregnant wit, in the beginning of the rebellion meant to make his fortune in the war; and chose to depend upon Cromwell's countenance and advice, when he was not above the degree of a captain of a troop of horse himself, and was much esteemed and valued by him, and made an officer; and was so active in contriving and fomenting jealousies and discontents, and so dexterous in composing or improving any disgusts, and so inspired with the spirit of praying and preaching, when those gifts came into request, and became thriving arts, that about the time when the king was taken from Holmby, and it was necessary that the army should enter into contests with the parliament, John Wildman grew to be one of the principal agitators, and was most relied upon by Cromwell to infuse those things into the minds of the soldiers, and to conduct them in the managery of their discontents, as might most advance those designs he then had; and quickly got the reputation of a man of parts; and, having a smooth pen, drew many of the papers which first kindled the fire between the parliament and the army, that was not afterwards extinguished but in the ruin of both. His reputa-

tion in those faculties made him quit the army; where he was become a major; and where he kept still a great interest, and betook himself to civil affairs, in the solicitation of suits depending in the parliament, or before committees; where he had much credit with those who had most power to do right or wrong, and so made himself necessary to those who had need of such protection from the tyranny of the time. By these arts he thrived, and got much more than he could have done in the army, and kept and increased his credit there, by the interest he had in other places. When Cromwell declined the ways of establishing the commonwealth, Wildman, amongst the rest, forsook him; and entered, warily, into any counsels which were like to destroy him: and upon the dissolution of this last parliament, having less of phlegm, and so less patience than other men, to expect another opportunity, and in the mean time to leave him to establish his greatness, he did believe he should be able to make such a schism in the army, as would give an opportunity to other enraged persons to take vengeance upon him.

Cromwell knew the man, and his undermining faculties; knew he had some design in hand, but could not make any such discovery as might warrant a public prosecution; but appointed some trusty spies (of which he had plenty) to watch him very narrowly, and, by being often with him, to find his papers; the spreading whereof, he knew, would be the preamble to any conspiracy of his. Shortly after the dissolution of that parliament, these instruments of Cromwell's surprised him in a room, where he thought he had been safe enough, as he was writing a declaration; and seized upon the papers; the title whereof was, "a declaration, containing the reasons and motives which oblige us to take up arms against Oliver Cromwell;" and though it was not finished, yet in that that was done, there was all venom imaginable expressed against him, and a large and bitter narration of all his foul breach of trust, and perjuries, enough to have exposed any man to the severest judgment of that time; and as much as he could wish to discover against him, or any man whom he most desired to destroy. The issue was, the man was straitly imprisoned, and preparations made for his trial, and towards his execution, which all men expected. But, whether Cromwell found that there were more engaged with him than could be brought to justice, or were fit to be discovered, (as many men believed,) or that Wildman obliged himself for the time to come not only to be quiet, but to be a spy for him upon others, (as others at that time suspected, and had reason for it afterwards,) after a short time of imprisonment, the man was restored to his liberty; and resorted, with the same success and reputation, to his former course of life; in which he thrived very notably.

The case of John Lilburn was much more wonderful, and administered more occasion of discourse and observation. This man, before the troubles, was a poor bookbinder; and, for procuring some seditious pamphlets against the church and state to be printed and dispersed, had been severely censured in the star chamber, and received a sharp castigation, which made him more obstinate and malicious against them; and, as he afterwards confessed, in the melancholy of his imprisonment, and by reading the Book of Martyrs, he raised in himself a marvellous inclination and appetite to

suffer in the defence or for the vindication of any oppressed truth; and found himself very much confirmed in that spirit; and in that time diligently collected and read all those libels and books, which had anciently, as well as lately, been written against the church: from whence, with the venom, he had likewise contracted the impudence and bitterness of their style; and, by practice, brought himself to the faculty of writing like them: and so, when that license broke in of printing all that malice and wit could suggest, he published some pamphlets in his own name, full of that confidence and virulency, which might asperse the government most to the sense of the people, and to their humour. When the war begun, he put himself into the army; and was taken prisoner by the king's forces in that engagement at Brentford, shortly after the battle of Edge-hill; and being then a man much known, and talked of for his qualities above mentioned, he was not so well treated in prison as was like to reconcile him; and being brought before the chief justice, to be tried for treason by a commission of oyer and terminer, (in which method the king intended then to have proceeded against the rebels which should be taken,) he behaved himself with so great impudence, in extolling the power of the parliament, that it was manifest he had an ambition to have been made a martyr for that cause. But as he was liberally supplied from his friends at London, (and the parliament in express terms declared, "that they would inflict punishment upon the prisoners they had of the king's party, in the same manner as Lilburn and the rest should suffer at Oxford,") so he did find means to corrupt the marshal who had the custody of him; and made his escape into the parliament quarters; where he was received with public joy, as a champion that had defied the king in his own court.

From this time he was entertained by Cromwell with great familiarity, and, in his contests with the parliament, was of much use to him, and privacy with him. But he begun then to find him of so restless and unruly a spirit, and to make those advances in religion against the presbyterians before he thought it seasonable, that he dispensed with his presence in the army, where he was an officer of name, and made him reside in London, where he wished that temper should be improved. And when the parliament was so much offended with his seditious humour, and the pamphlets he published every day in religion, with reflections upon their proceedings, that they resolved to have proceeded against him with great rigour, (towards which the assembly of divines, which he had likewise provoked, contributed their desire and demand,) Cromwell writ a very passionate letter to the parliament, "that they would not so much discourage their army, that was fighting for them, as to censure an officer of it for his opinion in point of conscience; for the liberty whereof, and to free themselves from the shackles in which the bishops would enslave them, that army had been principally raised." Upon which, all farther prosecution against Lilburn was declined at that time, though he declined not the farther provocation; and continued to make the proceedings of the parliament as odious as he could. But from the time that Cromwell had dispersed that parliament, and made himself protector, and was, in effect, in possession of the

sovereign power, Lilburn withdrew his favour for him; and thought him now an enemy worthy of his displeasure; and, both in discourses and writings, in pamphlets and invectives, loaded him with all the aspersions of hypocrisy, lying, and tyranny, and all other imputations and reproaches which either he deserved, or the malice or bitterness of the other's nature could suggest to him, to make him the most universally odious that a faithless perjured person could be.

The protector could bear ill language and reproaches with less disturbance and concernment, than any person in authority had ever done: yet the persecution this man exercised him with, made him plainly discern that it would be impossible to preserve his dignity, or to have any security in the government, whilst his license continued; and therefore, after he had set spies upon him to observe his actions, and collect his words, and upon advice with his council at law, was confidently informed, "that, as well by the old established laws, as by new ordinances, Lilburn was guilty of high treason, and had forfeited his life, if he were prosecuted in any court of justice," he caused him to be sent to Newgate, and at the next sessions to be indicted of high treason; all the judges being present, and the council at law to enforce the evidence, and all care being taken for the return of such a jury as might be fit for the importance of the case. Lilburn appeared undaunted, and with the confidence of a man that was to play a prize before the people for their own liberty; he pleaded not guilty, and heard all the charge and evidence against him with patience enough, save that, by interrupting the lawyers, sometimes, who prosecuted him, and by sharp answers to some questions of the judges, he shewed that he had no reverence for their persons, nor any submission to their authority. The whole day was spent in his trial; and when he came to make his defence, he mingled so much law in his discourse to invalidate the authority of Cromwell, and to make it appear so tyrannical, that neither their lives, liberties, nor estates, were in any degree secure, whilst that usurpation was exercised; and answered all the matters objected against him with such an assurance, making them "to contain nothing of high treason, and Cromwell to be a person against whom high treason could not be committed;" and telling them "that all true-born Englishmen were obliged to oppose this tyranny, as he had done purely for their sakes, and that he had done it only for their sakes, and to preserve them from being slaves, contrary to his own profit and worldly interest:" he told them "how much he had been in Cromwell's friendship: that he might have received any benefit or preferment from him, if he would have sat still, and seen his country enslaved; which because he would not do, he was brought hither to have his life taken from him by their judgment; which he apprehended not:" he defended himself with that vigour, and charmed the jury so powerfully, that, against all the direction and charge the judges could give them, (who assured them, "that the words and actions fully proved against the prisoner, were high treason by the law; and that they were bound, by all the obligation of conscience, to find him guilty,") after no long consultation between themselves, they returned with their verdict, "that he was

"not guilty:" nor could they be persuaded by the judges to change or recede from their judgment: which infinitely enraged and perplexed the protector; who looked upon it as a greater defeat than the loss of a battle would have been; and would never suffer him to be set at liberty, as by the law he ought to have been, but sent him from prison to prison, and kept him enclosed there till he himself died. These two instances of persons not otherwise considerable are thought pertinent to be inserted, as an evidence of the temper of the nation; and how far the spirits of that time were from paying a submission to that power, when nobody had the courage to lift up their hands against it.

Whatever uneasiness and perplexity Cromwell found in his condition at home, the king found no benefit from it abroad, or from the friendship or the indignation of other princes; they had all the same terrible apprehension of Cromwell's power as if he had been landed with an army in any of their dominions, and looked upon the king's condition as desperate, and not to be supported. The treaty between France and England proceeded very fast; and every day produced fresh evidence of the good intelligence between Cromwell and the cardinal. The ships and prisoners which had been taken when they went to relieve Dunkirk, and by the taking whereof Dunkirk had been lost, were now restored, and set at liberty; and such mutual offices performed between them, as, with frequent evidences of aversion from the king and his interest, made it very manifest to his majesty, that his residence would not be suffered to continue longer in France, after the alliance should be published with Cromwell; which was not yet perfected, by the cardinal's blushing to consent to some propositions, without which the other's fast friendship was not to be obtained; and he was not willing that modesty should be conquered at once, though every body knew it would quickly be prostituted.

There could be no doubt but that the king was heartily weary of being in a place where he was so ill treated; where he lived so uncomfortably, and from whence he foresaw that he should soon be driven. But as he had no money to enable him to remove, or to pay the debts he owed there, so he knew not to what place to repair, where he might find a civil reception. Holland was bound not to admit him into their dominions, and by their example had shewed other princes and states, what conditions they must submit to who would be allies to Cromwell. The king of Spain was at the same time contending with France for Cromwell's friendship, and thought he had some advantage with him by the residence his majesty had in France: so there could be no thought of repairing into Flanders, and that he could be admitted to stay there. The protestants, in all places, expressed much more inclination to his rebels than to him. The Roman catholics looked upon him as in so desperate a condition, that he would in a short time be necessitated to throw himself into their arms by changing his religion, without which they all declared, "they would never give him the least assistance." In this distress, his majesty resumed the considerations he had formerly entered upon, of sending to the diet; which was summoned by the emperor to meet shortly at Ratisbon, to make choice of a king of the Romans. And Germany being then in peace, the emperor made little doubt

of finding a concurrence in the choice of the king of Hungary his eldest son to be made king of the Romans, and thereby to be sure to succeed him in the empire. Our king had long designed to send the lord Wilmot on that errand, to try what the emperor, and princes of Germany, would do, in such a conjuncture, towards the uniting all other princes with themselves, in undertaking a quarrel they were all concerned in, to restore a prince so injured and oppressed by so odious a rebellion; and in the mean time, of which there appeared to be more hope, what contribution they would make towards his support; and likewise, upon this occasion, what fit place might be found, in the nearest parts of Germany, for the king to repair to; where he might attend his better destiny.

It was most suitable to the occasion, and the necessity of the king's condition, that this affair should be despatched in as private a way as was possible, and with as little expense, it being impossible to send an ambassador in such an equipage, as, at such an illustrious convention of all the princes of the empire, was necessary. Wilmot pressed very much for that character, that he might the more easily accomplish his being made an earl; for which he had obtained the king's promise in a fit season. And he took great pains to persuade the king, "that this was a proper season, and very much for the advancement of his service: but, that if he had the title of an earl, which would be looked upon as a high qualification, he would not assume the character of ambassador, though he would carry such a commission with him, but make all his negotiations as a private envoy;" of which he promised the king wonderful effects, and pretended to have great assurance of money, and of making levies of men for any expedition. The king, rather to comply with the general expectation, and to do all that was in his power to do, than out of any hope of notable advantage from this agitation, was contented to make him earl of Rochester; and gave him all such commissions and credentials, as were necessary for the employment; and sent him from Paris in the Christmas time, that he might be at Ratisbon at the meeting of the diet, which was to be in the beginning of April following; means having been found to procure so much money as was necessary for that journey, out of the assignment that had been made to the king for his support: of which there was a great arrear due, and which the cardinal caused at this time to be supplied, because he looked upon this sending to Ratisbon as a preparatory for the king's own remove.

Though Scotland was vanquished, and subdued, to that degree, that there was no place nor person who made the least show of opposing Cromwell; who, by the administration of Monk, made the yoke very grievous to the whole nation; yet the preachers kept their pulpit license; and, more for the affront that was offered to presbytery, than the conscience of what was due to majesty, many of them presumed to pray for the king; and generally, though secretly, exasperated the minds of the people against the present government. The Highlanders, by the advantage of their situation, and the hardness of that people, made frequent incursions in the night into the English quarters; and killed many of their soldiers, but stole more

of their horses : and where there was most appearance of peace and subjection, if the soldiers straggled in the night, or went single in the day, they were always knocked on the head ; and no inquiry could discover the malefactors.

Many expresses were sent to the king, as well from those who were prisoners in England, as from some lords who were at liberty in Scotland, " that Middleton might be sent into the Highlands " with his majesty's commission ; " and in the mean time the earl of Glencarne, a gallant gentleman, offered, if he were authorized by the king, to draw a body of horse and foot together in the Highlands, and infest the enemy, and be ready to submit to Middleton, as soon as he should arrive there with a supply of arms and ammunition. Accordingly the king had sent a commission to the earl of Glencarne ; who behaved himself very worthily, and gave Monk some trouble. But he pressing very earnestly, that Middleton might be sent over to compose some animosities and emulations, which were growing up to the breaking off that union, without which nothing could succeed, his majesty, about the time that the earl of Rochester was despatched for Ratisbon, sent likewise Middleton into Scotland, with some few officers of that nation, and such a poor supply of arms and ammunition, as, by the activity and industry of Middleton, could be got upon the credit and contribution of some merchants and officers in Holland of that nation, who were willing to redeem their country from the slavery it was in. With this very slender assistance he transported himself in the winter into the Highlands ; where, to welcome him, he found the few, whom he looked to find in arms, more broken with faction amongst themselves than by the enemy ; nor was he able to reconcile them. But after Glencarne had delivered his thin unarmed troops to Middleton, and condescended to fight a duel with an inferior officer, who provoked him to it after he was out of his command, whether he was troubled to have another command over him, who, upon the matter, had no other men to command but what were raised by him, though he had exceedingly pressed Middleton's being sent over to that purpose, or whether convinced with the impossibility of the attempt, he retired first to his own house, and then made his peace with Monk, that he might live quietly, and retained still his affection and fidelity to the king ; which he made manifest afterwards in a more favourable conjuncture : and at the same time he excused himself to the king, for giving over an enterprise which he was not able to prosecute, though Middleton sustained it a full year afterwards.

The truth is, the two persons who were most concerned in that expedition had no degree of hope that it would be attended with any success ; the king, and Middleton ; who had both seen an army of that people, well provided with all things necessary, not able to do any thing where they fought upon terms more advantageous. And how could those now, drawn together by chance, half armed and undisciplined, be able to contend with victorious troops, which wanted nothing, and would hardly part with what they had got ? But his majesty could not refuse to give them leave to attempt what they believed they could go through with ; and Middleton, who had promised them to come to them, when he was assured he should be

enabled to carry over with him two thousand men, and good store of arms, thought himself obliged to venture his life with them who expected him, though he could carry no more with him than is mentioned ; and by his behaviour there, notwithstanding all discouragements, he manifested how much he would have done, if others had performed half their promises.

It will not be amiss in this place to mention an adventure that was made during his being in the Highlands, which deserves to be recorded for the honour of the undertakers. There was attending upon the king a young gentleman, one Mr. Wogan, a very beautiful person, of the age of three or four and twenty. This gentleman had, when he was a youth of fifteen or sixteen years, been, by the corruption of some of his nearest friends, engaged in the parliament service against the king ; where the eminency of his courage made him so much taken notice of, that he was of general estimation, and beloved by all ; but so much in the friendship of Ireton, under whom he had the command of a troop of horse, that no man was so much in credit with him. By the time of the murder of the king he was so much improved in age and understanding, that, by that horrible and impious murder, and by the information and advice of sober men in his conversation, he grew into so great a detestation of all that people, that he thought of nothing but to repair his own reputation, by taking vengeance of those who had cozened and misled him : and in order thereunto, as soon as the marquis of Ormond resumed the government of Ireland again for the king, (which was the only place then where any arms were borne for his majesty,) captain Wogan repaired thither to him through Scotland ; and behaved himself with such signal valour, that the marquis of Ormond gave him the command of his own guards, and every man the testimony of deserving it. He came over with the marquis into France ; and, being restless to be in action, no sooner heard of Middleton's being arrived in Scotland, than he resolved to find himself with him : and immediately asked the king's leave not only for himself, but for as many of the young men about the court as he could persuade to go with him ; declaring to his majesty, " that he resolved " to pass through England." The king, who had much grace for him, dissuaded him from the undertaking, for the difficulty and danger of it, and denied to give him leave. But neither his majesty, nor the marquis of Ormond, could divert him ; and his importunity continuing, he was left to follow his inclinations : and there was no news so much talked of in the court, as that captain Wogan would go into England, and from thence march into Scotland to general Middleton ; and many young gentlemen, and others, who were in Paris, listed themselves with him for the expedition. He went then to the chancellor of the exchequer ; who, during the time of the king's stay in France, executed the office of secretary of state, to desire the despatch of such passes, letters, and commissions, as were necessary for the affair he had in hand. The chancellor had much kindness for him, and having heard of his design by the common talk of the court, and from the loose discourses of some of those who resolved to go with him, represented " the danger of the enterprise to " himself, and the dishonour that would reflect " upon the king, for suffering men under his

"pass, and with his commission, to expose themselves to inevitable ruin: that it was now the discourse of the town, and would without doubt be known in England and to Cromwell, before he and his friends could get thither, so that they would be apprehended the first minute they set their foot on shore; and how much his own particular person was more liable to danger than other men's he knew well;" and, upon the whole matter, very positively dissuaded him from proceeding farther.

He answered most of the particular considerations with contempt of the danger, and confidence of going through with it, but with no kind of reason (a talent that did not then abound in him) to make it appear probable. Whereupon the chancellor expressly refused to make his despatches, till he could speak with the king; "with whom," he said, "he would do the best he could to persuade his majesty to hinder his journey;" with which the captain was provoked to so great passion, that he broke into tears, and besought him not to dissuade the king; and seemed so much transported with the resolution of the adventure, as if he would not outlive the disappointment. This passion so far prevailed with the king, that he caused all his despatches to be made, and delivered to him. And the very next day he and his companions, being seven or eight in number, went out of Paris together, and took post for Calais.

They landed at Dover, continued their journey to London, and walked the town; stayed there above three weeks, till they had bought horses, which they quartered at common inns, and listed men enough of their friends and acquaintance to prosecute their purpose. And then they appointed their rendezvous at Barnet, marched out of London as Cromwell's soldiers, and from Barnet were full fourscore horse well armed and appointed, and quartered that night at St. Alban's; and from thence, by easy journeys, but out of the common roads, marched safely into Scotland; beat up some quarters which lay in their way, and without any misadventure joined Middleton in the Highlands; where poor Wogan, after many brave actions performed there, received upon a party an ordinary flesh wound; which, for want of a good surgeon, proved mortal to him, to the very great grief of Middleton, and all who knew him. Many of the troopers, when they could stay no longer there, found their way again through England, and returned to the king.

In the distress which the king suffered during his abode in France, the chancellor of the exchequer's part was the most uneasy and grievous. For though all who were angry with him were as angry with the marquis of Ormond, who lived in great friendship with him, and was in the same trust with the king in all his counsels which were reserved from others; yet the marquis's quality, and the great services he had performed, and the great sufferings he underwent for the crown, made him above all their exceptions: and they believed his aversion from all their devices to make marriages, and to traffic in religion, proceeded most from the credit the other had with him. And the queen's displeasure grew so notorious against the chancellor, that after he found that she would not speak to him, nor take any notice of him when she saw him, he forbore at last coming in her presence;

and for many months did not see her face, though he had the honour to lodge in the same house, the palace royal, where both their majesties kept their courts; which encouraged all who desired to ingratiate themselves with her majesty, to express a great prejudice to the chancellor, at least to withdraw from his conversation: and the queen was not reserved in declaring, that she did exceedingly desire to remove him from the king; which nothing kept him from desiring also, in so uncomfortable a condition, but the conscience of his duty, and the confidence his majesty had in his fidelity.

This disinclination towards him produced, at one and the same time, a conspiracy of an odd nature, and a union between two very irreconcilable factions, the papists and the presbyterians: which was discovered to the king by a false brother, before the chancellor had any intimation of it. The lord Balcarris, with Dr. Frazier, and some other Scots about the court, thought themselves enough qualified to undertake in the name of all the presbyterians; and caused a petition to be prepared, in which they set out, "that the presbyterian party had great affections to serve his majesty, and much power to do it; and that they had many propositions and advices to offer to his majesty for the advancement thereof; but that they were discouraged, and hindered from offering the same, by reason that his majesty intrusted his whole affairs to the chancellor of the exchequer; who was an old known and declared enemy to all their party; in whom they could repose no trust: and therefore they besought his majesty, that he might be removed from his council, at least not be suffered to be privy to any thing that should be proposed by them; and they should then make it appear how ready and how able they were in a very short time to advance his majesty's affairs."

Another petition was prepared in the name of his Roman catholic subjects; which said, "that all his majesty's party which had adhered to him were now totally suppressed; and had, for the most part, compounded with his enemies, and submitted to their government: that the church-lands were all sold, and the bishops dead, except very few, who durst not exercise their function: so that he could expect no more aid from any who were concerned to support the government of the church as it had been formerly established: that by the defeat of duke Hamilton's army first, and then by his majesty's ill success at Worcester, and the total reduction of the kingdom of Scotland afterwards by Cromwell, his majesty might conclude what greater aid he was to expect from the presbyterian party. Nothing therefore remained to him of hope for his restoration, but from the affection of his Roman catholic subjects; who, as they would never be wanting as to their persons, and their estates which were left, so they had hope to draw from the catholic princes, and the pope himself, such considerable assistance both in men and money, that his majesty should owe his restitution, under the blessing of God, to the sole power and assistance of the catholics. But they had great reason to fear, that all these hopes would be obstructed and rendered of no use, not only by there being no person about his majesty in whom the catholics could have any



"confidence, but by reason that the person most trusted by him, and through whose hands all letters and despatches must pass, is a known enemy to all catholics; and therefore they besought his majesty, that that person, the chancellor of the exchequer, might be removed from him; whereupon he should find great benefit to accrue to his service." They concluded, that when these two petitions should be weighed and considered, the queen would easily convince his majesty, that a person who was so odious to all the Roman catholics, from whose affections his majesty had most reason to promise himself relief, and to all the protestants who could contribute to his assistance or subsistence, could not be fit to be continued in any trust about him.

When matters were thus adjusted, which were the longer in preparation, because the persons concerned could not, without suspicion and scandal, meet together, but were to be treated with by persons mutually employed, one Mr. Walsingham, a person very well known to all men who at that time knew the palace royal, who had been employed in the affair, came to the king, and, whether out of ingenuity, and dislike of so foul a combination, or as he thought the discovery would be grateful to his majesty, informed him of the whole intrigue, and gave a copy of the petitions to the king; who shewed them to the marquis of Ormond, and the chancellor of the exchequer; and informed them of the whole intrigue. And from this time his majesty made himself very merry with the design, and spoke of it sometimes at dinner, when the queen was present; and asked pleasantly, "when the two petitions would be brought against the chancellor of the exchequer?" which being quickly known to some of the persons engaged in the prosecution, they gave it over, and thought not fit to proceed any farther in it; though both factions continued their implacable malice towards him, nor did he find any ease or quiet by their giving over that design, their animosities against him still breaking out one after another, as long as the king remained in France; the queen taking all occasions to complain to the queen regent of the king's unkindness, that she might impute all that she disliked to the chancellor; and the queen mother of France was like to be very tender in a point that so much concerned herself, that any man should dare to interpose between the mother and the son.

There was an accident fell out, that administered some argument to make those complaints appear more reasonable. The cardinal de Retz had always expressed great civilities towards the king, and a desire to serve him; and upon some occasional conference between them, the cardinal asked the king, "whether he had made any attempt to draw any assistance from the pope, and whether he thought that nothing might be done that way to his advantage?" The king told him, "nothing had been attempted that way; and that he was better able to judge, whether the pope was like to do any thing for a man of his faith." The cardinal smiling, said, "he had no thought of speaking of his faith;" yet in short, he spoke to him like a wise and honest man; "that if any overtures were made him of the change of his religion, he must tell his majesty, it became him as a cardinal to wish his majesty a catholic for the saving his soul; but he must declare too,

that if he did change his religion, he would never be restored to his kingdoms." But he said, "he did believe," (though the pope was old, and much decayed in his generosity; for Innocent the Tenth was then living,) "that if some proper application was made to the princes of Italy, and to the pope himself, though there would not be gotten wherewithal to raise and maintain armies, there might be somewhat considerable obtained for his more pleasant support, wherever he should choose to reside." He said, "he had himself some alliance with the great duke, and interest in other courts, and in Rome itself; and if his majesty would give him leave, and trust his discretion, he would write in such a manner in his own name to some of his friends, as should not be of any prejudice to his majesty, if it brought him no convenience." The king had reason to acknowledge the obligation, and to leave it to his own wisdom, what he would do. In the conclusion of the discourse, the cardinal asked his majesty a question or two of matter of fact, which he could not answer; but told him, "he would give a punctual information of it the next day in a letter:" which the cardinal desired might be as soon as his majesty thought fit, because he would, upon the receipt of it, make his despatches into Italy. The particular things being out of the king's memory, as soon as he returned, he asked the chancellor of the exchequer concerning them; and having received a punctual account from him, his majesty writ a letter the next day to the cardinal, and gave him information as to those particulars. Within very few days after this, the cardinal coming one day to the Louvre to see the queen mother, he was arrested by the captain of the guard, and sent prisoner to the Bastille; and in one of his pockets, which they searched, that letter the king had sent to him was found, and delivered to the queen regent; who presently imparted it to the queen of England; and after they had made themselves merry with some improprieties in the French, the king having, for the secrecy, not consulted with any body, they discovered some purpose of applying to the pope, and to other catholic princes; and that his majesty should enter upon any such counsel, without first consulting with the queen his mother; could proceed only from the instigation of the chancellor of the exchequer.

Her majesty, with a very great proportion of sharpness, reproached the king for his neglect, and gave him his letter. The king was exceedingly sensible of the little respect the queen mother had shewed towards him, in communicating his letter in that manner to his mother; and expostulated with her for it; and took that occasion to enlarge more upon the injustice of his mother's complaints, than he had ever done. And from that time the queen mother, who was in truth a very worthy lady, shewed much more kindness to the king. And a little time after, there being a masque at the court that the king liked very well, he persuaded the chancellor to see it; and vouchsafed, the next night, to carry him thither himself, and to place the marquis of Ormond and him next the seat where all their majesties were to sit. And when they entered, the queen regent asked, "who that fat man was who sat by the marquis of Ormond?" The king told her aloud, "that was the naughty man who did all the mischief, and set him against



"his mother:" at which the queen herself was little less disordered than the chancellor was, who blushed very much. But they within hearing laughed so much, that the queen was not displeased; and somewhat was spoken to his advantage, whom few thought to deserve the reproach.

At this time the king was informed by the French court, "that prince Rupert, who had been so long absent, having gone with the fleet from Holland before the murder of the late king, and had not been heard of in some years, was now upon the coast of France, and soon after at Nantes, in the province of Bretagne, with the Swallow, a ship of the king's, and with three or four other ships: and that the Constant Reformation, another ship of the king's, in which prince Maurice had been, was cast away in the Indies near two years before; and that prince Rupert himself was returned with very ill health." The king sent presently to welcome him, and to invite him to Paris to attend his health; and his majesty presumed that, by the arrival of this fleet, which he thought must be very rich, he should receive some money, that would enable him to remove out of France; of which he was as weary as it was of him.

Great expectation was raised in the English court, that there would be some notable change upon the arrival of this prince; and though he had professed much kindness to the chancellor of the exchequer, when he parted from Holland, yet there was hope that he would not appear now his friend, the rather for that he had left Ireland with some declared unkindness towards the marquis of Ormond. And all men knew that the attorney general, who was unsatisfied with every body, would have most influence upon that prince; and that his highness could not be without credit enough with the king to introduce him into business; which they thought would at least lessen the chancellor. In order to which, it was no sooner known that prince Rupert was landed in France, but the lord Jermyn visited and made great court to sir Edward Herbert; between whom and him there had been greater show of animosity than between any two of the nation who were beyond the seas, they having for some years seldom spoken to, never well of, each other. And Herbert, who was of a rough and proud nature, had declared publicly, "that he would have no friendship with any man who believed the other to be an honest man." Between these two a great friendship is suddenly made; and the attorney is every day with the queen, who had shewed a greater aversion from him than from any man, not only upon the business of the duke of York, but upon many other occasions. But now she commended him to the king, "as a wise man, of great experience, and of great interest in England."

From the death of sir Richard Lane, who had been keeper of the great seal under his late majesty, there had not only been no officer in that place, but, from the defeat at Worcester, the king had been without any great seal, it having been there lost. But he had lately employed a graver to prepare a great seal; which he kept himself, not intending to confer that office, whilst he remained abroad. But now the queen pressed the king very earnestly, to make the attorney general lord keeper of the great seal; which was a promo-

tion very natural, men ordinarily rising from the one office to the other. The king knew the man very well, and had neither esteem nor kindness for him; yet he well foresaw, that when prince Rupert came to him, he should be pressed both by his mother and him so importunately, that he should not with any ease be able to refuse it. Then he believed that, if the man himself were in good humour, he would be of great use in composing any ill humour that should arise in the prince; to which it was apprehended he might be apt to be inclined. And therefore his majesty thought it best (since nobody dissuaded him from the thing) to oblige him frankly himself before the prince came; and so called him to his council, and made him lord keeper of the great seal; with which he seemed wonderfully delighted; and for some time lived well towards every body; though, as to any thing of business, he appeared only in his old excellent faculty of raising doubts, and objecting against any thing that was proposed, and proposing nothing himself; which was a temper of understanding he could not rectify, and, in the present state of affairs, did less mischief than it would have done in a time when any thing was to have been done.

Before the prince came to Paris he gave the king such an account, as made it evident that his majesty was to expect no money: "that what treasure had been gotten together, which, he confessed, had amounted to great value, had been all lost in the ship in which himself was," (that sprung a plank in the Indies, when his highness was miraculously preserved,) "and, in the boat, carried to another ship, when that the Antelope, with all the men, and all that had been gotten, sunk in the sea; and that much of the other purchase had been likewise cast away in the ship in which his brother perished; which was after his own misfortune;" so that all that was brought into Nantes would scarce pay off the seamen, and discharge some debts at Toulon, which the prince had contracted at his former being there, during the time that the king had been in Holland: and, "that the ships were all so eaten with worms, even the Swallow itself, that there was no possibility of setting them out again to sea." This was all the account the king could receive of that whole affair, when the prince himself came to Paris; with which though the king was not satisfied, yet he knew not how to remedy it, the prince taking it very ill that any account should be required of him; and the keeper quickly persuaded his highness, that it was only the chancellor of the exchequer's influence, that disposed the king with so much strictness to examine his account.

There was another design now set on foot, by which they concluded they should sufficiently mortify the chancellor; who, they thought, had still too much credit with his master. When the king went into Scotland, Mr. Robert Long, who hath been mentioned before, was secretary of state; who, having been always a creature of the queen's, and dependent upon the lord Jermyn, had so behaved himself towards them, during his short stay in Scotland, (for he was one of those who was removed from the king there, and sent out of that kingdom,) that when his majesty returned from Worcester to Paris, they would by no means suffer that he should wait upon his majesty; and

accused him of much breach of trust, and dishonesty, and, amongst the rest, that he should say, which could be proved, "that it was impossible for any man to serve the king honestly, and to preserve the good opinion of the queen, and keep the lord Jermyn's favour." The truth is, that gentleman had not the good fortune to be generally well thought of, and the king did not believe him faultless; and therefore was contented to satisfy his mother, and would not permit him to execute his office, or to attend in his councils. Whereupon he left the court, and lived privately at Rouen; which was the reason that the chancellor had been commanded to execute that place, which entitled him to so much trouble. Upon this conjunction between the lord Jermyn and the keeper, the last of whom had in all times inveighed against Mr. Long's want of fidelity, they agreed, that there could not be a better expedient found out to lessen the chancellor's credit, than by restoring Long to the execution of the secretary's function. Whereupon they sent for him, and advised him to prepare a petition to the king, "that he might be again restored to his office and attendance, or that he might be charged with his crimes, and be farther punished, if he did not clear himself, and appear innocent." This petition was presented to the king, when he was in council, by the queen; who came thither only for that purpose, and desired that it might be read; which being done, the king was surprised, having not in the least received any notice of it; and said, "that her majesty was the principal cause that induced his majesty to remove him from his place, and that she then believed that he was not fit for the trust." She said, "she had now a better opinion of him, and that she had been misinformed." The king thought it unfit to receive a person into so near a trust, against whose fidelity there had been such public exceptions; and his majesty knew that few of his friends in England would correspond with him; and therefore would not be persuaded to restore him. This was again put all upon the chancellor's account, and the influence he had upon the king.

Thereupon Mr. Long accused the chancellor of having betrayed the king; and undertook to prove that he had been over in England, and had private conference with Cromwell: which was an aspersion so impossible, that every body laughed at it: yet because he undertook to prove it, the chancellor pressed, "that a day might be appointed for him to produce his proof:" and at that day the queen came again to the council, that she might be present at the charge. There Mr. Long produced Massonet, a man who had served him, and afterwards been an under-clerk for writing letters and commissions, during the time of the king's being in Scotland, and had been taken prisoner at Worcester; and, being released with the rest of the king's servants, had been employed, from the time of the king's return, in the same service under the chancellor; the man having, before the troubles, taught the king, and the duke of York, and the rest of the king's children to write, being indeed the best writer, in Latin as well as English, for the fairness of the hand, of any man in that time.

Massonet said, "that after his release from his imprisonment, and whilst he stayed in London, he spoke with a maid, who had formerly served

him, that knew the chancellor very well, and who assured him, that one evening she had seen the chancellor go into Cromwell's chamber at Whitehall; and after he had been shut up with him some hours, she saw him conducted out again." And Mr. Long desired time, that he might send over for this woman, who should appear and justify it. To this impossible discourse, the chancellor said, "he would make no other defence, than that there were persons then in the town, who, he was confident, would avow that they had seen him once every day, from the time he returned from Spain to the day on which he attended his majesty at Paris;" as indeed there were; and when he had said so, he offered to go out of the room; which the king would not have him to do. But he told his majesty, "that it was the course; and that he ought not to be present at the debate that was to concern himself;" and the keeper, with some warmth, said, "it was true;" and so he retired to his own chamber. The lord Jermyn, as soon as he was gone, said, "he never thought the accusation had any thing of probability in it; and that he believed the chancellor a very honest man: but the use that he thought ought to be made of this calumny, was, that it appeared that an honest and innocent man might be calumniated, as he thought Mr. Long had likewise been; and therefore they ought both to be cleared." The keeper said, "he saw not ground enough to condemn the chancellor; but he saw no cause neither to declare him innocent: that there was one witness which declared only what he had heard; but that he undertook also to produce the witness herself, if he might have time; which in justice could not be denied;" and therefore he proposed, that a competent time might be given to Mr. Long to make out his proof; and that in the mean time the chancellor might not repair to the council:" with which proposition the king was so offended, that, with much warmth, he said, "he discerned well the design; and that it was so false and wicked a charge, that, if he had no other exception against Mr. Long than this foul and foolish accusation, it was cause enough never to trust him." And therefore he presently sent for the chancellor, and, as soon as he came in, commanded him to sit in his place; and told him, "he was sorry he was not in a condition to do him more justice than to declare him innocent;" which he did do, and commanded the clerk of the council to draw up a full order for his vindication, which his majesty himself would sign.

The keeper could not contain himself from appearing very much troubled: and said, "if what he heard from a person of honour, who, he thought, would justify it, were true, the chancellor had aspersed the king in such a manner, and so much [reviled] his majesty in point of his honour, that he was not fit to sit there." The chancellor was wonderfully surprised with the charge; and humbly besought his majesty, "that the lord keeper might produce his author, or be looked upon as the contriver of the scandal." The keeper answered, "that if his majesty would appoint an hour the next day for the council to meet, he would produce the person, who, he was confident, would justify all he had said."

The next day, the king being sat in council, the keeper desired that the lord Gerard might be called in; who presently appeared; and being asked, "whether he had at any time heard the chancellor of the exchequer speak ill of the king?" he answered, "Yes." And thereupon made a relation of a conference that had passed between the chancellor and him a year before, when the king lay at Chantilly; "that one day, after dinner, the king took the air, and being in the field his majesty alighted out of his coach, and took his horse, with other of the lords, to ride into the next field to see a dog set partridge; and that he, the lord Gerard, and the chancellor remained in the coach, when he entered into discourse of the king's condition; and said, that he thought his majesty was not active enough, nor did think of his business; and, that the chancellor, who was known to have credit with him, ought to advise him to be active, for his honour and his interest; otherwise, his friends would fall from him. But, that it was generally believed, that he, the chancellor, had no mind that his majesty should put himself into action, but was rather for sitting still; and therefore it concerned him, for his own justification, to persuade the king to be active, and to leave France, where he could not but observe that every body was weary of him. To all which the chancellor took great pains to purge himself from being in the fault; and said, that nobody could think that he could take delight to stay in a place where he was so ill used; but laid all the fault upon the king; who, he said, was indisposed to business, and took too much delight in pleasures, and did not love to take pains; for which he was heartily sorry, but could not help it; which," Gerard said, "he thought was a great reproach and scandal upon the king, from a man so obliged and trusted, who ought not to asperse his master in that manner."

The chancellor was a little out of countenance; and said, "he did not expect that accusation from any body, less that the lord Gerard should discover any private discourse that had passed a year before between them two, and which appeared by his relation to have been introduced by himself, and by his own freedom: that whoever believed that he had a mind to traduce the king, would never believe that he would have chosen the lord Gerard, who was known to be none of his friend, to have communicated it to." He said, "he did very well remember, that the lord Gerard did, at that time when they two remained alone in the coach, very passionately censure the king's not being active, and blamed him, the chancellor, for not persuading his majesty to put himself into action; and that he was generally believed to be in the fault. Upon which he had asked him, what he did intend by being active, and what that action was, and where, to which he wished the king should be persuaded? He answered, with an increase of passion, and addition of oaths, that rather than sit still in France, his majesty ought to go to every court in Christendom; that, instead of sending an ambassador who was not fit for any business, he should have gone himself to the diet at Ratisbon, and solicited his own business; which would have been more effectual: and that, if he could not find any other way to put

himself into action, he ought to go into the Highlands of Scotland to Middleton, and there try his fortune." To all which the chancellor said, he did remember that he replied, "he believed the king was indisposed to any of that action he proposed: and though he did not believe that he had used those expressions, of the king's delighting in pleasures, and not loving business so well as he ought to do, if the lord Gerard would positively affirm he had, he would rather confess it, and submit himself to his majesty's judgment, if he thought such words proceeded from any malice in his heart towards him, than, by denying it, continue the debate:" and then he offered to retire; which the king forbid him to do; upon which the keeper was very angry; and said, "the words amounted to an offence of a high nature; and that he was sorry his majesty was no more sensible of them: that for any man, especially a counsellor, and a man in so near trust, to accuse his master of not loving his business, and being inclined to pleasures, was to do all he could to persuade all men to forsake him;" and proceeding with his usual warmth and positiveness, the king interrupted him; and said, "he did really believe the chancellor had used those very words, because he had often said that, and much more, to himself; which he had never taken ill: that he did really believe that he was himself in fault, and did not enough delight in his business; which was not very pleasant; but he did not know that such putting himself into action, which was the common word, as the lord Gerard advised, was like to be attended with those benefits, which, he was confident, he wished." In fine, he declared, "he was very well satisfied in the chancellor's affection, and took nothing ill that he had said;" and directed the clerk of the council to enter such his majesty's declaration in his book; with which both the keeper and the lord Gerard were very ill satisfied. But from that time there were no farther public attempts against the chancellor, during the time of his majesty's abode in France. But it may not be unseasonable to insert in this place, that after the king's return into England, there came the woman to the chancellor, who had been carried over to Rouen by Massonet, and importuned by Mr. Long to testify that she had seen the chancellor with Cromwell; for which she should have a present liberal reward in money from him, and a good service at Paris; which when the woman refused to do, he gave her money for her journey back, and so she returned: of which the chancellor informed the king. But Mr. Long himself coming at the same time to him, and making great acknowledgments, and asking pardon, the chancellor frankly remitted the injury, and would make no more words of it; which Mr. Long seemed to acknowledge with great gratitude ever after.

The king, wearied with these domestic vexations, as well as with the uneasiness of his entertainment, and the change he every day discovered in the countenance of the French court to him, grew very impatient to leave France; and though he was totally disappointed of the expectation he had to receive money by the return of prince Rupert with that fleet, he hoped that, when the prizes should be sold, and all the seamen discharged, and prince Rupert satisfied his demands, which

were very large, there would be still left the ships, and ordnance, and tackling, which (though they required great charge to be fitted out again to sea, yet) if sold, he presumed, would yield a good sum of money to enable him to remove, and support him some time after he was removed; for there were, besides the ship itself, fifty good brass guns on board the *Swallow*, which were very valuable. His majesty therefore writ to prince Rupert, (who was returned to Nantes to discharge some seamen, who still remained, and to sell the rest of the prizes,) "that he should find some good chapmen to buy the ships, and ordnance, and tackle, at the value they were worth:" which was no sooner known at Nantes, than there appeared chapmen enough; besides the marshal of Melleray, who being governor of that place, and of the province, had much money still by him to lay out on such occasions. And the prince writ the king word, "that he had then a good chapman, who would pay well for the brass cannon; and that he should put off all the rest at good rates." But he writ again the next week, "that, when he had even finished the contract for the brass cannon, there came an order from the court, that no man should presume to buy the brass cannon, and to marshal Melleray to take care that they were not carried out of that port."

The prince apprehended, that this unexpected restraint proceeded from some claim and demand from Cromwell; and then expected, that it would likewise relate to the *Swallow* itself, if not to the other ships; and the marshal contributed to and cherished this jealousy, that the better markets might be made of all the rest; himself being always a sharer with the merchants, who made any purchases of that kind: as he had, from the time that his highness first came into that port, always insinuated into him in confidence, and under great good-will and trust, "that he should use all expedition in the sale of the prizes, lest either Cromwell should demand the whole, (which he much doubted,) or that the merchants, owners of the goods, should, upon the hearing where they were, send and arrest the said ships and goods, and demand restitution to be made of them in a course of justice; in either of which cases," he said, "he did not know, considering how things stood with England, what the court would determine:" though, he promised, "he would extend his authority to serve the prince, as far as he could with his own safety; and defer the publishing and execution of any orders he should receive, till the prince might facilitate the despatch;" and by this kind advice very good bargains had been made for those goods which had been sold; of which the marshal had an account to his own desire.

But when, upon this unwelcome advertisement, the king made his address to the cardinal to revoke this order; and, as the best reason to oblige him to gratify him, told him, "that the money, which should be raised upon the sale of those cannon, was the only means he had to remove himself out of France, which he intended shortly to do, and to go to the hither parts of Germany, and that his sister, the princess of Orange, and he, had some thoughts of finding themselves together, in the beginning of the summer, at the *Spa*:" which indeed had newly entered into the king's consideration, and had been entertained by

the princess royal; the cardinal, being well pleased with the reason, told his majesty, "that this order was not newly made, but had been very ancient, that no merchants or any private subjects should buy any brass ordnance in any port, lest ill use might be made of them; and that the order was not now revived with any purpose to bring any prejudice to his majesty; who should be no loser by the restraint; for that himself would buy the ordnance, and give as much for them as they were worth; in order to which, he would forthwith send an agent to Nantes to see the cannon; and, upon conference with a person employed by the king, they two should agree upon the price, and then the money should be all paid together to his majesty in Paris:" intimating that he would dispute the matter afterwards with Cromwell; as if he knew, or foresaw, that he would make some demand.

It was well for the king that this condition was made for the payment of this money in Paris; for of all the money paid or received at Nantes, as well for the ships, tackle, and ordnance, as for the prize-goods, not one penny ever came to the king's hands, or to his use, but what he received at Paris from the cardinal for the brass guns which were upon the *Swallow*; for the valuing whereof the king sent one thither to treat with the officer of the cardinal. All the rest was disposed, as well as received, by prince Rupert; who, when he returned to Paris, gave his majesty a confused account; and averred, "that the expenses had been so great, that there was not only no money remaining in his hands, but that there was a debt still due to a merchant;" which he desired his majesty to promise to satisfy.

The king's resolution to go into Germany was very grateful to every body, more from the weariness they had of France, than from the foresight of any benefit and advantage that was like to accrue by the remove. But his majesty, who needed no spurs for that journey, was the more disposed to it by the extraordinary importunity of his friends in England; who observing the strict correspondence that was between the cardinal and Cromwell, and knowing that the alliance between them was very near concluded, and being informed that there were conditions agreed upon, which were very prejudicial to the king, did really apprehend that his majesty's person might be given up; and thereupon they sent Harry Seymour, who, being of his majesty's bedchamber, and having his leave to attend his own affairs in England, they well knew would be believed by the king, and being addressed only to the marquis of Ormond and the chancellor of the exchequer, he might have opportunity to speak with the king privately and undiscovered, and return again with security, as he, and all messengers of that kind, frequently did. He was sent by the marquis of Hertford and the earl of Southampton, with the privacy of those few who were trusted by them, "to be very importunate with the king, that he would remove out of France; and to communicate to his majesty all which they received from persons who were admitted into many of the secret resolutions and purposes of Cromwell." And because they well knew in what straits the king was for money, they found some means at that time to send him a supply of about three thousand pounds; which the king received,

and kept with great secrecy. They sent him word likewise, "that wherever he should choose to reside out of France, they were confident his servants in England, under what persecution soever they lay, would send him some supply: but whilst he remained in France, nobody would be prevailed with to send to him." The king was glad to be confirmed in the resolution he had taken, by his friends' advice; and that they had in some degree enabled him to prosecute it; which was the more valuable, because it was known to none. Yet his debts were so great in Paris, and the servants who were to attend him in so ill a condition, and so without all conveniences for a journey, that, if the cardinal, over and above the money for the cannon, (which the king did not desire to receive till the last,) did not take care for the payment of all the arrears, which were due upon the assignment they had made to him, he should not be able to make his journey.

But in this he received some ease quickly; for when the cardinal was satisfied that his majesty had a full resolution to be gone, which he still doubted, till he heard from Holland that the princess royal did really provide for her journey to the Spa, he did let the king know, "that, against the time that his majesty appointed his remove, his arrears should be either entirely paid, or so much of his debts secured to his creditors, as should well satisfy them; and the rest should be paid to his receiver for the charge of the journey;" and likewise assured his majesty, "that, for the future, the monthly assignation should be punctually paid to whomsoever his majesty would appoint to receive it." This promise was better complied with than any other that had been made, till, some years after, the king thought fit to decline the receiving thereof; which will be remembered in its place.

All things being in this state, the king declared his resolution to begin his journey, as soon as he could put himself into a capacity of moving, upon the receipt of the money he expected, and all preparations were made for enabling the family to be ready to wait upon his majesty, and for the better regulating and governing it, when the king should be out of France; there having never been any order put in it whilst he remained there, nor could be, because his majesty had always eaten with the queen, and her officers had governed the expense; so that by the failing of receiving money that was promised, and by the queen's officers receiving all that was paid, to carry on the expense of their majesties' table, which the king's servants durst not inquire into, very few of his majesty's servants had received any wages from the time of his coming from Worcester to the remove he was now to make. Nor was it possible now to satisfy them what they might in justice expect, but they were to be contented with such a proportion as could be spared, and which might enable them, without reproach and scandal, to leave Paris. They were all modest in their desires, hoping that they should be better provided for in another place. But now the king met with an obstruction, that he least expected, from the wonderful narrowness of the cardinal's nature, and his over good husbandry in bargaining. The agent he had sent to Nantes to view the cannon, made so many scruples and exceptions upon the price, and upon the weight, that spent much time; and at last offered

much less than they were worth, and than the other merchant had offered, when the injunction came that restrained him from proceeding. The king knew not what to propose in this. The cardinal said, "he understood not the price of cannon himself, and therefore he had employed a man that did; and it was reasonable for him to govern himself by his conduct; who assured him, that he offered as much as they could reasonably be valued at." It was moved on the king's behalf, "that he would permit others to buy them; which," he said, "he could not do, because of the king his master's restraint; and if any merchant, or other person, should agree for them, Cromwell would demand them wherever they should be found; and there were not many that would dispute the right with him." In conclusion, the king was compelled to refer the matter to himself, and to accept what he was content to pay; and when all was agreed upon according to his own pleasure, he required new abatements in the manner of payment of the money, as allowance for paying it in gold, and the like, fitter to be insisted on by the meanest merchant, than by a member of the sacred college, who would be esteemed a prince of the church.

Whilst the king was preparing for his journey, he received news that pleased him very well, and looked like some addition of strength to him. After the duke of York had made his escape from St. James's, where he, and the rest of the royal family that remained in England, were under the care and tuition of the earl of Northumberland; the parliament would not suffer, nor did the earl desire, that the rest should remain longer under his government. But the other three, two princesses and the duke of Gloucester, were committed to the countess of Leicester; to whom such an allowance was paid out of the treasury, as might well defray their expenses with that respect that was due to their birth; which was performed towards them as long as the king their father lived. But as soon as the king was murdered, it was ordered that the children should be removed into the country, that they might not be the objects of respect to draw the eyes and application of people towards them. The allowance was retrenched, that their attendants and servants might be lessened; and order was given, "that they should be treated without any addition of titles, and that they should sit at their meat as the children of the family did, and all at one table." Whereupon they were removed to Penshurst, a house of the earl of Leicester's in Kent; where they lived under the tuition of the same countess, who observed the order of the parliament with obedience enough: yet they were carefully looked to, and treated with as much respect as the lady pretended she durst pay to them.

There, by an act of providence, [Mr. Lovel.] an honest man, who had been recommended to teach the earl of Sunderland, whose mother was a daughter of the house of Leicester, became likewise tutor to the duke of Gloucester; who was, by that means, well taught in that learning that was fit for his years, and very well instructed in the principles of religion, and the duty that he owed to the king his brother: all which made the deeper impression in his very pregnant nature, by what his memory retained of those instructions which the king his father had, with much fervour,

given him before his death. One of the princesses died at Penshurst, and shortly after the other princess and the duke of Gloucester were removed from the government of the countess of Leicester, and sent into the Isle of Wight to Carisbrook castle; where Mildmay was captain; and the care of them committed to him, with an assignation for their maintenance; which he was to order, and which in truth was given as a boon to him; and he was required strictly, "that no person should be permitted to kiss their hands," and that they should not be otherwise treated "than as the children of a gentleman;" which Mildmay observed very exactly; and the duke of Gloucester was not called by any other style than, Mr. Harry. The tutor was continued, and sent thither with him; which pleased him very well. And here they remained at least two or three years. The princess died in this place; and, according to the charity of that time towards Cromwell, very many would have it believed to be by poison; of which there was no appearance, nor any proof ever after made.

But whether this reproach and suspicion made any impression in the mind of Cromwell, or whether he had any jealousy that the duke of Gloucester, who was now about fourteen years of age, and a prince of extraordinary hopes both from the comeliness and gracefulness of his person, and the vivacity and vigour of his wit and understanding, which made him much spoken of, might, at some time or other, be made use of by the discontented party of his own army to give him trouble, or whether he would shew the contempt he had of the royal family, by sending another of it into the world to try his fortune, he did declare one day to his council, "that he was well content that the son of the late king, who was then in Carisbrook castle, should have liberty to transport himself into any parts beyond the seas, as he should desire:" which was at that time much wondered at, and not believed; and many thought it a presage of a worse inclination; and for some time there was no more speech of it. But notice and advice being sent to the duke by those who wished his liberty, that he should prosecute the obtaining that order and release, he, who desired most to be out of restraint, sent his tutor, Mr. Lovel, to London, to be advised by friends what he should do to procure such an order, and warrant, as was necessary for his transportation. And he, by the advice of those who wished well to the affair, did so dexterously solicit it, that he did not only procure an order from the council that gave him liberty to go over the seas with the duke, and to require Mildmay to permit him to embark, but likewise five hundred pounds from the commissioners of the treasury, which he received, to defray the charges and expenses of the voyage; being left to provide a ship himself, and being obliged to embark at the Isle of Wight, and not to suffer the duke to go on shore in any other part of England.

[This happened in the latter end of the year 1652:] and was so well prosecuted, that, at the time when the king was making his preparations ready to leave France, he received advertisement from his sister in Holland, "that the duke of Gloucester was arrived there; and would be the next day with her;" which was no sooner known than the queen very earnestly desired, that

he might be presently sent for to Paris, that she might see him; which she had never done since he was about a year old; for within such a short time after he was born, the troubles were so far advanced, that her majesty made her voyage into Holland, and from that time had never seen him. The king could not refuse to satisfy his mother in so reasonable a desire, though he did then suspect that there might be a farther purpose in that design of seeing him, than was then owned. And therefore he had despatched presently a messenger to the Hague, that his brother might make all possible haste to Paris; his majesty having nothing more in his resolution, than that his brother should not make any stay in France, but that he should return again with him into Germany; and with this determination of the king's he was presently sent for, and came safely to Paris, to the satisfaction of all who saw him.

All expedition was used to provide for the king's remove, so generally desired of all; and, for the future, the charge of governing the expenses of the family, and of payment of the wages of the servants, and indeed of issuing out all monies, as well in journeys as when the court resided any where, was committed to Stephen Fox, a young man bred under the severe discipline of the lord Peirce, now lord chamberlain of the king's household. This Stephen Fox was very well qualified with languages, and all other parts of clerkship, honesty, and discretion, that were necessary for the discharge of such a trust; and indeed his great industry, modesty, and prudence, did very much contribute to the bringing the family, which for so many years had been under no government, into very good order; by which his majesty, in the pinching straits of his condition, enjoyed very much ease from the time he left Paris.

Prince Rupert was now returned from Nantes; and finding that he should receive none of the money the cardinal was to pay for the brass ordnance, and being every day more indisposed by the chagrin humour of the keeper, (who endeavoured to inflame him against the king, as well as against most other men, and thought his highness did not give evidence enough of his concernment and friendship for him, except he fell out with every body with whom he was angry,) resolved to leave the king; wrought upon, no doubt, besides the forwardness of the other man, by the despair that seemed to attend the king's fortune; and told his majesty, "that he was resolved to look after his own affairs in Germany; and first to visit his brother in the palatinate, and require what was due from him for his appanage; and then to go to the emperor, to receive the money that was due to him upon the treaty of Munster;" which was to be all paid by the emperor: from the prosecution of which purpose his majesty did not dissuade him; and, possibly, heard it with more indifference than the prince expected; which raised his natural passion; inso-much, as the day when he took his leave, that nobody might imagine that he had any thoughts ever to return to have any relation to, or dependence upon, the king, he told his majesty, "that, if he pleased, he might dispose of the place of master of the horse;" in which he had been settled by the late king, and his present majesty had, to preserve that office for him, and to take

away the pretence the lord Peircy might have to it, by his having had that office to the prince of Wales, recompensed him with the place of lord chamberlain, though not to his full content. But the king bore this resignation likewise from the prince with the same countenance as he had done his first resolution; and so, towards the end of April, or the beginning of May, his highness left the king, and begun his journey for the palatinate.

Shortly after the prince was gone, the king begun to think of a day for his own departure, and to make a list of his servants he intended should wait upon him. He foresaw that the only end of his journey was to find some place where he might securely attend such a conjuncture, as God Almighty should give him, that might invite him to new activity, his present business being to be quiet; and therefore he was wont to say, "that he would provide the best he could for it, by having only such about him as could be quiet." He could not forget the vexation the lord keeper had always given him, and how impossible it was for him to live easily with any body; and so, in the making the list of those who were to go with him, he left his name out; which the keeper could not be long without knowing; and thereupon he came to the king, and asked him, "whether he did not intend that he should wait upon him?" His majesty told him, "No; for that he resolved to make no use of his great seal; and therefore that he should stay at Paris, and not put himself to the trouble of such a journey, which he himself intended to make without the ease and benefit of a coach;" which in truth he did, putting his coach-horses in a waggon, wherein his bed and clothes were carried: nor was he owner of a coach in some years after. The keeper expostulated with him in vain upon the dishonour that it would be to him to be left behind, and the next day brought the great seal, and delivered it to him; and desired, "that he would sign a paper, in which his majesty acknowledged, that he had received again his great seal from him;" which the king very willingly signed; and he immediately removed his lodging, and left the court; and never after saw his majesty; which did not at all please the queen; who was as much troubled that he was to stay where she was, as that he did not go with the king.

The queen prevailed with the king, at parting, in a particular in which he had fortified himself to deny her, which was, "that he would leave the duke of Gloucester with her;" which she asked with so much importunity, that, without very much disobligeing her, he could not resist. She desired him "to consider in what condition he had been bred, without learning either exercise or language, or having ever seen a court, or good company; and being now in a place, and at an age, that he might be instructed in all these, to carry him away from all these advantages to live in Germany, would be interpreted by all the world, not only to be want of kindness towards his brother, but want of all manner of respect to her." The reasonableness of this discourse, together with the king's utter disability to support him in the condition that was fit for him, would easily have prevailed, had it not been for the fear that the purpose was to pervert him in his religion; which when the queen

had assured the king "was not in her thought, and that she would not permit any such attempt to be made," his majesty consented to it.

Now the day being appointed for his majesty to begin his journey, the king desired that the chancellor of the exchequer might likewise part in the queen's good grace, at least without her notable disfavour, which had been so severe towards him, that he had not for some months presumed to be in her presence: so that though he was very desirous to kiss her majesty's hand, he himself knew not how to make any advance towards it. But the day before the king was to be gone, the lord Peircy, who was directed by his majesty to speak in the affair, and who in truth had kindness for the chancellor, and knew the prejudice against him to be very unjust, brought him word that the queen was content to see him, and that he would accompany him to her in the afternoon. Accordingly at the hour appointed by her majesty, they found her alone in her private gallery, and the lord Peircy withdrawing to the other end of the room, the chancellor told her majesty, "that now she had vouchsafed to admit him into her presence, he hoped, she would let him know the ground of the displeasure she had conceived against him; that so having vindicated himself from any fault towards her majesty, he might leave her with a confidence in his duty, and receive her commands, with an assurance that they should be punctually obeyed by him." The queen, with a louder voice, and more emotion than she was accustomed to, told him, "that she had been contented to see him, and to give him leave to kiss her hand, to comply with the king's desires, who had importuned her to it; otherwise, that he lived in that manner towards her, that he had no reason to expect to be welcome to her: that she need not assign any particular miscarriage of his, since his disrespect towards her was notorious to all men; and that all men took notice, that he never came where she was, though he lodged under her roof," (for the house was hers,) "and that she thought she had not seen him in six months before; which she looked upon as so high an affront, that only her respect towards the king prevailed with her to endure it."

When her majesty made a pause, the chancellor said, "that her majesty had only mentioned his punishment, and nothing of his fault: that how great soever his infirmities were in defect of understanding, or in good manners, he had yet never been in Bedlam; which he had deserved to be, if he had affected to publish to the world that he was in the queen's disfavour, by avoiding to be seen by her: that he had no kind of apprehension that they who thought worst of him, would ever believe him to be such a fool, as to provoke the wife of his dead master, the greatness of whose affections to her was well known to him, and the mother of the king, who subsisted by her favour, and all this in France, where himself was a banished person, and she at home, where she might oblige or disoblige him at her pleasure. So that he was well assured, that nobody would think him guilty of so much folly and madness, as not to use all the endeavours he possibly could to obtain her grace and protection: that it was very true, he



"had been long without the presumption of being in her majesty's presence, after he had undergone many sharp instances of her displeasure, and after he had observed some alteration and aversion in her majesty's looks and countenance, upon his coming into the room where she was, and during the time he stayed there; which others likewise observed so much, that they withdrew from holding any conversation with him in those places, out of fear to offend her majesty: that he had often desired, by several persons, to know the cause of her majesty's displeasure, and that he might be admitted to clear himself from any unworthy suggestions which had been made of him to her majesty; but could never obtain that honour; and therefore he had conceived, that he was obliged, in good manners, to remove so unacceptable an object from the eyes of her majesty, by not coming into her presence; which all who knew him, could not but know to be the greatest mortification that could be inflicted upon him; and therefore he most humbly besought her majesty at this audience, which might be the last he should receive of her, she would dismiss him with the knowledge of what he had done amiss, that he might be able to make his innocence and integrity appear: which he knew had been blasted by the malice of some persons; and thereby misunderstood and misinterpreted by her majesty." But all this prevailed not with her majesty; who, after she had, with her former passion, objected his credit with the king, and his endeavours to lessen that credit which she ought to have, concluded, "that she should be glad to see reason to change her opinion;" and so, carelessly, extended her hand towards him; which he kissing, her majesty departed to her chamber.

It was about the beginning of June in the year 1654, that the king left Paris; and because he made a private journey the first night, and did not join his family till the next day, which administered much occasion of discourse, and gave occasion to a bold person to publish, amongst the amours of the French court, a particular that reflected upon the person of the king, with less license than he used towards his own sovereign, it will not be amiss in this place to mention a preservation God then wrought for the king, little inferior to the greatest that is contained in the bundle of his mercies vouchsafed to him; and which shews the wonderful liberty that was then taken to promote their own designs and projects, at the price of their master's honour, and the interest of their country, or the sense they had of that honour and interest.

There was at that time in the court of France, or rather in the jealousy of that court, a lady of great beauty, of a presence very graceful and alluring, and a wit and behaviour that captivated those who were admitted into her presence; her extraction was very noble, and her alliance the best under the crown, her fortune rather competent, than abounding, for her degree; being the widow of a duke of an illustrious name, who had been killed fighting for the king in the late troubles, and left his wife childless, and in her full beauty. The king had often seen this lady with that esteem and inclination, which few were without, both her beauty and her wit deserving the

homage that was paid to her. The earl of Bristol, who was then a lieutenant general in the French army, and always amorously inclined, and the more inclined by the difficulty of the attempt, was grown powerfully in love with this lady; and, to have the more power with her, communicated those secrets of state which concerned her safety, and more the prince of Condé, whose cousin german she was; the communication whereof was of benefit or convenience to both: yet though he made many romantic attempts to ingratiate himself with her, and such as would neither have become, or been safe to any other man than himself, who was accustomed to extraordinary flights in the air, he could not arrive at the high success he proposed. At the same time, the lord Crofts was transported with the same ambition; and though his parts were very different from the other's, yet he wanted not art and address to encourage him in those attempts, and could bear repulses with more tranquillity of mind, and acquiescence, than the other could. When these two lords had lamented to each other their mutual infelicity, they agreed generously to merit their mistress's favour by doing her a service that should deserve it; and boldly proposed to her the marriage of the king; who, they both knew, had no dislike of her person: and they pursued it with his majesty with all their artifices. They added the reputation of her wisdom and virtue to that of her beauty, and "that she might be instrumental to the procuring more friends towards his restoration, than any other expedient then in view;" and at last prevailed so far with the king, who no doubt had a perfect esteem of her, that he made the overture to her of marriage; which she received with her natural modesty and address, declaring herself "to be much unworthy of that grace;" and beseeching and advising him "to preserve that affection and inclination for a subject more equal to him, and more capable to contribute to his service;" using all those arguments for refusal, which might prevail with and inflame him to new importunities.

Though these lords made themselves, upon this advance, sure to go through with their design, yet they foresaw many obstructions in the way. The queen, they knew, would never consent to it, and the French court would obstruct it, as they had done that of mademoiselle; nor could they persuade the lady herself to depart from her dignity, and to use any of those arts which might expedite the design. The earl of Bristol therefore, that the news might not come to his friend the chancellor of the exchequer by other hands, frankly imparted it to him, only as a passion of the king's that had exceedingly transported him; and then magnified the lady, "as a person that would exceedingly cultivate the king's nature, and render him much more dexterous to advance his fortune;" and therefore he professed, "that he could not dissuade his majesty from gratifying so noble an affection;" and used many arguments to persuade the chancellor too to think very well of the choice. But when he found that he was so far from concurring with him, that he reproached his great presumption for interposing in an affair of so delicate a nature, as by his conduct might prove the ruin of the king, he seemed resolved to prosecute it no farther, but to leave it entirely to the king's own inclination; who, upon serious



reflections upon his own condition, and conference with those he trusted most, quickly concluded that such a marriage was not like to yield much advantage to his cause; and so resolved to decline any farther advance towards it. Yet the same persons persuaded him, that it was a necessary generosity to take his last farewell of her; and so, after he had taken leave of his mother, he went so much out of his way as to visit her at her house; where those lords made their last effort; and his majesty, with great esteem of the lady's virtue and wisdom, the next day joined his family, and prosecuted his journey towards Flanders; his small step out of the way having raised a confident rumour in Paris that he was married to that lady.

Though the king had received a pass from the archduke for his passing through Flanders, so warily worded, that he could not but take notice, that it was expected and provided for, that he should by no means make any unnecessary stay in his journey; yet he found the gates of Cambray shut when he came thither, and was compelled to stay long in the afternoon, before they were opened to receive him; which they excused, "by reason" that they understood the enemy was at hand, "and intended to sit down before that city;" of which there appeared in the face of all the people, and the governor himself, a terrible apprehension. But, upon recollection, his majesty was well received by the governor, and treated and lodged that night by him in his house; who was the better composed by his majesty's assuring him, "that the French army was at a great distance from him, and that his majesty had passed through it the day before," (when marshal Turenne had drawn up the army to receive his majesty; the duke of York having there likewise taken his leave of the king,) "and, by the march that they then appeared to make, there was great reason to conclude that they had no design upon Cambray;" which good information made the king's presence the more acceptable. But besides the civility of that supper, and lodging that night, his majesty had not the least address from the archduke, who was within four or five leagues with his army, but passed, without the least notice taken of him, through those provinces; so great a terror possessed the hearts of the Spaniard, lest their shewing any respect to the king in his passage through their country, should incense Cromwell against them, whose friendship they yet seemed to have hope of.

His majesty intended to have made no stay, having received letters from the Hague, that his sister was already in her journey for the Spa. But, when he came to Mons, he found two gentlemen there, who came out of England with letters and instructions from those of his friends there who retained their old affections; and recovered new courage from the general discontent which possessed the kingdom, and which every day increased by the continual oppressions and tyranny they sustained. The taxes and impositions every day were augmented, and Cromwell, and his council, did greater acts of sovereignty than ever king and parliament had attempted. All gaols were full of such persons as contradicted their commands, and were suspected to wish well to the king; and there appeared such a rend among the officers of the army, that the pro-

tector was compelled to displace many of them, and to put more confiding men in their places. And as this remedy was very necessary to be applied for his security, so it proved of great reputation to him, even beyond his own hope, or at least his confidence. For the license of the common soldiers, manifested in their general and public discourses, censures, and reproaches of him, and his tyrannical proceedings, (which liberty he well knew was taken by many, that they might discover the affections and inclinations of other men, and for his service,) did not much affect him, or was not terrible to him otherwise than as they were soldiers of this or that regiment, and under this or that captain, whose officers he knew well hated him, and who had their soldiers so much at their devotion, that they could lead them upon any enterprise: and he knew well that this seditious spirit possessed many of the principal officers both of horse and foot, who hated him now, in the same proportion that they had heretofore loved him, above all the world. This loud distemper grew the more formidable to him, in that he did believe the fire was kindled and blown by Lambert, and that they were all conducted and inspired by his melancholic and undiscerned spirit, though yet all things were outwardly very fair between them. Upon this disquisition he saw hazard enough in attempting any reformation, (which the army thought he durst not undertake to do alone, and they feared not his proceeding by a council of war, where they knew they had many friends,) but apparent danger, and very probable ruin, if he deferred it. And so trusting only to, and depending upon his own stars, he cashiered ten or a dozen officers, though not of the highest command, and those whom he most apprehended, yet of those petulant and active humours, which made them for the present most useful to the others, and most pernicious to him. By this experiment he found the example wrought great effects upon many who were not touched by it, and that the men who had done so much mischief, being now reduced to a private condition, and like other particular men, did not only lose all their credit with the soldiers, but behaved themselves with much more wariness and reservation towards all other men. This gave him more ease than he had before enjoyed, and raised his resolution how to proceed hereafter upon the like provocations, and gave him great credit and authority with those who had believed that many officers had a greater influence upon the army than himself.

It was very evident that he had some war in his purpose; for from the time that he had made a peace with the Dutch, he took greater care to increase his stores and magazines of arms and ammunition, and to build more ships than he had ever done before; and he had given order to make ready two great fleets in the winter, under officers who should have no dependence upon each other; and landmen were likewise appointed to be levied. Some principal officers amongst these made great professions of duty to the king; and made tender of their service to his majesty by these gentlemen. It was thought necessary to make a day's stay at Mons, to despatch those gentlemen; who were very well known, and worthy to be trusted. Such commissions were prepared for them, and such instructions, as were desired by those who em-

ployed them. And his majesty gave nothing so much in charge to the messengers, and to all his friends in England with whom he had correspondence, as, "that they should live quietly, without making any desperate or unreasonable attempt, or giving advantage to those who watched them, to put them into prison, and to ruin their estates and families." He told them, "the vanity of imagining that any insurrection could give any trouble to so well a formed and disciplined army, and the destruction that must attend such a rash and uncounsellable attempt: that, as he would be always ready to venture his own person with them in any reasonable and well formed undertaking; so he would with patience attend God's own time for such an opportunity; and, in the mean time, he would sit still in such a convenient place as he should find willing to receive him; of which he could yet make no judgment:" however, it was very necessary that such commissions should be in the hands of discreet and able men, in expectation of two contingencies, which might reasonably be expected. The one, such a schism in the army, as might divide it upon contrary interests into open contests, and declarations against each other, which could not but produce an equal schism in the parliament: the other, the death of Cromwell, which was conspired by the levellers, under several combinations. And if that fell out, it could hardly be imagined, that the army would remain united to the particular design of any single person, but that the parliament, which had been with so much violence turned out of doors by Cromwell, and which took itself to be perpetual, would quickly assemble again together, and take upon themselves the supreme government.

Lambert, who was unquestionably the second person in the command of the army, and was thought to be the first in their affections, had had no less hand than Cromwell himself in the odious dissolution of that parliament, and was principal in raising him to be protector under the instrument of government; and so could never reasonably hope to be trusted, and employed by them in the absolute command of an army that had already so notoriously rebelled against their masters. Then Monk, who had the absolute command in Scotland, and was his rival already, under a mutual jealousy, would never submit to the government of Lambert, if he had no other title to it than his own presumption; and Harry Cromwell had made himself so popular in Ireland, that he would not, probably, be commanded by a man whom he knew to be his father's greatest enemy. These considerations had made that impression upon those in England who were the most wary and averse from any rash attempt, that they all wished that commissions, and all other necessary powers, might be granted by the king, and deposited in such good hands as had the courage to trust themselves with the keeping them, till such a conjuncture should fall out as is mentioned, and of which few men thought there was reason to despair.

The king having in this manner despatched those messengers, and settled the best way he could to correspond with his friends, continued his journey from Mons to Namur; where he had a pleasant passage by water to Liege; from whence, in five or six hours, he reached the Spa,

the next day after the princess royal, his beloved sister, was come thither, and where they resolved to spend two or three months together; which they did, to their singular content and satisfaction. And for some time the joy of being out of France, where his majesty had enjoyed no other pleasure than being alive, and the delight of the company he was now in, suspended all thoughts of what place he was next to retire to. For as it could not be fit for his sister to stay longer from her own affairs in Holland, than the pretence of her health required, so the Spa was a place that nobody could stay longer in than the season for the waters continued; which ended with the summer.

The king no sooner arrived at the Spa, than the earl of Rochester returned thither to him from his negotiation at Ratisbon; where he had wisely remained during the diet, without owning the character he might have assumed; yet performed all the offices with the emperor, and the other princes, with less noise and expense, and with the same success as he could have expected from any qualification. The truth is, all the German princes were at that time very poor; and that meeting for the choosing a king of the Romans was of vast expense to every one of them, and full of faction and contradiction; so that they had little leisure, and less inclination, to think of any business but what concerned themselves: yet in the close of the diet, by the conduct and dexterity of the elector of Mentz, who was esteemed the wisest and most practical prince of the empire, and who, out of mere generosity, was exceedingly affected with the ill fortune of the king, that assembly was prevailed with to grant a subsidy of four romer months; which is the measure of all taxes and impositions in Germany; that is, by the romer months, which every prince is to pay, and cause it to be collected from their subjects in their own method. This money was to be paid towards the better support of the king of Great Britain. And the elector of Mentz, by his own example, persuaded as many of the princes as he had credit with, forthwith to pay their proportions to the earl of Rochester, who was solicitous enough to receive it. The whole contribution, if it had been generously made good, had not amounted to any considerable sum upon so important an occasion. But the emperor himself paid nothing, nor many other of the princes, amongst whom were the elector [palatine], and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who had both received great obligations from king James, and the last king his son: so that the whole that was ever paid to the king did not amount to ten thousand pounds sterling; a great part whereof was spent in the negotiation of the earl, and in the many journeys he made to the princes, being extremely possessed with the spirit of being the king's general, which he thought he should not be, except he made levies of men; for which he was very solicitous to make contracts with old German officers, when there was neither port in view, where he might embark them, nor a possibility of procuring ships to transport them, though Cromwell had not been possessed of any naval power to have resisted them; so blind men are, whose passions are so strong, and their judgments so weak, that they can look but upon one thing at once.

That part of the money that was paid to his

majesty's use was managed with very good husbandry, and was a seasonable support to his well ordered family, which with his own expenses for his table, and his stable, and the board-wages, with which all his servants from the highest to the lowest were well satisfied, according to the establishment after he left France, amounted not to above six hundred pistoles a month; which expense was not exceeded in many years, even until his coming into Holland in order to his return into England. And as this method in the managery gave the king great ease; so it contented, and kept the family in better order and humour than could reasonably have been expected; all which was then imputed to the care and industry of the chancellor, and was the more satisfactory, by the no care, and order, that had been observed during all the residence the king had made in France.

The king stayed not so long at the Spa as he meant to have done, the smallpox breaking out there; and one of the young ladies who attended upon the princess royal, being seized upon by it, died: so that his majesty, and his sister, upon very sudden thoughts, removed from the Spa to Aken, or Aquisgrane, an imperial and free town, governed by their own magistrates; where the king of the Romans ought to receive his first iron crown, which is kept there. This place is famous for its hot baths, whither many come after they have drank the cold waters of the Spa, and was a part of the prescription which the physicians had made to the princess, after she should have finished her course in the other place. Upon that pretence, and for the use of those baths, the courts removed now thither; but in truth with a design that the king might make his residence there, the town being large, and the country about it pleasant, and within five hours (for the journeys in those countries are measured by hours) of Maestricht, the most pleasant seat within the dominions of the United Provinces. The magistrates received the king so civilly, that his majesty, who knew no other place where he was sure to be admitted, resolved to stay there; and, in order thereunto, contracted for a convenient house, which belonged to one who was called a baron; whither he resolved to remove, as soon as his sister, who had taken the two great inns of the town for her's and the king's accommodation, should return into Holland.

Here the good old secretary Nicholas, who had remained in Holland from the time that, upon the treaty of Breda, the king had transported himself into Scotland, presented himself to his majesty; who received him very graciously, as a person of great merit and integrity from the beginning of the troubles, and always entirely trusted by the king his father. And now to him the king gave his signet; which for three years had been kept by the chancellor of the exchequer, out of friendship that it might be restored to him. And he had therefore refused in France to be admitted into the secretary's office, which he executed, because he knew that they who advised it, did it rather that Nicholas might not have it, than out of any kindness to himself. He held himself obliged by the friendship, that had ever been between them, to preserve it for him; and, as soon as he came to Aken, desired the king to declare him to be his secretary; which was done;

by which he had a fast friend added to the council, and of general reputation.

Whilst the king remained at Aken, he received many expresses out of England, which informed him of the renewed courage of his friends there: that the faction and animosity which every day appeared between the officers of the army, and in Cromwell's council, upon particular interest, raised a general opinion and hope, that there would be an absolute rupture between them; when either party would be glad to make a conjunction with the king's. In order thereunto, there was an intelligence entered into throughout the kingdom, that they might make use of such an occasion; and they sent now to the king, to be directed by him, how they should behave themselves upon such and such contingencies; and sent for more commissions of the same kind as had been formerly sent to them. The king renewed his commands to them, "not to flatter themselves with vain imaginations; nor to give too easy credit to appearances of factions and divisions; which would always be counterfeited, that they might the more easily discover the agitations and transactions of those upon whom they looked as inveterate and irreconcilable enemies to the government."

News came from Scotland, that Middleton had some successes in the Highlands; and the Scottish lords who were prisoners in England assured the king, "that there was now so entire a union in that nation for his service, that they wished his majesty himself would venture thither:" and the lord Balcarris, who was with the king, and intrusted by that people, used much instance with him to that purpose; which, how unreasonable soever the advice seemed to be, men knew not how to contradict by proposing any thing that seemed more reasonable; and so underwent the reproach of being lazy and unactive, and unwilling to submit to any fatigue, or to expose themselves to any danger; without which, his majesty could not expect to be restored to any part of his sovereignty.

The chancellor of the exchequer one day representing to the king the misery of his condition, and the general discourses of men, and, "that it was his majesty's misfortune to be thought by many not to be active enough towards his own redemption, and to love his ease too much, in respect both of his age and his fortune," desired him "to consider upon this news, and importunity from Scotland, whether in those Highlands there might not be such a safe retreat and residence, that he might reasonably say, that with the affections of that people, which had been always firm both to his father and himself, he might preserve himself in safety, though he could not hope to make any advance, or recover the lower part of that kingdom possessed by the enemy; and if so, whether he might not expect the good hand of Providence, by some revolution, more honourably there, than in such corners of other princes' dominions, as he might be forced to put himself into." His majesty discoursed very calmly of that country, part whereof he had seen; of the miserable poverty of the people, and their course of life; and how "impossible it was for him to live there with security or with health; that, if sickness did not destroy him, which he had reason to expect from the ill accommoda-

tion he must be there contented with, he should "in a short time be betrayed and given up." And in this debate, he told him that melancholic conclusion, which David Lesley made at Warrington-bridge, which is mentioned before, when he told the king, "that those men would never fight;" which his majesty had never, he said, told to any body before. However, he said, "if his friends would advise him to that expedition, he would transport himself into the Highlands; though he knew not what would come of it, and that they would be sorry for it:" which stopped the chancellor from ever saying more to that purpose. And it was not long after that news came, of Middleton's having been like to be given up to the enemy by the treachery of that people, and of the defeat his troops had received, and that he should be at last forced to quit that miserable country; which, however, he resolved to endure, as long as should be possible.

The season of the year now begun to approach that would oblige the princess royal to return to the Hague, lest the jealous States, from her long absence, might be induced to contrive some act prejudicial to her and her son; which she was the more liable to, from the unkind differences between her and the princess dowager, mother of the deceased prince of Orange, a lady of great cunning and dexterity to promote her own interest. The air of Aken, and the ill smell of the baths, made that place less agreeable to the king than at first he believed it to be; and he wished to find a better town to reside in, which he might be put to endure long. The city of Cologne was distant from Aken two short days' journey, and had the fame of an excellent situation. But the people were reported to be of a proud and mutinous nature, always in rebellion against their bishop and prince, and of so much bigotry in religion that they had expelled all protestants out of their city, and would suffer no exercise of religion, but of the Roman catholic. So that there seemed little hope that they would permit the king to reside there; the rather, because it was the staple for the wines of that country, and maintained a good intelligence and trade with England. If the king should send thither to provide a house, and declare a purpose to stay there, and they should refuse to receive him, it might be of very ill consequence, and fright any other places, and Aken itself, from permitting him to return thither; and therefore that adventure was to be avoided. At last it was concluded, that the princess royal should make Cologne her way into Holland, which was reasonable enough, by the convenience of the river for the commodious transportation of her goods and family: and the king, accompanying her so far, might make a judgment, upon his observation, whether it would be best for him to stay there, or to return to Aken; where he would leave his family, as the place where he had taken a house, and to which he meant in few days to return. With this resolution they left Aken, about the middle of September; and lodging one night at Juliers, a little dirty town upon a flat, not worthy to have made a quarrel between so many of the princes of Europe, nor of the fame it got by the siege, they came the next day to Cologne; where they were received with all the respect, pomp, and magnificence, that could be expected, or the city could

perform. The house, which the harbingers of the princess had taken for her reception, served likewise to accommodate the king; and the magistrates performed their respects to both with all possible demonstration of civility.

Cologne is a city most pleasantly situated upon the banks of the Rhine; of a large extent, and fair and substantial buildings; and encompassed with a broad and excellent rampart, upon which are fair walks of great elms, where two coaches may go on breast, and, for the beauty of it, is not inferior to the walls of Antwerp, but rather superior, because this goes round the town. The government is under the senate and consuls; of whom there was one then consul, who "was descended from father to son of a patrician Roman family, that had continued from the time the colony was first planted there." It had never been otherwise subject to the bishops, than in some points which refer to their ecclesiastical jurisdiction; which they sometimes endeavouring to enlarge, the magistrates always oppose: and that gives the subject of the discourse of jealousies, and contests, between their prince and them; which are neither so frequent, nor of that moment, as they are reported to be. The elector never resides there, but keeps his court at his castle of Bonne, near four miles from thence. And that elector, who was of the house of Bavaria, and a melancholic and peevish man, had not then been in the city in very many years. The number of churches and religious houses is incredible; insomuch as it was then averred, "that the religious persons and churchmen made up a full moiety of the inhabitants of the town;" and their interest and authority so far prevailed, that, some few years before the king came thither, they expelled all those of the protestant religion, contrary to the advice of the wisest of the magistrates; who confessed "that the trade of the town was much decayed thereby, and the poverty thereof much increased." And it is very possible, that the vast number and unskilful zeal of the ecclesiastical and religious persons may at some time expose that noble city to the surprise of some powerful prince, who would quickly deprive them of their long enjoyed privileges. And there was, in that very time of the king's stay there, a design by the French to have surprised it; Schomberg lying many days in wait there, to have performed that service; which was very hardly prevented. The people are so much more civil than they were reported to be, that they seem to be the most conversible, and to understand the laws of society and conversation better than any other people of Germany. To the king they were so devoted, that when they understood he was not so fixed to the resolution of residing at Aken, but that he might be diverted from it, they very handsomely made tender to him of any accommodation that city could yield him, and of all the affection and duty they could pay him; which his majesty most willingly accepted; and giving order for the payment of the rent of the house he had taken at Aken, which he had not at all used, and other disbursements, which the master of the house had made to make it the more convenient for his majesty, and likewise sending very gracious letters to the magistrates of that town, for the civility they had expressed towards him, he sent for that part of his family which remained there, to attend

him at Cologne; where he declared he would spend that winter.

As soon as the king came to Cologne, he sent to the neighbour princes, by proper messages and insinuations, for that money, which by the grant of the diet, that is, by their own concession, they were obliged to pay to his majesty; which though it amounted to no great sum, yet was of great conveniency to his support. The duke of Newburgh, whose court was at Dusseldorp, a small day's journey from Cologne, and by which the princess royal was to pass if she made use of the river, sent his proportion very generously, with many expressions of great respect and duty, and with insinuation "that he would be glad to receive the honour of entertaining the king and his sister in his "palace, as she returned." However he forebore to make any solemn invitation, without which they could not make the visit, till some ceremonies were first adjusted; upon which that nation is more punctual, and obstinate, than any other people in Europe. He who gave the intimation, and came only with a compliment to congratulate his majesty's and her royal highness's arrival in those parts, was well instructed in the particulars; of which there were only two of moment, and the rest were formalities from which they might recede, if those two were consented to. The one was, "that the king, at their first meeting, should at least "once treat the duke with *altesse*;" the other, "that the duke might salute the princess royal;" and without consenting to these two, there could be no meeting between them. Both the king and his sister were naturally enough inclined to new sights and festivities; and the king thought it of moment to him to receive the respect and civility of any of the German princes: and among them, there were few more considerable in their dominions, and none in their persons, than the duke of Newburgh; who reckoned himself upon the same level with the electors. And the king was informed, "that the emperor himself always treated him with *altesse*;" and therefore his majesty made no scruple of giving him the same. The matter of saluting the princess royal was of a new and delicate nature; that dignity had been so punctually preserved, from the time of her coming into Holland, that the old prince of Orange, father of her husband, would never pretend to it: yet that ceremony depending only upon the custom of countries, (and every marshal of France having the privilege in that kingdom to salute the daughters of the king,) and the duke of Newburgh being a sovereign prince, inferior to none in Germany, and his ambassador always covering before the emperor, the king thought fit, and her royal highness consented, that the duke should salute her. And so all matters being adjusted without any noise, the king, about the middle of October, accompanied his sister by water to Dusseldorp; where they arrived between three and four of the clock in the afternoon; and found the duke and his duchess waiting for them on the side of the water; where after having performed their mutual civilities and compliments, the king, and the princess royal, and the duke and the duchess of Newburgh, went into the duke's coach, and the company into the coaches which were provided for them, and alighted at the castle, that was very near; where his majesty was conducted into his quarter, and the princess into her's, the duke and

the duchess immediately retiring into their own quarters; where they new dressed themselves, and visited not the king again till above half an hour before supper, and after the king and princess had performed their devotion.

The castle is a very princely house, having been the seat of the duke of Cleve; which duchy, together with that of Juliers, having lately fallen to heirs females, (whereof the mothers of the elector of Brandenburg, and duke of Newburgh, were two,) when all the pretenders seizing upon that which lay most convenient to them, this of Dusseldorp, by agreement, afterwards remained still to Newburgh; whose father, being of the reformed religion in the late contention, found the house of Brandenburg too strong for him, by having the prince of Orange and the States his fast friends; and thereupon, that he might have a strong support from the emperor and king of Spain, became Roman catholic, and thereby had the assistance he expected. At the same time he put his son, who was then very young, to be bred under the Jesuits; by which education, the present duke was with more than ordinary bigotry zealous in the Roman religion.

He was a man of very fine parts of knowledge, and in his manners and behaviour much the best bred of any German. He had the flowing civility and language of the French, enough restrained and controlled by the German gravity and formality; so that, altogether, he seemed a very accomplished prince, and became himself very well, having a good person and graceful motion, which that nation seldom attain to. He was at that time above thirty, and had been married to the sister of the former, and the then king of Poland; who leaving only a daughter, he was now newly married to the daughter of the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, who upon her marriage became Roman catholic. She had no eminent features of beauty, nor the French language and vivacity, to contribute to the entertainment; so that she was rather a spectator of the festivity, than a part of it, and confirmed the king in his aversion from ever marrying a German lady. The entertainment was very splendid and magnificent in all preparations, as well for the tables which were prepared for the lords and the ladies, as that where his majesty and his sister and the duke and the duchess only sat: the meals, according to the custom of Germany, very long, with several sorts of music, both of instruments and voices; which, if not excellent, was new, and differed much from what his majesty was accustomed to hear. There was wine in abundance, but no man so much as wished to drink, if he called not for it; and the duke himself an enemy to all excesses.

After two days spent in this manner, in which time the king made a great friendship with the duke, which always continued, they parted; and there being near the river, distant another short day's journey, a handsome open town of good receipt, called Santen, belonging to that part of the duchy of Cleve which was assigned to the elector of Brandenburg, the king resolved to accompany his sister thither; where having spent that night, the next morning her royal highness, after an unwilling farewell, prosecuted her journey to Holland; and his majesty returned by horse to Cologne; where the same house was prepared for him in which he and his sister had inhabited, whilst she

stayed there. And by this time the end of October was come; which, in those parts, is more than the entrance into winter. The magistrates of the city renewed their civilities, and professions of respect to the king; which they always made good; nor could his majesty have chosen a more convenient retreat in any place; and he, being well refreshed with the diversissements he had enjoyed, betook himself with great cheerfulness to compose his mind to his fortune; and, with a marvellous contentedness, prescribed so many hours in the day to his retirement in his closet; which he employed in reading and studying both the Italian and French languages; and, at other times, walked much upon the walls of the town, (for, as is said before, he had no coach, nor would suffer his sister to leave him one,) and sometimes rid into the fields; and, in the whole, spent his time very well.

The nuncio of the pope resided in that city, and performed all respects to his majesty: he was a proper and grave man, an Italian bishop, who never made the least scruple at his majesty's enjoying the liberty of his chapel, and the exercise of his religion, though it was very public; so that in truth his majesty was not without any respect that could be shewed to him in those parts, save that the elector never came to see him, though he lived within little more than an hour; which he excused by some indisposition of health, and unwillingness to enter into that city; though it proceeded as much from the sullenness and moroseness of his nature, unsuited for any conversation, and averse from all civilities; which made him for a long time to defer the payment of his small quota, which had been granted to the king by the diet, and was at last extorted from him by an importunity unfit to have been pressed upon any other prince, or gentleman. This elector's defect of urbanity was the more excusable, or the less to be complained of, since the elector [palatine], so nearly allied to the crown, and so much obliged by it, did not think fit to take any notice of the king's being so near him, or to send a messenger to salute him.

Within a short time after his majesty's return to Cologne, he received news that exceedingly afflicted him, and the more, that he knew not what remedy to apply to the mischief which he saw was likely to befall him upon it. From Paris, his majesty heard, that the queen had put away the tutor he had left to attend his brother the duke of Gloucester; who remained at Paris, upon her majesty's desire, that he might learn his exercises. The queen had conferred with him upon "the desperateness of his condition, in respect of the king his brother's fortune, and the little hope that appeared that his majesty could ever be restored, at least if he did not himself become Roman catholic; whereby the pope, and other princes of that religion, might be united in his quarrel; which they would never undertake upon any other obligation: that it was therefore fit that the duke, who had nothing to support him, nor could expect any thing from the king, should be instructed in the Roman catholic religion; that so, becoming a good catholic, he might be capable of those advantages which her majesty should be able to procure for him: that the queen of France would hereupon confer abbeys and benefices upon him to such a value;

"as would maintain him in that splendour as was suitable to his birth; that, in a little time, the pope would make him a cardinal; by which he might be able to do the king his brother much service, and contribute to his recovery; whereas, without this, he must be exposed to great necessity and misery, for that she was not able any longer to give him maintenance." She found the duke more obstinate than she expected from his age; he was so well instructed in his religion, that he disputed against the change; urged the precepts he had received from the king his father, and his dying in the faith he had prescribed to him; put her majesty in mind of the promise she had made to the king his brother at parting; and acknowledged, "that he had obliged himself to his majesty, that he would never change his religion; and therefore besought her majesty, that she would not farther press him, at least till he should inform the king of it." The queen well enough knew the king's mind, and thought it more excusable to proceed in that affair without imparting it to him; and therefore took upon her the authority of a mother, and removed his tutor from him; and committed the duke to the care of abbot Montague her almoner; who, having the pleasant abbey of Pontoise, entertained his highness there, sequestered from all resort of such persons as might confirm him in his averseness from being converted.

As soon as the king received this advertisement, which both the duke and his tutor made haste to transmit to him, he was exceedingly perplexed. On the one hand, his majesty knew the reproaches which would be cast upon him by his enemies, who took all the pains they could to persuade the world, that he himself had changed his religion; and though his exercise of it was so public, wherever he was, that strangers resorted to it, and so could bear witness of it, yet their impudence was such in their positive averment, that they persuaded many in England, and especially of those of the reformed religion abroad, that his majesty was in truth a papist: and his leaving his brother behind him in France, where it was evident the queen would endeavour to pervert him, would be an argument, that he did not desire to prevent it: on the other side, he knew well the little credit he had in France, and how far they would be from assisting him, in a contest of such a nature with his mother. However, that the world might see plainly that he did all that was in his power, he sent the marquis of Ormond with all possible expedition into France; who, he very well knew, would steadily execute his commands. He writ a letter of complaint to the queen, of her having proceeded in that manner in a matter of so near importance to him, and conjured her "to discontinue the prosecution of it; and to suffer his brother the duke of Gloucester to repair with the marquis of Ormond to his presence." He commanded the duke "not to consent to any propositions which should be made to him for the change of his religion; and that he should follow the advice of the marquis of Ormond, and accompany him to Cologne." And he directed the marquis of Ormond "to let Mr. Montague, and whosoever of the English should join with him, know, that they should expect such a resentment from his majesty, if they did not comply with his commands, as should be suitable

"to his honour, and to the affront they put upon him."

The marquis behaved himself with so much wisdom and resolution, that though the queen was enough offended with him, and with the expostulation the king made with her, and imputed all the king's sharpness and resolution to the counsel he received from the marquis and the chancellor of the exchequer, yet she thought not fit to extend her power in detaining the duke, both against the king's and his own will; and the duke, upon the receipt of the king's letter, declared, "that he would obey his majesty;" and the abbot found, that he must enter into an absolute defiance with the king, if he persisted in advising the queen not to comply with his majesty's directions: so that, after two or three days' deliberation, the queen expressing very much displeasure at the king's proceeding, and that she should wholly be divested of the power and authority of a mother, told the marquis, "that the duke might dispose of himself as he pleased; and that she would not concern herself farther, nor see him any more." And thereupon the duke put himself into the hands of the marquis; who immediately removed him from Pontoise to the house of [the Lord Hatton,] an English lord, who lived then in Paris; where he remained for some days, until the marquis could borrow money (which was no easy matter) to defray the journey to the king. And then they quickly left Paris; and shortly after came to the king; who was infinitely delighted with the marquis's negotiation and success; and kept his brother always with him, till the time that he returned into England, the queen remaining as much unsatisfied.

Innocent the Tenth was now dead; who had outlived the understanding and judgment he had been formerly master of, and lost all the reputation he had formerly gotten; and, as Jehoram, *departed without being desired*. He had fomented the rebellion in England by cherishing that in Ireland; whither he had sent a light-headed nuncio, who did much mischief to his majesty's service, as hath been touched before. The world was in great expectation who should succeed him, when, one day, the duke of Newburgh sent a gentleman to the king to bring him the news that cardinal Chigi was chosen pope; "of which," the duke said, "his majesty had great cause to be glad;" which the king understood not. But, the next day, the duke himself came to the king, and told him, "that he came to congratulate with his majesty for the election of the new pope, who called himself Alexander the Seventh; and who," he said, "he was confident, would do him great service;" and thereupon related a discourse that had passed between him and the new pope, when he was nuncio at Cologne, some years before: when they two conferring together ("as," he said, "there was great confidence and friendship between them") of the rebellion in England, and of the execrable murder of the late king, the nuncio broke out into great passion, even with tears, and said, "it was a monstrous thing that the two crowns should weary and spend each other's strength and spirits in so unjust and groundless a war, when they had so noble an occasion to unite their power to revenge that impious murder, in which the honour and the lives of all kings were concerned; and," he said, "the

pope was concerned never to let either of them to be quiet, till he had reconciled them, and obliged all Christian kings and states, without consideration of any difference in religion, to join together for the restoration of the king; which would be the greatest honour the pope could obtain in this world. All which," he said, "the nuncio spoke with so much warmth and concernment, that he could not doubt, but that, now God had raised him to that chair, he hoped, for that end, he would remember his former opinion, and execute it himself; being," he said, "a man of the most public heart, and the most superior to all private designs, that the world had:" the duke taking great delight to remember many of his discourses, and describing him to be such a man, as he was generally believed to be for the first two years of his reign, till he manifested his affections with more ingenuity. The duke desired his majesty to consider, "whether there might not be somewhat he might reasonably wish from the pope; and if it were not fit to be proposed as from his majesty, he would be willing to promote it in his own name, having, he thought, some interest in his holiness. And," he said, "he was resolved to send a person purposely to Rome with his congratulation, and to tender his obedience to the pope; and that he would instruct that person in whatsoever his majesty should wish: and though he could not hope, that any greater matter would be done towards his majesty's restoration, till the peace should be effected between the two crowns, (which he knew the pope would labour in till he had brought it to pass,) yet he could not doubt but that, out of the generosity of his holiness, his majesty would receive some supply towards his better support; which, for the present, was all that could be expected: that the person whom he intended to send was a Jesuit, who was at that present in Newburgh; but he had, or would send for him: that though he was a religious man, yet he was a person of that experience, temper, and wisdom, that he had intrusted him in affairs not only of the greatest secrecy, but in negotiations of the greatest importance; in which he had always behaved himself with singular prudence and judgment: and he assured his majesty he was equal to any trust; and if, upon what he had said and offered, his majesty thought he might be of use to him in his journey, he would send him to Cologne as soon as he came, that he might attend upon his majesty, and receive any commands he would vouchsafe to impose upon him."

Though the king had in truth very little hope that the new pope would be more magnanimous than the old, and did believe that the maxim, with which Innocent had answered those who would have disposed him to supply the king with some money, "that he could not, with a good conscience, apply the patrimony of the church to the assistance and support of heretics," would be as current divinity with Alexander, and all his successors, yet he could not but be abundantly satisfied with the kindness of the duke of Newburgh, and could not conclude how far his interposition might prevail upon a temper and constitution so refined, and without those dregs which others had used to carry about them to that promotion: therefore, after those acknowledgments



which were due for the overtures, his majesty told him, "that he would entirely commit it to his wisdom, to do those offices with the new pope which he thought fit, since he could expect nothing but upon that account; and that he would do any thing on his part which was fit for him to do, and which should be thought of moment to facilitate the other pretences." Whereupon the duke told him, "that the bloody laws in England against the Roman catholic religion made a very great noise in the world; and that his majesty was generally understood to be a prince of a tender and merciful nature, which would not take delight in the executing so much cruelty; and therefore he conceived it might be very agreeable to his inclination to declare, and promise, that when it should please God to restore his majesty to his government, he would never suffer those laws to be executed, but would cause them to be repealed; which generous and pious resolution made known to the pope, would work very much upon him, and dispose him to make an answerable return to his majesty." The king answered, "that his highness might very safely undertake on his behalf, that if it should be in his power, it should never be in his will, to execute those severe laws: but that it was not in his power absolutely to repeal them; and it would be less in his power to do it, if he declared that he had a purpose to do it: therefore, that must be left to time; and it might reasonably be presumed, that he would not be backward to do all of that kind which he should find himself able to do; and the declaration which he then made, his majesty said, that he would be ready to make to the person the duke meant to send, if he came to him:" which was acknowledged to be as much as could be desired.

Germany is the only part of the world, where the Jesuits are looked upon to have the ascendant over all other men in the deepest mysteries of state and policy, inasmuch as there is not a prince's court of the Roman catholic religion, wherein a man is held to be a good courtier, or to have a desire to be thought a wise man, who hath not a Jesuit to his confessor; which may be one of the reasons, that the policy of that nation is so different from, and so much undervalued by the other politic parts of the world. And therefore it is the less to be wondered at that this duke, who had himself extraordinary qualifications, retained that reverence for those who had taught him when he was young, that he believed them to grow, and to be improved as fast as he, and so to be still abler to inform him. Without doubt, he did believe his Jesuit to be a very wise man; and, it may be, knew, that he would think so to whom he was sent: and as soon as he came to him, he sent him to the king to be instructed and informed of his majesty's pleasure. The man had a very good aspect, and less vanity and presumption than that society use to have, and seemed desirous to merit from the king by doing him service; but had not the same confidence he should do it, as his master had. And when he returned from Rome, he brought nothing with him from the pope but general good wishes for the king's restoration, and sharp complaints against cardinal Mazarine for being deaf to all overtures of peace; and that till then all attempts to serve his majesty would be vain and ineffectual: and concerning any supply

of money, he told the duke, that the pope had used the same adage that his predecessor had done; and so that intrigue was determined.

The rest and quiet that the king proposed to himself in this necessitated retreat was disturbed by the impatience and activity of his friends in England; who, notwithstanding all his majesty's commands, and injunctions, not to enter upon any sudden and rash insurrections, which could only contribute to their own ruin, without the least benefit or advantage to his service, were so pricked and stung by the insolence of their enemies, and the uneasiness of their own condition and fortune, that they could not rest. They sent expresses every day to Cologne for more commissions and instructions, and made an erroneous judgment of their own strength and power, and concluded that all who hated the present government would concur with them to overthrow it, at least would act no part in the defence of it. They assured the king, "that they had made sufficient provision of arms and ammunition, and had so many persons engaged to appear upon any day that should be assigned, that they only desired his majesty would appoint that day; and that they were so united, that even the discovery before the day, and the clapping up many persons in prison, which they expected, should not break the design." The king knew well enough they would be deceived; and that, though the persons who sent those expresses were very honest men, and had served well in the war, and were ready to engage again, yet they were not equal to so great a work. However, it was not fit to discountenance or dishearten them; for, as many of his party were too restless and too active, so there were more of them remiss and lazy, and even abandoned to despair. The truth is, the unequal temper of those who wished very well, and the jealousy, at least the want of confidence in each other, made the king's part exceeding difficult. Very many who held correspondence with his majesty, and those he assigned to that office, would not trust each other; every body chose their own knot, with whom they would converse, and would not communicate with any body else; for which they had too just excuses from the discoveries which were made every day by want of wit, as much as want of honesty; and so men were cast into prison, and kept there, upon general jealousies. But this reservation, since they could not all resolve to be quiet, proved very grievous to the king; for he could not convert and restrain those who were too forward, by the counsel of those who stood in a better light, and could discern better what was to be done, because they could not be brought together to confer; and they who appeared to be less desperate were by the others reproached with being less affectionate, and to want loyalty as much as courage: so they who were undone upon one and the same account, were oppressed and torn in pieces by one and the same enemy, and could never hope for recovery but by one and the same remedy, grew to reproach and revile one another, and contracted a greater animosity between themselves, than against their common adversary: nor could the king reconcile this distemper, nor preserve himself from being invaded by it.

Though the messengers who were sent were addressed only to the king himself, and to the chancellor of the exchequer, and were so carefully



concealed, that no notice was taken or advertisement sent by the many spies, who were suborned to give intelligence of any one express that was sent to Cologne, yet they had commonly some friend or acquaintance in the court, with whom they conferred; and ever returned worse satisfied with those who made objections against what they proposed, or seemed to doubt that they would not be able to perform what they so confidently promised; and it was thought a very reasonable conviction of a man who liked not the most extravagant undertaking, if he were not ready to propose a better: so that his majesty thought fit often to seem to think better of many things promised than in truth he did. The messengers, which were sent this winter to Cologne, (who, I say still, were honest men, and sent from those who were such,) proposed to the king, as they had formerly done, "that when they were in arms, and had provided a place where his majesty might land safely, he would then be with them, that there might be no dispute upon command:" and in the spring they sent to him, "that the day was appointed, the eighteenth of April, when the rising would be general, and many places seized upon, and some declare for the king, which were in the hands of the army:" for they still pretended, and did believe, "that a part of the army would declare against Cromwell at least, though not for the king: that Kent was united to a man; Dover-castle would be possessed, and the whole county in arms upon that day; and therefore, that his majesty would vouchsafe to be in some place, concealed, upon the sea-coast, which it was very easy for him to be on that day; from whence, upon all being made good that was undertaken, and full notice given to his majesty that it was so, he might then, and not before, transport himself to that part which he thought to be in the best posture to receive him, and might give such other directions to the rest as he found necessary:" and even all these particulars were communicated in confidence by the messengers to their friends who were near the king, and who again thought it but reasonable to raise the spirits of their friends, by letting them know in how happy a condition the king's affairs were in England; and "that his friends were in so good a posture throughout the kingdom, that they feared not that any discovery might be made to Cromwell, being ready to own and justify their counsels with their swords:" so that all this quickly became more than whispered throughout the court; and, "that the king was only expected to be nearer England, how disguised soever, that he might quickly put himself into the head of the army that would be ready to receive him, whereby all emulations about command might be prevented, or immediately taken away; and if his majesty should now neglect this opportunity, it might easily be concluded, that either he was betrayed, or that his counsels were conducted by men of very shallow capacities and understanding."

How weakly and improbably soever these preparations were adjusted, the day was positively appointed, and was so near, at the time when his majesty had notice of it, that it was not possible for him to send orders to contradict it: and he foresaw, that if any thing should be attempted without success, it would be imputed to his not

being at a distance near enough to countenance it. On the other hand, it was neither difficult nor hazardous to his majesty, to remove that reproach, and to be in a place from whence he might advance if there were cause, or retire back to Cologne, if there were nothing to do; and all this with so little noise, that his absence should scarce be taken notice of. Hereupon, the messenger returned with the king's approbation of the day, and direction, "that, as soon as the day should be past, an express should be directed to Flushing at the sign of the city of Rouen," (a known inn in that town,) "to inquire for an Englishman," (whose name was given him,) "who should be able to inform him, whither he should repair to speak with the king."

Before the messenger's departure, or the king's resolution was taken, the earl of Rochester, who was always jealous that somebody would be general before him, upon the first news of the general disposition and resolution to be in arms, desired the king, "that he would permit him to go over in disguise, to the end, that finding his way to London, which was very easy, he might, upon advising with the principal persons engaged, of whom there was none who had not been commanded by him, or was not inferior to him in command, assist them in their enterprise, and make the best of that force which they could bring together: and if he found that they were not in truth competently provided to sustain the first shock, he might, by his advice and authority, compose them to expect a better conjuncture, and in the mean time to give over all insidperate attempts; and there would be little danger in his withdrawing back again to his majesty."

With this errand the earl left Cologne, under pretence of pursuing his business with the German princes, upon the donative of the diet; for which he used to make many journeys; and nobody suspected that he was gone upon any other design. But when he came into Flanders, he was not at all reserved; but in the hours of good fellowship, which was a great part of the day and night, communicated his purpose to any body he did believe would keep him company, and run the same hazard with him; and finding sir Joseph Wagstaff, who had served the king in the last war very honestly, and was then watching at the sea-coast to take the first opportunity to transport himself as soon as he should hear of the general insurrection, (which all letters to all places mentioned as a matter resolved on,) Rochester frankly declared to him what he was going about: so they hired a bark at Dunkirk; and, without any misadventure, found themselves in safety together at London: but many of those who should have been in arms were seized upon, and secured in several prisons.

The messenger being despatched, the king, at the time appointed, and that he might be sure to be near at the day, left Cologne very early in the morning, attended only by the marquis of Ormond, and one groom to look to their horses: nor was it known to any body, but to the chancellor and the secretary Nicholas, whither the king was gone, they making such relations to inquisitive people, as they thought fit. The day before the king went, sir John Mennes, and John Nicholas, eldest son to the secretary, were sent into Zealand, to stay there till they should receive farther orders; the former of them being the person designed to be

at the sign of the Rouen in Flushing, and the other to be near to prepare any thing for the king's hand that should be found necessary, and to keep the ciphers; both of them persons of undoubted fidelity.

There was a gentleman who lived in Middleburg, and of one of the best families and the best fortune there, who had married an English lady, who had been brought up in the court of the queen of Bohemia, and was the daughter of a gentleman of a very noble family, who had been long an officer in Holland. The king had made this Dutchman a baronet; and some, who were nearly acquainted with him, were confident that his majesty might secretly repose himself in his house, without any notice taken of him, as long as it would be necessary for him to be concealed. And his majesty being first assured of this, made his journey directly thither, in the manner mentioned before; and being received, as he expected, in that house, he gave present notice to sir John Mennes and Mr. Nicholas, that they might know whither to resort to his majesty upon any occasion. Upon his first arrival there, he received intelligence, "that the messenger who had been despatched from Cologne, met with cross winds and accidents in his return, which had been his misfortune likewise in his journey thither; so that he came not so soon to London as was expected; whereupon some conceived that the king did not approve the day, and therefore excused themselves from appearing at the time; others were well content with the excuse, having discerned, with the approach of the day, that they had embarked themselves in a design of more difficulty than was at first apprehended; and some were actually seized upon, and imprisoned, by which they were incapable of performing their promise." Though this disappointment confirmed the king in his former belief, that nothing solid could result from such a general combination; yet he thought it fit, now he was in a post where he might securely rest, to expect what the earl of Rochester's presence, of whose being in London he was advertised, might produce. And by this time the chancellor of the exchequer, according to order, was come to Breda; from whence he every day might hear from, and send to the king.

There cannot be a greater manifestation of the universal prejudice and aversion in the whole kingdom towards Cromwell and his government, than that there could be so many designs and conspiracies against him, which were communicated to so many men, and that such signal and notorious persons could resort to London, and remain there, without any such information or discovery, as might enable him to cause them to be apprehended; there being nobody intent and zealous to make any such discoveries, but such whose trade it was for great wages to give him those informations, who seldom care whether what they inform be true or no. The earl of Rochester consulted with great freedom in London with the king's friends; and found that the persons imprisoned were only taken upon general suspicion, and as being known to be of that party, not upon any particular discovery of what they designed or intended to do; and that the same spirit still possessed those who were at liberty. The design in Kent appeared not reasonable, at least not to begin

upon; but he was persuaded, (and he was very credulous,) that in the north there was a foundation of strong hopes, and a party ready to appear powerful enough to possess themselves of York; nor had the army many troops in those parts. In the west likewise there appeared to be a strong combination, in which many gentlemen were engaged, whose agents were then in London, and were exceedingly importunate to have a day assigned, and desired no more, than that sir Joseph Wagstaff might be authorized to be in the head of them; who had been well known to them; and he was as ready to engage with them. The earl of Rochester liked the countenance of the north better; and sent Marmaduke Darcy, a gallant gentleman, and nobly allied in those parts, to prepare the party there; and appointed a day and place for the rendezvous; and promised to be himself there; and was contented that sir Joseph Wagstaff should go into the west; who, upon conference with those of that country, likewise appointed their rendezvous upon a fixed day, to be within two miles of Salisbury. It was an argument that they had no mean opinion of their strength, that they appointed to appear that very day when the judges were to keep their assizes in that city, and where the sheriff and principal gentlemen of the county were obliged to give their attendance. Of both these resolutions the earl of Rochester, who knew were the king was, took care to advertise his majesty: who, from hence, had his former faint hopes renewed; and in a short time after they were so improved, that he thought of nothing more, than how he might with the greatest secrecy transport himself into England; for which he did expect a sudden occasion.

Sir Joseph Wagstaff had been formerly major general of the foot in the king's western army, a man generally beloved; and though he was rather for execution than counsel, a stout man, who looked not far before him; yet he had a great companionableness in his nature, which exceedingly prevailed with those, who, in the intermission of fighting, loved to spend their time in jollity and mirth. He, as soon as the day was appointed, left London, and went to some of his friends' houses in the country, near the place, that he might assist the preparations as much as was possible. Those of Hampshire were not so punctual at their own rendezvous, as to be present at that near Salisbury at the hour; however, Wagstaff, and they of Wiltshire, appeared according to expectation. Penruddock, a gentleman of a fair fortune, and great zeal and forwardness in the service, Hugh Grove, and other persons of condition, were there with a body of near two hundred horse well armed, which, they presumed, would every day be improved upon the access of those who had engaged themselves in the western association, especially after the fame of their being up, and effecting any thing, should come to their ears. They accounted that they were already strong enough to visit Salisbury in all its present lustre, knowing that they had many friends there, and reckoning that all who were not against them, were for them; and that they should there increase their numbers both in foot and horse; with which the town then abounded: nor did their computation and conjecture fail them. They entered the city about five of the clock in the morning: they appointed some officers, of which they had plenty,

to cause all the stables to be locked up, that all the horses might be at their devotion; others, to break open the gaols, that all there might attend their benefactors. They kept a good body of horse upon the market-place, to encounter all opposition; and gave order to apprehend the judges and the sheriff, who were yet in their beds, and to bring them into the market-place with their several commissions, not caring to seize upon the persons of any others.

All this was done with so little noise or disorder, as if the town had been all of one mind. They who were within doors, except they were commanded to come out, stayed still there, being more desirous to hear than to see what was done; very many being well pleased, and not willing that others should discern it in their countenance. When the judges were brought out in their robes, and humbly produced their commissions, and the sheriff likewise, Wagstaff resolved, after he had caused the king to be proclaimed, to cause them all three to be hanged, (who were half dead already,) having well considered, with the policy which men in such actions are naturally possessed with, how he himself should be used if he were under their hands, choosing therefore to be beforehand with them. But he having not thought fit to deliberate this beforehand with his friends, whereby their scrupulous consciences might have been confirmed, many of the country gentlemen were so startled with this proposition, that they protested against it; and poor Penruddock was so passionate to preserve their lives, as if works of this nature could be done by halves, that the major general durst not persist in it; but was prevailed with to dismiss the judges, and, having taken their commissions from them, to oblige them upon another occasion to remember to whom they owed their lives, resolving still to hang the sheriff; who positively, though humbly, and with many tears, refused to proclaim the king; which being otherwise done, they likewise prevailed with him rather to keep the sheriff alive, and to carry him with them to redeem an honest man out of the hands of their enemies. This seemed an ill omen to their future agreement, and submission to the commands of their general; nor was the tender-heartedness so general, but that very many of the gentlemen were much scandalized at it, both as it was a contradiction to their commander in chief; and as it would have been a seasonable act of severity to have cemented those to perseverance who were engaged in it, and have kept them from entertaining any hopes but in the sharpness of their swords.

The noise of this action was very great both in and out of the kingdom, whither it was quickly sent. Without doubt it was a bold enterprise, and might have produced wonderful effects, if it had been prosecuted with the same resolution, or the same rashness, it was entered into. All that was reasonable in the general contrivance of insurrection and commotion over the whole kingdom, was founded upon a supposition of the division and faction in the army; which was known to be so great, that Cromwell durst not draw the whole army to a general rendezvous, out of apprehension that, when they should once meet together, he should no longer be master of them. And thence it was concluded, that, if there were in any one place such a body brought together as might oblige

Cromwell to make the army, or a considerable part of it, to march, there would at least be no disposition in them to fight to strengthen his authority, which they abhorred. And many did at that time believe, that if they had remained with that party at Salisbury for some days, which they might well have done without any disturbance, their numbers would have much increased, and their friends farther west must have been prepared to receive them, when their retreat had been necessary by a stronger part of the army's marching against them. Cromwell himself was amazed; he knew well the distemper of the kingdom, and in his army, and now when he saw such a body gathered together without any noise, that durst in the middle of the kingdom enter into one of the chief cities of it, when his judges and all the civil power of that county was in it, and take them prisoners, and proclaim the king in a time of full peace, and when no man durst so much as name him but with a reproach, he could not imagine, that such an enterprise could be undertaken without a universal conspiracy; in which his own army could not be innocent; and therefore knew not how to trust them together. But all this apprehension vanished, when it was known, that within four or five hours after they had performed this exploit, they left the town with very small increase or addition to their numbers.

The truth is, they did nothing resolutely after their first action; and were in such disorder and discontent between themselves, that without staying for their friends out of Hampshire, (who were, to the number of two or three hundred horse, upon their way, and would have been at Salisbury that night,) upon pretence that they were expected in Dorsetshire, they left the town, and took the sheriff with them, about two of the clock in the afternoon: but were so weary of their day's labour, and their watching the night before, that they grew less in love with what they were about, and differed again amongst themselves about the sheriff; whom many desired to be presently released; and that party carried it in hope of receiving good offices afterwards from him. In this manner they continued on their march westward. They from Hampshire, and other places, who were behind them, being angry for their leaving Salisbury, would not follow, but scattered themselves; and they who were before them, and heard in what disorder they had left Wiltshire, likewise dispersed: so that after they had continued their journey into Devonshire, without meeting any who would join with them, horse and men were so tired for want of meat and sleep, that one single troop of horse, inferior in number, and commanded by an officer of no credit in the war, being in those parts by chance, followed them at a distance, till they were so spent, that he rather entreated than compelled them to deliver themselves; some, and amongst those Wagstaff, quitted their horses, and found shelter in some honest men's houses; where they were concealed till opportunity served to transport them into the parts beyond the seas, where they arrived safely. But Mr. Penruddock, Mr. Grove, and most of the rest, were taken prisoners, upon promise given by the officer that their lives should be saved; which they quickly found he had no authority to make good. For Cromwell no sooner heard of his cheap victory, than he sent judges away with a new commission of oyer

and terminer, and order to proceed with the utmost severity against the offenders. But Roles, his chief justice, who had so luckily escaped at Salisbury, had not recovered the fright; and would no more look those men in the face who had dealt so kindly with him; but expressly refused to be employed in the service, raising some scruples in point of law, whether the men could be legally condemned; upon which Cromwell, shortly after, turned him out of his office, having found others who executed his commands. Penruddock and Grove lost their heads at Exeter; and others were hanged there; who having recovered the faintness they were in when they rendered, died with great courage and resolution, professing their duty and loyalty to the king: many were sent to Salisbury, and tried and executed there, in the place where they had so lately triumphed; and some who were condemned, where there were fathers, and sons, and brothers, that the butchery might appear with some remorse, were reprieved, and sold, and sent slaves to the Barbadoes; where their treatment was such, that few of them ever returned into their own country. Thus this little fire, which probably might have kindled and inflamed all the kingdom, was for the present extinguished in the west; and Cromwell secured without the help of his army; which he saw, by the countenance it then shewed when they thought he should have use of them, it was high time to reform; and in that he resolved to use no longer delay.

The design of the north, which was thought to be much better prepared and provided for, made less noise, and expired more peaceably. The earl of Rochester, who saw danger at a distance with great courage, and looked upon it less resolutely when it was nearer, made his journey from London, with a friend or two, into Yorkshire at the time appointed; and found such an appearance of gentlemen upon the place, as might very well have deserved his patience. It appeared there had been some mistake in the notice that had been given, and they who did appear, undertook for many who were absent, that, if he would appoint another short day for a rendezvous, he should be well attended. Marnaduke Darcy had spent his time very well amongst them, and found them well disposed, and there could be no danger in staying the time proposed, many of them having houses, where he might be well concealed, and the country generally wished well to the king, and to those who concerned themselves in his affairs. But he took many exceptions; complained, as if they had deceived him; and asked many questions, which were rather reasonable than seasonable, and which would have furnished reasons against entering upon the design, which were not to be urged now when they were to execute, and when indeed they had gone too far to retire. He had not yet heard of the ill success at Salisbury; yet he did not think the force which the gentlemen were confident they could draw together, before they could meet with any opposition, sufficient to enter upon any action, that was like to be dangerous in the end: so he resolved to stay no longer; the gentlemen being as much troubled that he had come at all; they parted with little good will to each other, the earl returning through by-roads to London, which was the securest place, from whence he gave the king notice of the hopelessness of affairs. If he had not been a man very fortunate in disguises,

he could never have escaped so many perambulations. For as he was the least wary in making his journeys in safe hours, so he departed very unwillingly from all places where there was good eating and drinking; and entered into conferences with any strangers he met, or joined with.

When he returned from the north, he lodged at Aylesbury; and having been observed to ride out of the way in a large ground, not far from the town, of which he seemed to take some survey, and had asked many questions of a country fellow who was there, (that ground in truth belonging to his own wife,) the next justice of peace had notice of it; who being a man devoted to the government, and all that country very ill affected always to the king, and the news of Salisbury, and the proclamation thereupon, having put all men upon their guard, came himself to the inn where the earl was; and being informed, that there were only two gentlemen above at supper, (for sir Nicholas Armorer was likewise with the earl, and had accompanied him in that journey,) he went into the stable; and upon view of the horses found they were the same which had been observed in the ground. The justice commanded the keeper of the inn, one Gilvy, who, besides that he was a person notoriously affected to the government, was likewise an officer, "that he should not suffer those horses, nor the persons to whom they belonged, to go out of the house, till he, the said justice, came thither in the morning; when he would examine the gentlemen, who they were, and from whence they came." The earl was quickly advertised of all that passed below, and enough apprehensive of what must follow in the morning. Whereupon he presently sent for the master of the house, and nobody being present but his companion, he told him, "he would put his life into his hands; which he might destroy or preserve: that he could get nothing by the one, but by the other he should have profit, and the good will of many friends, who might be able to do him good." Then he told him who he was; and, as an earnest of more benefit that he might receive hereafter, he gave him thirty or forty Jacobus's, and a fair gold chain, which was more worth to be sold than one hundred pounds. Whether the man was moved by the reward, which he might have possessed without deserving it, or by generosity, or by wisdom and foresight, for he was a man of a very good understanding, and might consider the changes which followed after, and in which this service proved of advantage to him, he did resolve to permit and contrive their escape: and though he thought fit to be accountable to the justice for their horses, yet he caused two other, as good for their purpose, of his own, to be made ready by a trusty servant in another stable; who, about midnight, conducted them into London-way; which put them in safety. The innkeeper was visited in the morning by the justice; whom he carried into the stable, where the horses still stood, he having still kept the key in his own pocket, not making any doubt of the persons whilst he kept their horses; but the innkeeper confessed they were escaped out of his house in the night, how or whither he could not imagine. The justice threatened loud; but the innkeeper was of that unquestionable fidelity, and gave such daily demonstration of his affection to the commonwealth, that Cromwell more suspected

the connivance of the justice, (who ought not to have deferred the examination of the persons till the morning,) than the integrity of a man so well known as the innkeeper was. The earl remained in London whilst the inquiry was warm and importunate, and afterwards easily procured a passage for Flanders ; and so returned to Cologne.

As soon as the king received advertisement of the ill successes in England, and that all their hopes were for the present blasted there, he left Zealand, and, returning by Breda, stayed in a dorp near the town, till the chancellor of the exchequer attended him ; and then returned with all speed to Cologne ; where his little court was quickly gathered together again, and better disposed to sit still, and expect God's own time. His majesty was exceedingly afflicted with the loss of so many honest gentlemen in England, who had engaged themselves so desperately, not only without, but expressly against his majesty's judgment : and he was the more troubled, because he was from several of his friends from thence advertised, "that all his counsels were discovered ; and that Cromwell had perfect intelligence of whatsoever his majesty resolved to do, and of all he said himself ; so that it would not be safe for any body to correspond with him, or to meddle in his affairs or concerns : that his coming into Zealand, and his continuance there, was known to Cromwell, with all the particulars of his motion ; that many persons of condition were seized upon, and imprisoned for having a design to possess themselves of some towns, and places of strength ; which intelligence could not be given but from Cologne ;" implying, "that the miscarriage in all the last designs proceeded wholly from the treason of some persons near his majesty." The king did not at all wonder that Cromwell, and his instruments, took great pains to make it generally be believed, that they knew all that was resolved or thought of at Cologne ; but that any men who were really devoted to his service, and who had kindness and esteem for all those who were trusted by his majesty, should be wrought upon to believe those reports, very much disturbed him.

Whilst he was in this agony, and immediately after his return to Cologne, a discovery was made of a villainy, that made him excuse his friends in England for their jealousy, and yet composed his own mind from any fear of being betrayed, it being an imposture of such a nature, as was dangerous and ridiculous together. There was one Manning, a proper young gentleman, bred a Roman catholic in the family of the marquis of Worcester, whose page he had been. His father, of that religion likewise, had been a colonel in the king's army ; and was slain at the battle of Alresford ; where this young man, being then a youth, was hurt, and maimed in the left arm and shoulder. This gentleman came to Cologne shortly after the king came thither first, and pretended, "that he had sold the incumbered fortune his father had left him ; upon which, he had enough to maintain him, and resolved to spend it in waiting upon the king, till his majesty should be able to raise an army ; in which he hoped to have an opportunity to revenge his father's blood ;" with many discourses of that nature ; and he brought a letter to Dr. Earles from his uncle Manning, who was well known to him, to commend his nephew to

his conversation. He was a handsome man, had store of good clothes, and plenty of money ; which, with the memory of his father, easily introduced him, and made him acceptable to the company that was there. He knew most of the king's party in England, and spoke as if he were much trusted by them, and held correspondence with them ; and had every week the Diurnal, and the news of London, which seldom else came so far as Cologne. He associated himself most with the good fellows, and eat in their company, being well provided for the expense. By degrees, he insinuated himself with the earl of Rochester, and told him, "that all the king's party looked upon him as the general who must govern and command them ; for which they were very impatient : that he himself would be ready to run his fortune, and attend him into England ; and that he had two hundred good men listed, who would appear well mounted and armed, whenever he should require them ; and that he knew where good sums of money lay ready to be applied to that service." The earl was ravished with this discourse, and looked upon him as a man sent from heaven to advance his designs ; and asked him, "whether he had been with the chancellor of the exchequer, and communicated all this to him ?" He said, "he had, at his first coming to town, waited upon the chancellor ; and intended to have spoken of this, and much more than he had yet spoken, if he had been vacant, or willing to hear : but he seemed to him too reserved ; which he imputed then to some business that possessed him, and therefore made him a second visit ; when he found him with the same wariness, and without a desire to be informed by him concerning the affairs of that kingdom ; so that he resolved to visit him no more."

In the end, he told the earl, "that he would impart a secret to him of the last importance, and which he had not yet had opportunity to inform the king of, and, he did believe, it would be the same thing to impart it to his lordship as to his majesty himself : the sum was, that he was trusted by the young earl of Pembroke, whose affections were entire for his majesty, to assure the king of the same ; and that though it would not be safe for him to appear in the head and beginning of an insurrection, he would advance it as much as if he were there in person ; and because he knew the west was better prepared to begin the work than any other part of the kingdom, he had caused three thousand pounds to be laid aside, and kept ready at Wilton, which should be delivered to any man, who, in the king's name, should require it of such a man," (naming a person, who was known to be much trusted by that earl,) "upon delivery of a private token he produced out of his pocket," (which was a clean piece of paper, sealed with three impressions of an antique head in hard wax,) "which," he said, "the earl required him to present to the king when he thought it might be seasonable." He added, "that he would be glad to be himself in that first engagement, and so to be present when that token should be delivered ; yet he considered, that he was not enough known to have such a secret imparted to him, as the time of such an action ought to be ; and therefore, if it pleased the king, he would presently deliver that token into his

"lordship's hands; who, he was confident, would be the first that would have opportunity to employ it."

The earl had the journey then in his head, which he made shortly after; and thought such a treasure as this would much advance the service. He made haste to inform the king of the whole, that he might have his approbation to receive the token. To that purpose, he brought the man to the king; who had never before taken other notice of him, than for his bringing the Diurnal constantly to be read to his majesty after dinner, or supper, as he received it. He made a large relation to the king of what the earl of Pembroke had commanded him to say, and presented the token to his majesty for the three thousand pounds; the manner of his discourse being such, as the king had not the least suspicion of the truth of it. As soon as he left the king, the earl brought him to the chancellor, conjuring him to use him with great kindness, and gently reproaching him for his want of courtesy to him before; which he wondered at; for it was very true that Manning had visited him twice before, and it was as true, that he had received him with as much civility as was possible, having known his father, and most of his family, and was glad to see him frequently at prayers, well knowing that he had been bred a Roman catholic; and the young man had seemed much pleased with the reception he had given him. But from that time that he made that relation concerning the earl of Pembroke, which he repeated over to him as he had related it to the king, the chancellor always suspected him; and could not prevail with himself to have any familiarity with him; which the other complained heavily of, and the chancellor was much reproached for not treating a person of so much merit, who had lost his father, and been himself maimed in the king's service, with more openness; for he did always use him with all necessary civility. But the chancellor's knowledge of the earl of Pembroke, and of the humour that then possessed him, and of the uneasiness of his own fortune, which did not make him at that time master of much money, besides that he believed that, if the thing were true, he should have received advertisement sooner of it from a person who was most trusted by the earl, and who corresponded very constantly with the chancellor, made him distrust him. He therefore told the king, "that he doubted Manning had made that part of the story to make himself the more welcome;" which his majesty did not think was a reasonable jealousy; but wished him to use all the means he could to discover the truth. The chancellor had no farther suspicion of him, nor the least apprehension that he was a spy.

When it was discovered that the king was absent from Cologne, at that time that he made his journey to Zealand, in the manner that is mentioned before, the earl of Rochester being departed from thence some time before, Mr. Manning appeared wonderfully troubled, and complained to some, "that he being intrusted by all the king's friends, who would not credit any orders but such as should pass through his hands, the king was now gone without imparting it to him; which would be the ruin of his design." He went to the chancellor, and lamented himself, "that there should be

any sword drawn in England before his; his father's blood boiled within him, and kept him from sleep." He desired him therefore, "that he would so far communicate the design to him, that he might only know to what part of England to transport himself, that he might be in action as soon as might be possible." He could draw nothing from the chancellor; who told him, "that he knew of no probability of any action; and therefore could give no advice." Upon which he complained much of the chancellor's want of kindness to him: but he lost no time in following the king; and having great acquaintance with Herbert Price, a man much trusted by the earl of Rochester, and that affected to know, or to be thought to know, the greatest secrets, he prevailed with him, upon bearing his charges, to accompany him, that they might find out where the king was, at least that they might be ready on the sea-coast, to transport themselves into England upon the first occasion. Whether by accident, or that the earl of Rochester had made any mention of Zealand to Mr. Price, thither they both came; and seeing sir John Mennes and Mr. Nicholas there, they believed there might likewise be others of their Cologne friends. Herbert Price, as he was a man of a very inquisitive nature, watched so narrowly, that he found an opportunity to meet the king in an evening, when he used to walk to take a little air after the day's confinement. The king, since he was discovered, thought it best to trust him; and charged him, "not only to make no discovery, but to remove out of the island, lest his being seen there might raise suspicion in other men." He did very importunately desire the king that he might bring Manning to speak with him, as not only an honest man, (as no doubt he thought him to be,) but a man of that importance and trust, as might contribute much to his present service. But the king would by no means admit him, nor did he see him; yet afterwards, upon this reflection, his majesty concluded that Cromwell came to be informed of his being in Zealand, without any reproach to Mr. Price's fidelity; which was not suspected, though his presumption and importunity were always very inconvenient.

Shortly after the king's return to Cologne, Manning likewise came thither with his accustomed confidence. And in this time the chancellor received advertisement from England, "that he had no kind of trust from the earl of Pembroke, but, on the contrary, had been turned out of his service upon matter of dishonesty; and that he was a loose person, of no reputation:" and his majesty was informed by others from Antwerp, "that every post brought many letters for him, which were taken up there, and transmitted to Cologne; and that he had letters of credit upon a merchant of Antwerp for good sums of money." All this raised a suspicion in the king; who gave direction to a trusty person, who was purposely sent to take up all those letters at Antwerp, which were sent thither from England for him, it being known under what cover they came, and likewise those which were sent from Cologne by him, his address being likewise discovered. By this means the party returned with many great packets both from and to him; which being opened, and read, administered matter of great amazement. There

were letters from Thurlow, Cromwell's secretary and principal minister, containing the satisfaction the protector received in the particular intelligence he received from him, with short instructions how he should behave himself. The person employed had been so dexterous, that he brought with him Manning's letters of three posts, all full of the most particular things done at Cologne; and the particular words said by the king, and others, that must needs affect those who should receive the intelligence; but of all which there was nothing true; no such action had been done, no such word spoken.

In one letter, after such information as he thought fit, he said, "that by the next he should send such advice as was of much more moment than he had ever yet sent, and above what he had given from Zealand, and by which they might see, that there was nothing so secret at Cologne, of which he could not be informed, if he had money enough;" and therefore desired the bill for the thousand crowns might be despatched. Together with this, the letter of the subsequent post was likewise seized upon; and by his method, which was afterwards discovered, it was very probable that they were both sent at one and the same time, and by the same post, though they were of several dates. That of the latter date was very long, and in it was enclosed an overture or design for the surprise and taking of Plymouth; in which there was a very exact and true description of the town, and fort, and island, and the present strength and force that was there. Then a proposition, that a vessel with five hundred men (there were no more desired) should come to such a place, (a creek described,) and, upon a sign then given, such a place in the town should be first seized upon, whilst others should possess both the fort and the island. The names of the persons who undertook to do both the one and the other, were likewise set down; and they were all men known to be well affected to the king, who, with the assistance of that five hundred men, might indeed be able to master the place. For the better going through the work when it was thus begun, there was an undertaking that sir Hugh Pollard, and other persons named, who were all notable men for their zeal to the king's service, should be ready from the Devonshire side, as colonel Arundel and others from Cornwall, to second and support what was to be done.

The letter informed, "that when the king delivered that paper to the council," (which, he said, "he had received from a very good hand, it was read twice;" and then the marquis of Ormond made this and this objection, and others found this and that difficulty in the execution of the enterprise, all which the chancellor answered very clearly, and the king himself said very much of the easiness of the undertaking,) "there was one difficulty urged, that the king himself appeared to be startled at, and looked upon the chancellor; who arose from his place, and went to the king's chair, and whispered somewhat in his ear. Whereupon his majesty told the lords, that he had indeed forgot somewhat that the chancellor put him in mind of, and for that particular they should refer the care of it to him, who would take it upon him; and so the matter was resolved, and the earl of Rochester undertook for the five hundred men, and their trans-

portation." Manning concluded, "that if he had money, they should know constantly how this design should be advanced, or any other set on foot." Every body was exceedingly amazed at this relation, in which there was not one syllable of truth. There had never such a proposition been made, nor was there any such debate or discourse. There were in his letter many vain insinuations of his interest, as if he were never out of the king's company. Two of the king's servants were sent to seize upon his person and his papers; who found him in his chamber writing, and his cipher and papers before him; all which they possessed themselves of without any resistance. There were several letters prepared, and made up with the dates proper for many posts to come, with information and intelligence of the same nature as the former.

The secretary of state and one of the lords of the council were sent to examine him; to whom he confessed, without any reserve, "that the necessity of his fortune had exposed him to that base condition of life; and, to make himself fit for it, he had dissembled his religion; for," he said, "he remained still a catholic: that he was sent over by Thurlow to be a spy wherever the king should be, and had constantly sent him intelligence, for which he had received good sums of money; yet, that he had been so troubled in mind for the vileness of the life he led, that he was resolved, by raising great expectations in them, to draw a good sum of money from them; and then to renounce farther correspondence, and to procure the king's pardon, and faithfully to serve him." Being asked, why he made such relations, which had no truth in them, he answered, "that if he had come to the knowledge of any thing which in truth had concerned the king, he would never have discovered it; but he thought it would do no prejudice to the king, if he got money from the rebels by sending them lies, which could neither do them good, nor hurt his majesty; and therefore all his care was to amuse them with particulars, which he knew would please them; and so when he was alone he always prepared letters containing such things as occurred to his invention, to be sent by the succeeding posts, and that he had never written any thing that was true, but of his majesty's being in Zealand; which, he believed, could produce no prejudice to him."

The king now discerned from whence all the apprehensions of his friends proceeded; and that they had too much ground for their jealousies; for though none of his counsels had been discovered, they who had received those letters might reasonably think that none of them were concealed; and might well brag to their confidents of their knowing all that the king did. By this means, such particulars were transmitted to the king's friends, as could not but very much amuse them, and, no doubt, was the cause of the commitment of very many persons, and of some who had no purpose to suffer for their loyalty. His majesty took care to publish the transactions of this man, with the method of the intelligence he gave; by which his friends discerned with what shadows they had been affrighted, and his enemies likewise discovered what current war they had received for their money: yet they endeavoured



to have it believed that he was not a man sent over by them, but a secretary in great trust about some person employed, whom they had corrupted : in which men were likewise quickly undeceived, and knew that he was a man without any dependence or relation to, or countenance from the court.

As the king's hopes were much eclipsed in England by the late unseasonable attempt, and the loss of so many gallant persons, as perished, or were undone in it ; so Cromwell advanced his own credit, and was infinitely enriched by it, and more confirmed with those who were of doubtful faith towards him. He lay before under the reproach of devising plots himself, that the commonwealth might be thought in danger, to the end he might have excuse to continue so vast forces still in pay. Whereas it now appeared how active and confident the king's party still was, and that they would not have had the presumption to make so bold an attempt in the middle of the kingdom, if they had not had good assurance of being seconded ; and therefore they were to look upon the fire as only raked up, not extinguished. The success and triumph of a few desperate persons at Salisbury, that had produced such a consternation throughout the kingdom, and would have endangered the security of the whole west, if there had not happened some accidental confusion amongst the undertakers, was evidence enough that there was not yet force sufficient to provide for the safety of the kingdom ; and therefore that it was necessary to make better provision for the quiet of every county, that it might not be endangered by every bold attempt : and the charge that this necessary defence would cause should in justice be borne by those who were the occasion of the expense.

Thereupon he made by his own authority, and that of his council, an order, " that all those who " had ever borne arms for the king, or had declared themselves to be of the royal party, " should be decimated, that is, pay a tenth part " of all that estate which they had left, to support " the charge which the commonwealth was put " to, by the unquietness of their temper, and the " just cause of jealousy which they had administered." And that the public might lose nothing of what he had so frankly given to it, commissioners were appointed in every county, to value what that tenth part of every such estate did amount to ; and that no man might have too good a bargain of his own, every man was obliged to pay as much as those commissioners judged fit ; and till he paid it, besides imprisonment, which was a judgment apart, and inflicted once or twice a year, as the jealousies wrought, his whole estate was sequestered. And in this decimation there was no consideration taken of former compositions, of any articles of war, or of any acts of pardon and indemnity, which had been granted under their great seal, without inquiry into their actions, or so much as accusing any of them of any crime or guilt, or of having any correspondence with the king or any body trusted by him ; or that they were in any degree privy to the late designs or insurrection.

That this order might be submitted to, and executed, he published a declaration to make the justice as well as the necessity of that proceeding appear ; in which he did not only set down the

grounds of his present proceeding against the royal party, but the rules by which he meant to proceed against any other party that should provoke, or give him trouble. It was a declaration worded and digested with much more asperity against all who had served the king, than had ever been before published. Great caution had been hitherto used, as if nothing more had been desired than to unite the whole nation in the joint defence of the common interest, and as if a resolution had been taken to have abolished all marks of disunion and distinction of parties, and that all men, of what condition soever, (except those who had been always excepted by name,) who would submit to the government, should be admitted to have shares, and to act parts in the administration and defence of it. But now notice was taken of " such an inherent malignity, and irreconcilable- " ness in all those who from the beginning had " adhered to the king, and opposed the proceed- " ings of the parliament, towards all those who " had served their country, and vindicated the " interest of the people and nation, that they de- " clined the common rules of civility, and would " have no conversation with them ; and, that the " same malice and animosity might descend to " their posterity, they would not make marriages, " or any friendship or alliance, with those who " had been separated, or divided from them in " those public contentions ; and therefore they " were not hereafter to wonder, or complain, if " they were looked upon as a common enemy, " which must be kept from being able to do mis- " chief ; since they would always be willing to do " all they could ; and that they were not to ex- " pect to be prosecuted, like other men, by the " ordinary forms of justice, and to have their " crimes to be proved by witnesses, before they " should be concluded to be guilty. If any des- " perate attempts were undertaken by any of that " party to disturb the public peace, that it would " be reasonable to conclude that they all wished " well to it, though they appeared not to own it : " that all conspiracies of that nature were acted " in secret, and were deeds of darkness, and men " might justly be suspected and proceeded against " as privy to them, by their common discourses, " by the company they usually kept, and by their " very looks ;" with many other expressions, of such an unusual nature in the disquisition of justice, and legal proceedings, that the king's party might reasonably conclude, they had nothing left that they could call their own, but must expect a total extirpation, either by massacre, or transplantation.

But then the declaration took notice likewise of " the factions in the army, that would not acqui- " esce in the government established ; but would " have another found out, and formed according " to their levelling humours ; all which distrac- " tions, to what other ends soever directed, must " so weaken the commonwealth, if not wisely " prevented, as it must in the end be exposed as " a prey to their inveterate enemies ; and there- " fore, that the same remedies must be applied to " them, as to the others ;" with intimation clear enough, " that the connivance they had formerly " received, and even the pardons that had been " granted for their former mutinies and trans- " gressions, were of no more validity than the " articles, promises, and acts of indemnity, which



"had been granted to the royal party: all which were declared to be void and null, upon any succeeding delinquency:" so that all discontented people who liked not the present government, what part soever they had acted in the pulling down the old, whether presbyterian, independent, or leveller, were left to consider of the consequence of those maxims there laid down; and might naturally conclude, that they were in no better condition of security for what they enjoyed, and had purchased dearly, than those who by their help were brought to the lowest misery; though, for the present, none but the king's party underwent that insupportable burden of decimation; which brought a vast incredible sum of money into Cromwell's coffers, the greater part whereof was raised (which was a kind of pleasure, though not ease, to the rest) upon those who never did, nor ever would have given the king the least assistance, and were only reputed to be of his party because they had not assisted

the rebels with a visible cheerfulness, or in any considerable proportion; and had proposed to themselves to sit still as neuters, and not to be at any charge with reference to either party; or such who had sheltered themselves in some of the king's garrisons for their own conveniency.

This declaration was quickly sent to Cologne; where the king caused an answer to be made to it upon the grounds that were laid down in it; and as if it were made by one who had been always of the parliament side, and who was well pleased to see the cavaliers reduced to that extremity; but with such reflections upon the tyranny that was exercised over the kingdom, and upon the foulness of the breach of trust the protector was guilty of, that it obliged all the nation to look upon him as a detestable enemy, who was to be removed by any way that offered itself; many of which arguments were made use of against him in the next parliament that he called; which was not long after.

END OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

THE

## HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

### BOOK XV.

THE king remained at Cologne above two years, contending with the rigour of his fortune with great temper and magnanimity; whilst all the princes of Europe seemed to contend amongst themselves, who should most eminently forget and neglect him; and whilst Cromwell exercised all imaginable tyranny over those nations, who had not been sensible enough of the blessings they enjoyed under his majesty's father's peaceable and mild government: so that he might have enjoyed some of that comfort and pleasure, which Velleius Paterculus says that Marius and Carthage had, when his banishment reduced him to end his life in the ruins of that city, as he did; *Marius aspiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri possent esse solatio*: whilst he refreshed himself with the memory of his greatness, when he overthrew that great and famous city; and she again, delighted to behold her destroyer, expelled from his country, which he had served so eminently, and forced, forsaken of all men, to end his life and to be buried in her ashes. If the king's nature could have been delighted with such reflections, he might have had argument abundant in seeing Scotland, which first threw off, wantonly, its own peace and plenty, and infected the other two kingdoms with its rebellion, now reduced, and governed by a rod of iron; vanquished and subdued by those to whom they had taught the science of

rebellion, and with whom they had joined, by specious pretences, and vows, and horrible perjuries, to subdue and destroy their own natural prince, and dissolve the government, to which they had been subject ever since they were a people: in seeing the pride and insolence of that nation, which had used to practise such ill manners towards their king, suppressed, contemned, and subdued by those who had been instructed by them how to use their arms, and exposed to slavery under the discipline and castigation of men who were not born gentlemen, but bred up in the trades and professions of common men. These men governed in their houses, and prescribed new laws to them to live by, which they had never been accustomed to, yet were compelled to obey, upon penalty of their lives and estates; whilst their adored idol, presbytery, which had pulled off the crown from the head of the king, was trod underfoot, and laughed at and contemned; and their preachers, who had threatened their princes with their rude thunder of excommunication, disputed with, scoffed at, and controlled by artificers, and corrected by the strokes and blows of a corporal; and all this subjection supported at their own charge, their fierce governors being paid by them out of their own estates.

He then beheld Ireland, that begun its rebellion with inhuman massacres, and butcheries of their

peaceable and innocent neighbours, after the other of Scotland was suppressed, or so compounded, that the blessing of peace had again covered the three nations, if this sottish people had not, without any provocation, but of their own folly and barbarity, with that bloody prologue engaged again the three kingdoms in a raging and devouring war; so that though Scotland blew the first trumpet, it was Ireland that drew the first blood; and if they had not at that time rebelled, and in that manner, it is very probable all the miseries, which afterwards befell the king, and his dominions, had been prevented. These unhappy people, when they saw that they could not make war, but were beaten as often as encountered, would not yet make peace; or if they did, they no sooner made it than broke it, with all the circumstances of treachery and perjury, that can make any foul action the most odious. And after they had, for their last preservation, returned to their obedience to the king, and put themselves again under his protection, they quickly repented of their loyalty, offered themselves to the sovereignty of a foreign prince; and when they had seen their natural king murdered by his other rebels, for want of that assistance which they might have given him, chose rather to depend on the clemency of the usurper, driving from them the governor and government of the king: I say, his majesty saw now this miserable people grovelling at the feet of their proud conquerors, reduced to the highest desolation, and even to the point of extirpation; the blood they had wantonly and savagely spilt in the beginning of the rebellion, now plentifully revenged in streams of their own blood, from one end of the kingdom to the other; whilst those persons who first contrived the rebellion, and could never be reached by the king, and they who caused every peace to be broken which had been made with his majesty, with all the possible affronts to his royal dignity and authority, after they had endeavoured, by all the treacherous offices against the royal power, to reconcile themselves to their new masters, were every day taken, and infamously put to death by their authority who usurped the government; who sold, as hath been said before, so many thousands of them to the services of foreign princes, under whom they perished for want of bread, and without regard: so that there is not an account in history of any nation, the Jews only excepted, that was ever reduced to a more complete misery and contempt than the Irish were at this time. And all this was the more extraordinary, in that it was without the pity of any, all the world looking upon them as deserving the fate they underwent.

Lastly, England, that seemed to glory in the conquest of those two kingdoms, and to reign peaceably over them, yielded a prospect too, full of variety. Though the king's heart was even broken with the daily informations he received of the ruin and destruction his faithful and loyal party underwent; and the butchery frequently acted upon them, and the extreme tyranny the usurper exercised over the whole nation, was grievous to him, yet he could not be equally afflicted to see those who had been the first authors of the public calamity, now so much sharers in it, that they were no more masters of their estates, than they were whom they had first spoiled; and that themselves were brought and exposed upon

those scaffolds, which they had caused to be erected for others; that little or no part of the new government was in their hands which had pulled down the old; and that, after monarchy had been made so odious to the people, the whole wealth of the nation was become at the disposal of a single person; and that those lords, without whose monstrous assistance the sceptre could never have been wrested out of the hands of the king, were now numbered and marshalled with the dregs of the people: in a word, that Cromwell was not so jealous of any, as of those who had raised him; and contrived and proposed nothing more to himself, than to suppress those, or to drive them out of the kingdom, who had been the principal means to suppress the royal authority, and to drive the royal family, and all that adhered to it, into banishment.

This prospect the king had of the three kingdoms which had revolted from him during his residence at Cologne; but with those manifestations of God's vengeance upon those ingrateful nations, of which he had a most tender and compassionate feeling, he was not without some glimmering light to discern an approach of that recompense, which the divine justice usually assigns to those who patiently attend his vindication.

Cromwell, whose great heart was solicitous to extend the terror of his name into foreign countries, by which method he thought to render the rough and stubborn humours of his own people, which vexed him exceedingly, more obsequious to him, had in the beginning of the year 1655, after his dissolution of his stubborn parliament, sent two very great fleets to sea; the one under Pen, consisting of about thirty ships of war, with which there was likewise embarked a land army, consisting of four or five thousand foot, and two troops of horse, under the command of general Venables, a gentleman of a good family in Cheshire; who had served long in the army in the condition of a colonel, and was then called out of Ireland to serve in this expedition.

Both these superior officers were well affected to the king's service, and were not fond of the enterprise they were to conduct, the nature of which they yet knew nothing of. They did, by several ways, without any communication with each other, (which they had not confidence to engage in,) send to the king, that if he were ready with any force from abroad, or secure of possessing any port within, they would, that is, either of them would, engage, with the power that was under their charge, to declare for his majesty. If this had been upon a joint and mutual confidence in each other, and that both fleet, and land forces, though the body of horse was small, would at the same time erect the king's standard, it might have been the foundation of some hopeful expectation. But neither of them daring to trust the other, the king could not presume upon any port; without which neither had promised to engage; nor could he make out of the distinct overtures (however he might hope to unite them) such a probable attempt, after the miscarriage of so many, as to embark his friends in. So he wished them to reserve their affections for his majesty, till a more proper season to discover them; and to prosecute the voyage to which they were designed; from which he was not without hope of some benefit to himself; for it was evident Cromwell meant to

make some enemy, which probably might give his majesty some friend.

The other fleet was not inferior in naval strength, and power, but was without a land army; and that was committed to the command of Blake; in whom Cromwell had all confidence. Neither fleet knew what the other, or what itself was to do, till each of them came to such a point; where they were to open their commissions; and Cromwell had communicated his purpose for either to so very few, that, for many months after they were both at sea, nobody new to what they were designed. Though the intercourse between Cromwell and the cardinal was maintained with many civilities, and some confidence, yet there was nothing of a treaty signed; he resolving, as he professed, "to give his friend-ship to that crown that should best deserve it:" and, without doubt, both crowns were amused with his preparations, and solicitous to know where the storm would fall.

Spain, that had hitherto kept don Alonzo de Cardinas in England, after he had so many years resided there as ambassador to the late king, believing they were less faulty in that than if they should send another originally to Cromwell, now thought it necessary to omit no occasion to endear themselves to him; and therefore they sent the marquis of Leyda with a splendid train, as extraordinary ambassador, to congratulate all his successes, and to offer him the entire friendship of the catholic king. The marquis, who was a wise and a jealous man, found by his reception, and Cromwell's reservation in all his audiences, and the approaches he could make, that there was no room left for his master; and so, after a month spent there, he returned to look to his government in Flanders, with an expectation that as soon as any news came of the fleets, they should hear of some acts of hostility upon the subjects of Spain; and did all he could to awaken all the ministers of that king to the same apprehension and expectation.

The two fleets set out from the coast of England about the same time; that under Blake, made its course directly to the Mediterranean; being bound in the first place to suppress the insolence of those of Algiers and Tunis, who had infested the English merchants, and were grown powerful in those seas. When he should have performed that service, he was to open another commission, which would inform him what course he was to steer. The other fleet under Pen was bound directly to the Barbadoes; where they were to open their commissions, and to deliver letters to that governor. There they found, that they were to take in new men for the land army, and then to prosecute their course directly to the island of Hispaniola. The governor had orders to supply new men for the expedition; and there were ships ready for their transportation, there being a marvellous alacrity in the planters of those Leeward islands, which were oppressed with inhabitants, to seek their fortune farther from home. So that, after a shorter stay at the Barbadoes than they had reason to expect, having now found there two frigates, (which Cromwell had sent before to prepare all things ready, and to put several shallops together, which were brought ready in quarters,) and making prize of about forty Dutch ships, belonging to their new allies of Holland, for trading thither, (contrary to the act of navigation,) about the end of March they set sail, with an addition of

four or five thousand foot for the land army, towards St. Christopher's; where, after a short stay, they received about fifteen hundred men more: so that Venables had now under his command a body of above nine thousand men, with one troop of horse more, which the planters of the Barbadoes joined to him; and having a prosperous wind, they came, about the middle of April, within view of Santo Domingo; which is the chief city and port of the island of Hispaniola.

Their orders from Cromwell were very particular, and very positive, that they should land at such a place, which was plainly enough described to them. But whether they did not clearly understand it, or thought it not so convenient, when they were near enough to make a judgment of it, they called a council of war; and it was there resolved that general Venables should land in another place, (which they conceived to be much nearer the town than in truth it was,) and from thence march directly to it, there being another brigade of foot to be landed, at a less distance from the town, in a bay, that should join with them; and join they did. But by the march which Venables had made, in which he spent two days and a half in the woods and uneasy passages, and in the terrible heat of that country's sun, where they found no water to drink, they were so dispirited before they joined with their companions, that it was an ill presage of the misadventure that followed. The loss of that time in their advance had another very ill effect. For the inhabitants of the town, that, at the first appearance of such a fleet, the like whereof in any degree they had never seen before, had been seized upon by such a consternation, that they despaired of making any resistance, when they saw their enemies proceed so slowly, and engaged in such a march as must tire and infinitely annoy them, they recovered their spirits, and prepared for their defence. So that when Venables, upon the conjunction with his other forces, and after having found some fresh water to refresh his men, advanced towards the town, his forlorn hope found themselves charged by a party of horse armed with long lances, and other arms, which they had not been accustomed to; so, tired and dismayed with their march and heat, they bore the charge very ill, and were easily routed, and routed those which were behind them; and were, in that disorder, pursued till they came to their main body; upon sight whereof the Spaniard retired without any loss, having left the captain of the forlorn hope, and above fifty of his company, dead upon the place. The English retired back in great discomfort to the bay, and the fresh water river they had found there; where they stayed so long, that the general thought his men not only enough refreshed, but enough confirmed in their resolutions to redeem the shame of their last disorder, having got guides, who undertook to conduct them a nearer way to the city, and that they should not go near a fort, which the Spaniards had in a wood, from whence they had been infested. The common opinion that the negroes, natives of those parts, are such enemies to the Spaniards, that they are willing to betray them, and do any mischief to them, might possibly incline the English to give credit to those guides. But they did conduct them directly to the fort; near which an ambuscade in the woods discharged a volley again upon the forlorn hope, and fell then

in upon them with such fury, that disordered the whole army; which, though it recovered the courage once more to make an attempt upon that fort, was again seized upon by a panic fear, which made them directly fly back to the bay with the loss of above six hundred men, whereof their major general was one.

This fright they never recovered; but, within few days after, having undergone many distresses by the intolerable heat of the climate, and the negroes killing their men every day, as they went into the woods to find meat, they were, within five or six days after the beginning of May, compelled to reembark themselves on board the fleet, with a thousand men less than had been landed, who had by several ways lost their lives there; for which they revenged themselves upon a neighbour island, called Jamaica; where they made another descent, took their city, and drove all the inhabitants into the woods. And here they left a good body of foot, consisting of three or four thousand men, under the command of a colonel, to fortify and plant in this island, a place fruitful in itself, and abounding in many good provisions, and a perpetual sharp thorn in the sides of the Spaniard; who received infinite damage from thence; they who were so easily frightened, and beaten, when they were in a great body upon the other island, making afterwards frequent incursions, with small numbers, into it from Jamaica; sacking their towns, and returning with very rich booty. When Venables had put this island into as good order as he could, he returned with Pen into England.

The other fleet under the command of Blake had better success, without any misadventures. After he had reduced those of Algiers, where he anchored in their very mole, to submit to such conditions for the time past, and the time to come, as he thought reasonable, he sailed to Tunis; which he found better fortified and more resolved; for that king returned a very rude answer, contemning his strength, and undervaluing his menaces, and refusing to return either ship or prisoner that had been taken. Whereupon Blake put his fleet in order, and thundered with his great guns upon the town; whilst he sent out several long boats manned with stout mariners, who, at the same time, entered with very notable resolution into their harbours, and set fire to all the ships there, being nine men of war; which were burnt to ashes; and this with the loss only of five and twenty of the English, and about eight and forty hurt, all the boats, with the rest of the men, returning safe to the ships. This was indeed an action of the highest conduct and courage, and made the name of the English very terrible and formidable in those seas.

The success of both fleets came to Cromwell's notice about the same time, but did not affect him alike. He had never such distempers, (for he had usually a great command over his passions,) as upon the miscarriage at Hispaniola. And as soon as they came on shore, he committed both Pen and Venables to the Tower, and could never be persuaded to trust either of them again; and could not, in a long time, speak temperately of that affair. However, he lost no time in cherishing his infant plantation in Jamaica; which many thought to be at too great a distance, and wished the men might be recalled; but he would not hear of it; and sent presently a good squadron of ships, and

a recruit of fifteen hundred men to carry on that work; and resolved nothing more, than to make a continual war from that place upon the Spaniard.

And now the rupture with Spain could be no longer concealed. Therefore he sent orders to Blake, "that he should watch the return of the "Plate-fleet, and do what mischief he could upon "the coast of Spain;" and gave directions to his ships in the Downs to infest those of Flanders, which they had not yet done: what had been hitherto treated privately between him and the cardinal, was now exposed to the light. He now sent Lockhart his ambassador into France; who was received with great solemnity; and was a man of great address in treaty, and had a marvellous credit and power with the cardinal. He made an alliance with France. Cromwell undertook "to "send over an army of six thousand foot, to be "commanded by their own superior officer, who "was to receive orders only from marshal Tu- "renne:" and when Dunkirk and Mardike should be taken, they were to be put into Cromwell's hands. There were other more secret articles, which will be mentioned.

Flanders had notice of this their new enemy from England, before they heard any thing from Spain, that might better enable them to contend with him; and don Alonzo remained still in London without notice of what was done, till the affair of Jamaica was upon the exchange, and fraternities entered into there for the better carrying on that plantation. Nor was he willing to believe it then, till Cromwell sent to him to leave the kingdom; which he did very unwillingly, when there was no remedy; and was transported into Flanders to increase the jealousies and discontents, which were already too great and uneasy there. The prince of Condé, whose troops and vigour were the preservation and life of that country, was very ill satisfied with the formality and phlegm of the archduke, and with the unactivity and wariness of the conte of Fuensaldagna; who he thought omitted many opportunities.

The archduke was weary of the title of governor of the Low Countries and general of the army, when the power was in truth in Fuensaldagna, and nothing to be done without his approbation; and having, by frequent complaints to Madrid, endeavoured in vain to vindicate his authority, had implored his dismissal, and Fuensaldagna himself was as ill satisfied as the other two; and knowing well the defects of the court, as well as the poverty of Madrid, thought the defence of Flanders consisted most in preserving the army, by being on the defensive part; and therefore, to gratify the coldness of his own constitution, he did by no means approve the frequent enterprises and restless spirit of the prince of Condé; which spent their men: and he thought the great charge in supporting the state and dignity of the archduke was not recompensed by any benefit from his service, besides the irreconcilableness with the archduke, by his having compelled him, by the authority of the king, to dismiss the count of Swassenburgh; whom he loved of all the world; so that he was likewise weary of his post, and desired his deliverance to be sent him from Madrid.

The council there thought it necessary to gratify them both, and to remove both the archduke and the conde; honourably to dismiss the former to return to his own residence in Germany, and to

bring don Juan of Austria, the natural son of the king of Spain, who had passed through many employments with reputation, and was at that time general in Italy, to undertake the government of Flanders, with such restrictions as the king of Spain thought fit; and at the same time, that the conde of Fuensaldagna should immediately enter upon the government of Milan; which had been exercised for the last six years by the marquis of Carracena; who was now to govern the army in Flanders under don Juan; and that the marquis, who had the most disadvantage of this promotion, might be better pleased, they gave him such an addition of authority, as could not but breed ill blood in don Juan; as it fell out afterwards. This counsel was taken, and to be executed in this conjuncture, when France and Cromwell were ready to enter Flanders with two powerful armies, whilst it was, upon the matter, under no command.

The king was yet at Cologne; and no sooner heard of the war that Cromwell had begun upon Spain, but he concluded that the Spaniard would not be unwilling to enter into some correspondence with him; at least, that their fears were over of offending Cromwell. He therefore sent privately to the archduke, and to Fuensaldagna, to offer them his conjunction. Don Alonzo was likewise there; and the long experience he had in England, and the quality he still held, made his judgment in those affairs most esteemed by them. He, whether upon the conscience of his former behaviour, by which he had disobliged both the late and the present king, or whether, by having lived long in a place where the king's interest was contemned, he did in truth believe that his majesty could bring little advantage to them, had no mind to make a conjunction with him: yet they saw one benefit which they might receive, if his majesty would draw off the Irish from the service of France; which they had reason to believe would be in his power, because he had formerly drawn off some regiments from Spain, whilst he remained in France. So that they were all of opinion, that they would confer with any body the king should authorize to treat with them; which when the king knew, he resolved to go to them himself; and left Cologne, attended only by two or three servants; and when he came near Brussels, sent to advertise the archduke at what distance he was; and "that he would see him *incognito* in what place, or manner, he should think fit."

They either were, or seemed to be much troubled that the king was come in person; and desired, that he would by no means come to Brussels; but that he would remain in a little vile dorp about a league from Brussels; where he was vilely accommodated. Thither the conde of Fuensaldagna and don Alonzo came to his majesty; and the archduke met him privately at another place. The king quickly discovered that don Alonzo had a private intrigue with some officers of the English army, who were enemies to Cromwell, upon whose interest he more depended than the king's, and offered it as great merit to his majesty, if he could be able to persuade them to make up a conjunction with the king. This correspondence between don Alonzo and those levellers, was managed by an Irish Jesuit, who, by speaking Spanish, had got himself to be mutually trusted by them. The king pressed them "that he might remove his family

"to Brussels, or to some place in Flanders, that it might be notorious that he was in alliance with his catholic majesty; and then they should quickly see he had another kind of interest in England, than what those men pretended to; upon whom they ought not to depend; and they would quickly find, if his majesty resided in that country, his influence upon the Irish who were in France."

They would by no means consent that his majesty should remain in Brussels, as little at Antwerp, or indeed in any place as taken notice of by the state to be there, "which," they said, "the king of Spain's honour would not permit, without shewing those respects to him that he might live in that grandeur as became a great king; which the present state of their affairs would not permit them to defray the charge of." But they intimated, "that if his majesty would choose to remove his family to Bruges, and remain there with them, so far *incognito* as not to expect any public expensive reception, they were sure he would find all respect from the inhabitants of that city." The king desired that some treaty might be signed between them; which was committed to the wisdom of don Alonzo; who prepared it in as perfunctory a manner as was possible; by which the king was permitted to reside in Bruges, and nothing on the king of Spain's part undertaken but "that whenever the king could cause a good port town in England to declare for him, his catholic majesty would assist him with a body of six thousand foot, and with such a proportion of ammunition, and so many ships to transport that body thither;" which was the proposition the levellers had made; and don Alonzo, by making it the contract with the king, thought this way to beget an intelligence between them and the royal party; of the power of which he had no esteem.

The king discerned that what they offered would be of no moment, nor could he make such confident propositions of advantage to Spain, as might warrant him to insist upon large concessions. Besides, it was evident to him, that the affairs in those provinces, which remained under Spain, were in so evil a posture, that, if they should promise any great matters, they would not be able to perform them. However, all that he desired, was to have the reputation of a treaty between him and the king of Spain; under which he might draw his family from Cologne, and remain in Flanders, which was at a just distance from England, to expect other alterations. So his majesty readily accepted the treaty as it was drawn by don Alonzo; and signed it; and declared that he would reside in the manner they proposed at Bruges. Whereupon, after seven or eight days' stay in that inconvenient manner, the treaty was engrossed and signed by the king, the archduke, and don Alonzo, in April, or the end of March 1657; the despatch of the treaty being hastened by the necessity of the departure of the archduke and the conde of Fuensaldagna; who begun their journey within two or three days after the signing of it: don Juan and the marquis of Carracena being known to be on their way; and both, though not together, within few days' journey of Flanders.

The treaty, as it was signed, was sent by an express into Spain, for the approbation and signature of his catholic majesty. The king with his

small train went to Bruges, and lodged in the house of a subject of his own, the lord Tarah, an Irishman; who had been born in that country, and inherited an estate by his mother. There the king stayed, till a handsome accommodation was provided for him in that city, having sent to his brother the duke of Gloucester, who remained yet at Cologne, to come to him, and that his family should all come from thence. So that by the time his majesty had returned again to Brussels, to congratulate don Juan's arrival, and spent three or four days there, he found himself as well settled at Bruges as he had been at Cologne; where, when his family left it, there was not the least debt remained unsatisfied; which, in the low condition his majesty had been in, and still was, gave reputation to his economy.

As, upon the dissolution of the unruly parliament, Cromwell had sent out his two great fleets, to propagate his fame abroad, presuming that, by the conquest which the one would make in the West Indies, he should have money enough to keep his army in obedience to him, and by the other's destroying or suppressing the Turks of Algiers and Tunis, which were indeed grown formidable to all merchants, he should raise his reputation in Christendom, and become very popular with all the merchants of England; so he did not, in the mean time, neglect to take all the ways he could devise, to provide for his own security at home. Though he had brought the king's party so low, that he had no apprehension of their power to raise an army against him; yet he discerned, that, by breaking their fortunes and estates, he had not at all broken their spirits; and that, by taking so many of their lives, their numbers were not much lessened; and that they would be still ready to throw themselves into any party that should declare against him; to which, he knew, there were enough inclined who were no kinder to the other than himself.

But that which troubled him most, was the discontent in his army; where he knew there were many troops more at the disposal of that party that would destroy him, than at his own. It was once in his purpose to have drawn over a regiment of Swiss, upon pretence of sending them into Ireland, but in truth with intention to keep them as a guard to his own person; and to that purpose he had sent a person to treat with colonel Balthazer, a man well known in the protestant cantons; but this came to be discovered: so he had not confidence to proceed in it. He resolved therefore upon an expedient, which should provide for all inconveniences, as well amongst the people, as in the army. He constituted, out of the persons who he thought were most devoted to himself, a body of major generals; that is, he assigned to such a single person so many counties, to be under his command as their major general: so that all England was put under the absolute power of twelve men, neither of them having any power in the jurisdiction of another, but every man, in those counties which were committed to his charge, had all that authority which was before scattered among committee-men, justices of peace, and several other officers.

The major general committed to prison what persons he thought fit to suspect; took care to levy all monies which were appointed by the protector and his council to be collected for the pub-

lic; sequestered all who did not pay their decimation, or such other payments as they were made liable to; and there was no appeal from any of their acts but to the protector himself. They had likewise a martial power, which was to list a body of horse and foot, who were to have such a salary constantly paid, and not to be called upon to serve but upon emergent occasion, and then to attend so many days at their own charge; and if they stayed longer, they were to be under the same pay with the army, but independent upon the officers thereof, and only to obey their major general. A horseman had eight pounds a year; for which he was to be ready with his horse if he were called upon; if he were not, he might intend his own affairs. By this means he had a second army in view, powerful enough to control the first, if they at any time deserved to be suspected. But he discerned, by degrees, that these new magistrates grew too much in love with their own power; and besides that they carried themselves like so many bassas with their bands of janizaries, towards the people, and were extremely odious to all parties, they did really affect such an authority as might undermine his own greatness; yet for the present he thought not fit to control them, and seemed less to apprehend them.

When admiral Blake had subdued the Turks of Tunis and Algiers, and betaken himself to the coast of Spain, and by the attempt of Hispaniola and the possession of Jamaica, the war was sufficiently declared against the catholic king, Mountague, a young gentleman of a good family, who had been drawn into the party of Cromwell, and served under him as a colonel in his army with much courage, was sent with an addition of ships to join with Blake, and joined in commission of admiral and general with him; Blake having found himself much indisposed in his health, and having desired that another might be sent to assist him, and to take care of the fleet, if worse should befall him. Upon his arrival with the fleet, they lay long before Cales in expectation of the [Spanish West] India fleet, and to keep in all ships from going out to give notice of their being there. After some months' attendance, they were at last compelled to remove their station, that they might get fresh water, and some other provisions which they wanted; and so drew off to a convenient bay in Portugal, and left a squadron of ships to watch the Spanish fleet; which, within a very short time after the remove of the English fleet, came upon the coast; and before they were discovered to be commander of the squadron, who was to the leeward, made their way so fast, that when he got up with them, (though he was inferior to them in number,) they rather thought of saving their wealth by flight, than of defending themselves; and so the Spanish admiral run on shore in the bay; and the vice-admiral, in which was the vice-king of Mexico with his wife, and sons, and daughters, was fired by themselves to prevent being taken; in which the poor gentleman himself, his wife, and his eldest daughter, perished: his other daughters, and his two sons, and near one hundred others, were saved by the English; who took the rear-admiral, and two other ships, very richly laden; which together with the prisoners, were sent into England, the rest escaped into Gibraltar.

The ships which were sent for England arrived at Portsmouth; and though they might with less

charge have continued their voyage by sea to London, Cromwell thought it would make more noise, if all the bullion, which was of great value, was landed at Portsmouth; from whence it was brought by land in many carts to London, and carried through the city to the Tower to be there coined, as it was, within as short a time as it could be despatched; and though it was in itself very considerable, they gave out and reported it to be of much greater value than it was. But the loss to the Spaniard was prodigious; though most of what was in the admiral was saved, and that only: and they saw the English fleet still remaining before them, which was not like to miss the other fleet they shortly after expected, in spite of all advertisements which they were like to be able to send to it.

Cromwell now thought his reputation, both abroad and at home, so good, that he might venture again upon calling of a parliament; and, by their countenance and concurrence, suppress or compose those refractory spirits, which crossed him in all places; and having first made such sheriffs in all counties as he thought would be like to contribute to his designs, by hindering such men to stand against whom he had a prejudice, at least, by not returning them if they should be chosen, and by procuring such persons to be returned as would be most agreeable to him, of which there were choice in all counties; and having prepared all things to this purpose, as well as he could, he sent out his writs to call a parliament to meet at Westminster, upon the seventeenth of September, in the year 1656. When, upon the returns, he found, that though in some places he had succeeded according to his wish, it was in others quite the contrary, and that very many members were returned, who were men of the most notorious malignity against him, he therefore resorted to his old security, to keep all manner of persons from entering into the house, who did not first subscribe, "that they would act nothing prejudicial to the government as it was established under a protector;" which being tendered, many members utterly refused, and returned into their countries, where they were not, for the most part, the worse welcome for insisting upon their privileges, and freedom of parliament.

The major part frankly submitted and subscribed; some of them, that they might have the better opportunity to do mischief. So a speaker was chosen; and at first they proceeded so unanimously, that the protector begun to hope that he had gained his point. With very little or no contradiction, they passed an act of renunciation of any title that Charles Stuart (for so they had long called the king) or any of that family might pretend; and this all men were bound to subscribe. With as little opposition, they passed another, whereby it was made high treason to attempt any thing against the life of the protector. Then they passed several acts for raising money by way of contribution in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in a greater proportion than had ever yet been raised. They granted tonnage and poundage to the protector for his life; and passed several other acts for the raising of monies; amongst them, one for obliging all persons to pay a full year's rent for all buildings which had been erected in and about London, from before the beginning of the troubles; by all which ways, vast sums of money were to

be, and afterwards were, exacted and raised. All these acts they presented solemnly to his highness, to be confirmed by his royal authority; and he as graciously confirmed them all; and told them, "that as it had been the custom of the chief governors to acknowledge the care and kindness of the commons upon such occasions, so he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge theirs."

But after all this he was far from being satisfied with the method of their proceeding; for there was nothing done to confirm his personal authority; and notwithstanding all this was done, they might, for aught appeared, remove him from being both protector and general. There had been for some time jealousies between him and Lambert, who had been the principal adviser of the raising those major generals; and being one of them himself, and having the government of the five northern counties committed to him, he desired to improve their authority, and to have it settled by authority of parliament. But Cromwell, on the other hand, was well contented that they should be looked upon as a public grievance, and so taken away, rather upon the desire of parliament, than that it should appear to be out of his own inclination. But hitherto, neither that design in Lambert, nor the other in Cromwell, nor any difference between them, had broken out.

The protector himself seemed to desire nothing more than to have the authority they had formerly given him, at least, that he had exercised from the time he was protector, confirmed, and ratified by act of parliament. And if it had been so, it had been much greater than any king ever enjoyed. But he had used to speak much, "that it was pity the nobility should be totally suppressed; and that the government would be better, if it passed another consultation besides that of the house of commons." In matter of religion, he would often speak, "that there was much of good in the order of bishops, if the dross were scoured off." He courted very much many of the nobility, and used all devices to dispose them to come to him; and they who did visit him were used with extraordinary respect by him; all which raised an opinion in many, that he did in truth himself affect to be king; which was the more confirmed, when many of those who had nearest relation to him, and were most trusted by him, as soon as the parliament had despatched those acts, which are mentioned before, and that complaints came from all parts against the major generals, inveighed sharply against the temper and composition of the government, as if it was not capable to settle the several distractions, and satisfy the several interests of the nation; and by degrees proposed, in direct terms, "that they might invest Cromwell with the title, rights, and dignity of a king; and then he would know, what he was to do towards the satisfaction of all parties, and how to govern those who would not be satisfied."

This proposition found a marvellous concurrence; and very many, who used not to agree in any thing else, were of one mind in this, and would presently vote him king. And it was observed that nobody was forwarder in that acclamation, than some men who had always had the reputation of great fidelity to the king, and to wish his restoration: and it cannot be denied that very many of the king's party were so deceived in



their judgments, as really to believe, that the making Cromwell king for the present, was the best expedient for the restoration of his majesty; and that the army, and the whole nation, would then have been united rather to restore the true, than to admit of a false sovereign, whose hypocrisy and tyranny being now detected, and known, would be the more detested.

But the more sober persons of the king's party, who made less noise, trembled at this overture; and believed that it was the only way, utterly to destroy the king, and to pull up all future hopes of the royal family by the roots. They saw all men even already tired in their hopes; and that which was left of spirit in them, was from the horror they had of the confusion of the present government; that very many, who had sustained the king's quarrel in the beginning, were dead; that the present king, by his long absence out of the kingdom, was known to very few; so that there was too much reason to fear, that much of that affection that appeared under the notion of allegiance to the king, was more directed to the monarchy than to the person; and that if Cromwell were once made king, and so the government run again in the old channel, though those who were in love with a republic would possibly fall from him, he would receive abundant reparation of strength by the access of those who preferred the monarchy, and which probably would reconcile most men of estates to an absolute acquiescence, if not to an entire submission; that the nobility, which being excluded to a man, and deprived of all the rights and privileges due to them by their birthright, and so enemies irreconcilable to the present government, would, by this alteration, find themselves in their right places, and be glad to adhere to the name of a king, how unlawful a one soever; and there was an act of parliament still in force, that was made in the eleventh year of king Harry the Seventh, which seemed to provide absolute indemnity to such submission. And there was, without doubt, at that time, too much propension in too many of the nobility, to ransom themselves at the charge of their lawful sovereign. And therefore they who made these prudent recollections, used all the ways they could to prevent this design, and to divert any such vote in the house.

On the other side, Lambert, who was the second man in the army, and many other officers of account and interest, besides the country members, opposed this overture with great bitterness and indignation: some of them said directly, "that if, contrary to their oaths and engagements, and contrary to the end, for obtaining whereof they had spent so much blood and treasure, they must at last return and submit to the old government, and live again under a king, they would choose much rather to obey the true and lawful heir to the crown, who was descended from a long succession of kings who had managed the sceptre over the nation, than to submit to a person who, at best, was but their equal, and, raised by themselves from the same degree of which they all were, and, by the trust they had reposed in him, had raised himself above them." That which put an end to the present debate was, (and which was as wonderful as any thing,) that some of his own family, who had grown up under him, and had their whole dependence upon him, as Desborough, Fleetwood,

Whaley, and others, as passionately contradicted the motion, as any of the other officers; and confidently undertook to know, "that himself would never consent to it; and therefore that it was very strange that any men should importune the putting such a question, before they knew that he would accept it, unless they took this way to destroy him." Upon this (for which the undertakers received no thanks) the first debate was put off, till farther consideration.

The debate was resumed again the next day, with the same warmth, the same persons still of the same opinion they had been before; most of the officers of the army, as well as they who were the great dependents upon and creatures of Cromwell, as passionately opposed the making him king, as Lambert and the rest did, who looked to be successive protectors after his decease; only it was observed, that they who the day before had undertaken, that he himself would never endure it, (which had especially made the pause at that time,) urged that argument no more; but inveighed still against it as a monstrous thing, and that which would infallibly ruin him. But most of those of his privy council, and others nearest his trust, were as violent and as positive for the declaring him king, and much the major part of the house concurred in the same opinion; and notwithstanding all was said to the contrary, they appointed a committee of six or seven of the most eminent members of the house to wait upon him, and to inform him of "the very earnest desire of the house, that he would take upon him the title of king; and if they should find any aversion in him, that they should then enlarge in giving him those reasons, which had been offered in the house, and which had swayed the house to that resolution, which they hoped would have the same influence upon his highness."

He gave them audience in the painted chamber, when they made the bare overture to him, as the desire of his parliament; at which he seemed surprised; and told them, "he wondered how any such thing came into their minds; that it was neither fit for them to offer, nor him to receive; that he was sure they could discover no such ambition in him, and that his conscience would not give him leave ever to consent to own that title." They, who were well prepared to expect such an answer, told him, "that they hoped, he would not so suddenly give a positive denial to what the parliament had desired upon so long and mature deliberation; that they knew his modesty well, and that he more affected to deserve the highest titles than to wear them; that they were appointed to offer many reasons, which had induced the house to make this request to him; which when he had vouchsafed to hear, they hoped the same impression would be made upon him, that had been made upon them in the house." He was too desirous to give the parliament all the satisfaction he could with a good conscience, to refuse to hear whatever they thought fit to say to him; and so appointed them another day to attend him in the same place; which they accordingly did.

When they came to him again, they all successively entertained him with long harangues, setting out "the nature of the English people, and the nature of the government to which they had been accustomed, and under which they



"had flourished from the time they had been a people: that though the extreme sufferings they had undergone by corrupt ministers, under negligent and tyrannical kings, had transported them to throw off the government itself, as well as to inflict justice upon the persons of the offenders; yet they found by experience, that no other government would so well fit the nation, as that to which it had been accustomed: that, notwithstanding the infinite pains his highness had taken, and which had been crowned, even with miraculous success, by the immediate blessing of divine Providence upon all his actions and all his counsels, there remained still a restless and unquiet spirit in men, that threatened the public peace and quiet; and that it was most apparent, by the daily combinations and conspiracies against the present government, how just and gentle and mild soever, that the heart of the nation was devoted to the old form, with which it was acquainted; and that it was the love of that, not the affection to the young man who pretended a title to it, and was known to nobody, which disposed so many to wish for the return of it: that the name and title of a protector was never known to this kingdom, but in the hands of a subject, during the reign of an infant sovereign; and therefore, that the laws gave little respect to him, but were always executed in the name of the king, how young soever, and how unfit soever to govern: that whatsoever concerned the rights of any family, or any personal pretence, was well and safely over; the nation was united, and of one mind in the rejection of the old line; there was no danger of it; but nobody could say, that they were of one mind in the rejection of the old form of government; to which they were still most addicted: therefore, they besought him, out of his love and tenderness to the commonwealth, and for the preservation of the nation, which had got so much renown and glory under his conduct, that he would take that name and title which had ever presided over it, and by which as he could establish a firm peace at home, so he would find his fame and honour more improved abroad; and that those very princes and kings, who, out of admiration of his virtue and noble actions, had contracted a reverence for his person, and an impatient desire of his friendship, would look upon him with much more veneration, when they saw him clothed with the same majesty, and as much their equal in title as in merit; and would with much more alacrity renew the old alliances with England, when they were renewed in the old form, and under the old title, which would make them durable; since no foreign prince could presume to take upon him to judge of right of succession; which had been frequently changed in all kingdoms, not only upon the expiration of a line, but upon deprivation and deposition; in such manner as was most for the good and benefit of the people; of which there was a fresh instance in their own eyes, in the kingdom of Portugal; where the duke of Braganza, without any other title than the election of the people, assumed the crown, and title of king, from the king of Spain; who had enjoyed it quietly, and without interruption, during three decades; and he was acknowledged as sovereign of that kingdom by

"the late king; who received his ambassadors accordingly."

Cromwell heard these and the like arguments with great attention, (and wanted not his approbation to have concurred with them; he thanked them "for the pains they had taken,") "to which he would not take upon him to give a present answer; that he would consider of all they had said to him, and resort to God for counsel; and then he would send for them, and acquaint them with his resolution:" and so they parted, all men standing at gaze, and in terrible suspense, according to their several hopes and fears, till they knew what he would determine. All the dispute was now within his own chamber. There is no question the man was in great agony, and in his own mind did heartily desire to be king, and thought it the only way to be safe. And it is confidently believed, that upon some addresses he had formerly made to some principal noblemen of the kingdom, and some friendly expostulations he had by himself, or some friend, with them, why they reserved themselves, and would have no communication or acquaintance with him, the answer from them all severally (for such discourses could be held but with one at a time) was, "that if he would make himself king, they should easily know what they had to do, but they knew nothing of the submission and obedience which they were to pay to a protector;" and that these returns first disposed him to that ambition.

He was not terrified with the opposition that Lambert gave him; whom he now looked upon as a declared and mortal enemy, and one whom he must destroy, that he might not be destroyed by him: nor did he much consider those other officers of the army, who in the house concurred with Lambert, whose interest he did not believe to be great; and if it were, he thought he should quickly reduce them, as soon as Lambert should be disgraced, and his power taken from him. But he trembled at the obstinacy of those who, he knew, loved him; his brother Desborough, and the rest, who depended wholly upon him, and his greatness, and who did not wish his power and authority less absolute than it was. And that these men should, with that virulence, withstand this promotion, grieved him to the heart. He conferred with them severally, and endeavoured, by all the ways he could, to convert them. But they were all inexorable; and told him resolutely, "that they could do him no good, if they should adhere to him; and therefore they were resolved for their own interest to leave him, and do the utmost they could against him, from the time he assumed that title."

It was reported, that an officer of name, in the *éclaircissement* upon the subject, told him resolutely and vehemently, "that if ever he took the title of king upon him, he would kill him." Certain it is that Cromwell was informed, and gave credit to it, "that there were a number of men, who bound themselves by oath to kill him, within so many hours after he should accept that title." They who were very near him said, that in this perplexity he revolved his former dream, or apparition, that had first informed, and promised him the high fortune to which he was already arrived, and which was generally spoken of even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation;

and that he then observed, it had only declared, "that he should be the greatest man in England, "and should be near to be king;" which seemed to imply that he should be only near, and never actually attain the crown. Upon the whole matter, after a wonderful distraction of mind, which was manifest in his countenance to all who then saw him, notwithstanding his science in dissimulation, his courage failed him; and after he had spent some days very uneasily, he sent for the committee of parliament to attend him; and, as his looks were marvellously discomposed, and discovered a mind full of trouble and irresolution, so his words were broken and disjointed, without method, and full of pauses; with frequent mention of God and his gracious dispensation, he concluded, "that he could not, with a good conscience, accept the "government under the title of a king."

Many were then of opinion, that his genius at that time forsook him, and yielded to the king's spirit, and that his reign was near its expiration; and that, if his own courage had not failed, he would easily have mastered all opposition; that there were many officers of the army, who would not have left him, who were for kingly government in their own affections; and that the greatest factions in religion rather promised themselves protection from a single person, than from a parliament, or a new numerous council; that the first motion for the making him king was made by one of the most wealthy aldermen of the city of London, and who served then for the city in parliament; which was an argument that that potent body stood well affected to that government, and would have joined with him in the defence of it. Others were as confident, that he did very wisely to decline it; and that, if he had accepted it, he could not have lived many days after. The truth is, the danger was only in some present assassination, and desperate attempt upon his person, not from a revolt of the army from him; which no particular man had interest enough to corrupt. And he might have secured himself probably, for some time, from such an assault by not going abroad; and when such designs are deferred, they are commonly discovered; as appeared afterwards, in many conspiracies against his life.

His interest and power over the army was so great, that he had upon the sudden removed many of those officers who had the greatest names in the factions of religion, as Harrison, Rich, and others; who, as soon as they were removed, and their regiments conferred on others, were found to be of no signification, or influence. And it could have been no hard matter for him, upon very few days' warning, to have so quartered and modelled his troops, as to have secured him in any enterprise he would undertake. And, it may be, there were more men scandalized at his usurping more than the royal authority, than would have been at his assumption of the royal title too. And therefore they who at that time exercised their thoughts with most sagacity, looked upon that refusal of his as an immediate act of Almighty God towards the king's restoration; and many of the soberest men in the nation confessed, after the king's return, that their dejected spirits were wonderfully raised, and their hopes revived, by that infatuation of his.

But his modesty, or his wisdom, in the refusing that supreme title, seemed not to be attended with the least disadvantage to him. They who had

most signally opposed it were so satisfied that the danger they most apprehended was over, that they cared not to cross any thing else that was proposed towards his greatness; which might be their own another day: and they who had carried on the other design, and thereby, as they thought, obliged him, resolved now to give him all the power which they knew he did desire, and leave it to his own time, when with less hesitation he might assume the title too. And so they voted, that he should enjoy the title and authority he had already; which they enlarged in many particulars, beyond what it was by the first instrument of government, by another instrument, which they called the humble petition and advice; in which they granted him not only that authority for his life, but power by his last will and testament, and in the presence of such a number of witnesses, to make choice of, and to declare his own successor; which power should never be granted to any other protector than himself. And when they had digested and agreed upon this writing, at the passing whereof Lambert chose rather to be absent than oppose it, his parliament sent to him for an audience; which he assigned them on the 25th day of May 1657, in the banquetting house; where their speaker Withrington presented, and read the petition and advice of his parliament, and desired his assent to it.

The contents and substance of it were, "that his "highness Oliver Cromwell should, under the title "of protector, be pleased to execute the office of "chief magistrate over England, Scotland, and "Ireland, and the territories and dominions there- "unto belonging, &c. and to govern according to "all things in that petition and advice: and also, "that he would in his lifetime appoint the person "that should succeed him in the government: "that he would call a parliament consisting of two "houses, once in a year at farthest: that those "persons who are legally chosen by a free election "of the people to serve in parliament, may not be "excluded from doing their duties, but by consent "of that house whereof they are members: that "none but those under the qualifications therein "mentioned, should be capable to serve as mem- "bers in parliament: that the power of the other "house be limited, as therein is prescribed: that "the laws and statutes of the land be observed and "kept; no laws altered, suspended, abrogated, or "repealed, but by new laws made by act of parlia- "ment: that the yearly sum of a million of pounds "sterling be settled for the maintenance of the "navy and army; and three hundred thousand "pounds for the support of the government; "besides other temporary supplies, as the com- "mons in parliament shall see the necessities of "the nation to require: that the number of the "protector's council shall not exceed one and "twenty; whereof seven shall be a *quorum*: the "chief officers of state, as chancellors, keepers of "the great seal, &c. to be approved by parlia- "ment: that his highness would encourage a "godly ministry in these nations; and that such "as do revile and disturb them in the worship of "God, may be punished according to law; and "where laws are defective, new ones to be made: "that the protestant Christian religion, as it is "contained in the Old and New Testament, be "asserted, and held forth for the public profes- "sion of these nations, and no other; and that

"a confession of faith be agreed upon, and recommended to the people of these nations; and none to be permitted, by words or writing, to revile or reproach the said confession of faith."

After this petition and advice was distinctly read to him, after a long pause, and casting up his eyes, and other gestures of perplexity, he signed it; and told them, "that he came not thither that day as to a day of triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that ever he had in all his life, being to undertake one of the greatest burdens that ever was laid upon the back of any human creature; so that, without the support of the Almighty, he must necessarily sink under the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of the nation committed to his charge: therefore he desired the help of the parliament, and the help of all those who feared God, that by their help he might receive help and assistance from the hand of God, since nothing but his presence could enable him to discharge so great a trust." He told them, "that this was but an introduction to the carrying on of the government of the three nations; and therefore he recommended the supply of the rest, that was yet wanting, to the wisdom of the parliament;" and said, "he could not doubt, but the same spirit that had led the parliament to this, would easily suggest the rest to them; and that nothing should have induced him to have undertaken this intolerable burden to flesh and blood, but that he saw it was the parliament's care to answer those ends for which they were engaged;" calling God to witness, "that he would not have undergone it, but that the parliament had determined that it made clearly for the liberty and interest of the nation, and preservation of such as fear God; and if the nation were not thankful to them for their care, it would fall as a sin on their heads." He concluded with recommending some things to them, "which," he said, "would tend to reformation, by discountenancing vice and encouraging virtue;" and so dismissed them to return to their house.

But now that they had performed all he could expect from them, he resolved that he would do somewhat for himself; and that all the discourses which had passed of kingship should not pass away in the silence of this address, but that this exaltation should be attended with such a noise and solemnity, as should make it very little inferior to the other. Therefore, within few days after, he sent a message to the parliament, "that they would adjourn until such a time as the solemnity of his inauguration should be performed;" for the formality whereof they had not provided, nor indeed considered it; as if enough had been done already. For this he appointed the sixth and twentieth of June; and in the mean time assigned the care to several persons, that all things should be made ready for the magnificence of such a work.

On the day appointed, Westminster hall was prepared, and adorned as sumptuously as it could be for a day of coronation. A throne was erected with a pavilion, and a chair of state under it, to which Cromwell was conducted in an entry, and attendance of his officers, military and civil, with as much state (and the sword carried before him) as can be imagined. When he was sat in his chair of state, and after a short speech, which was but the prologue of that by the speaker of the parlia-

ment Withrington, that this promotion might not seem to be without any vote from the nobility, the speaker, with the earl of Warwick, and Whitlock, vested him with a rich purple velvet robe lined with ermines; the speaker enlarging upon the majesty and the integrity of that robe. Then the speaker presented him with a fair Bible of the largest edition, richly bound; then he, in the name of all the people, girded a sword about him; and lastly presented him a sceptre of gold, which he put into his hand, and made him a large discourse of those emblems of government and authority. Upon the close of which, there being little wanting to a perfect formal coronation, but a crown and an archbishop, he took his oath, administered to him by the speaker, in these words: "I do, in the presence, and by the name of Almighty God, promise and swear, that, to the utmost of my power, I will uphold and maintain the true reformed protestant Christian religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament; and to the utmost of my power, and understanding, encourage the profession and professors of the same; and that, to the utmost of my power, I will endeavour, as chief magistrate of these three nations, the maintenance and preserving of the peace and safety, and just rights and privileges of the people thereof; and shall in all things, according to the best of my knowledge and power, govern the people of these three nations according to law."

After this there remained nothing but festivals, and proclamations of his power and authority to be made in the city of London, and with all imaginable haste throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; which was done accordingly. And that he might entirely enjoy the sovereignty they had conferred upon him, without any new blasts and disputes, and might be vacant to the despatch of his domestic affairs, which he had modelled, and might have time to consider how to fill his other house with members fit for his purpose, he adjourned his parliament till January next, as having done as much as was necessary for one session. In this vacancy, his greatness seemed to be so much established both at home and abroad, as if it could never be shaken. He caused all the officers of his army, and all commanders at sea, to subscribe and approve all that the parliament had done, and to promise to observe and defend it.

He sent now for his eldest son Richard; who, till this time, had lived privately in the country upon the fortune his wife had brought him, in an ordinary village in Hampshire; and brought him now to the court, and made him a privy counsellor, and caused him to be chosen chancellor of the university of Oxford. Notwithstanding all which, few people then believed that he intended to name him for his successor; he by his discourses often implying, "that he would name such a successor, as was in all respects equal to the office;" and so men guessed this or that man, as they thought most like to be so esteemed by him. His second son Harry, who had the reputation of more vigour, he had sent into Ireland, and made him his lieutenant of that kingdom, that he might be sure to have no disturbance from thence.

He had only two daughters unmarried: one of

those he gave to the grandson and heir of the earl of Warwick, a man of a great estate, and throughly engaged in the war from the beginning; the other was married to the lord viscount Falconbridge, the owner likewise of a very fair estate in Yorkshire, and descended of a family eminently loyal. There were many reasons to believe, that this young gentleman, being then of about three or four and twenty years of age, of great vigour and ambition, had many good purposes, which he thought that alliance might qualify and enable him to perform. These marriages were celebrated at Whitehall with all imaginable pomp and lustre; and it was observed, that though the marriages were performed in public view according to the rites and ceremonies then in use, they were presently afterwards in private married by ministers ordained by bishops, and according to the form in the Book of Common Prayer; and this with the privacy of Cromwell; who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity and folly of his daughters.

These domestic triumphs were confirmed and improved by the success of his arms abroad. Though the French had no mind to apply those forces upon Dunkirk, which they were obliged, when taken, to put into Cromwell's hands, and so march to other places, which they were to conquer to their own use; in which the six thousand English under the command of Raynolds attended them, and behaved themselves eminently well, and in good discipline; yet his ambassador Lockhart made such lively instances with the cardinal, with complaints of their breach of faith, and some menaces, "that his master knew where to find a "more punctual friend;" that as soon as they had taken Montmedy, [and St. Venant,] the army marched into Flanders; and though the season of the year was too far spent to engage in a siege before Dunkirk, they sat down before Mardike; which was looked upon as the most difficult part of the work; which being reduced, would facilitate the other very much: and that fort they took, and delivered it into the hands of Raynolds, with an obligation, "that they would besiege "Dunkirk the next year, and make it their first "attempt."

But that which made a noise indeed, and crowned his successes, was the victory his fleet, under the command of Blake, had obtained over the Spaniard; which, in truth, with all its circumstances, was very wonderful, and will never be forgotten in Spain, and the Canaries. That fleet had rode out all the winter storms before Cales and the coast of Portugal, after they had sent home those former ships which they had taken of the West Indian fleet, and understood by the prisoners, that the other fleet from Peru, which is always much richer than that of Mexico, was undoubtedly at sea, and would be on the coast by the beginning of the spring, if they received not advertisement of the presence of the English fleet; in which case they were most like to stay at the Canaries. The admiral concluded, that, notwithstanding all they had done, or could do to block up Cales, one way or other they would not be without that advertisement; and therefore resolved to sail with the whole fleet to the length of the Canaries, that, if it were possible, they might meet with the galleons before they came thither; and if they should be first got in thi-

ther, they would then consider what was to be done.

With this resolution the fleet stood for the Canaries, and about the middle of April came thither; and found that the galleons were got thither before them, and had placed themselves, as they thought, in safety. The smaller ships, being ten in number, lay in a semicircle, moored along the shore; and the six great galleons, (the fleet consisting of sixteen good ships,) which could not come so near the shore, lay with their broadsides towards the offing. Besides this good posture in which all the ships lay, they were covered with a strong castle well furnished with guns; and there were six or seven small forts, raised in the most advantageous places of the bay, every one of them furnished with six good pieces of cannon; so that they were without the least apprehension of their want of security, or imagination that any men would be so desperate, as to assault them upon such apparent disadvantage.

When the English fleet came to the mouth of the bay of Santa Cruz, and the general saw in what posture the Spaniard lay, he thought it impossible to bring off any of the galleons; however, he resolved to burn them, (which was by many thought to be equally impossible,) and sent captain Stayner with a squadron of the best ships to fall upon the galleons; which he did very resolutely; whilst other frigates entertained the forts, and lesser breastworks, with continual broadsides to hinder their firing. Then the general coming up with the whole fleet, after full four hours' fight, they drove the Spaniards from their ships, and possessed them; yet found that their work was not done; and that it was not only impossible to carry away the ships, which they had taken, but that the wind that had brought them into the bay, and enabled them to conquer the enemy, would not serve to carry them out again; so that they lay exposed to all the cannon from the shore; which thundered upon them. However, they resolved to do what was in their power; and so, discharging their broadsides upon the forts and land, where they did great execution, they set fire to every ship, galleons, and others, and burned every one of them; which they had no sooner done, but the wind turned, and carried the whole fleet without loss of one ship out of the bay, and put them safe to sea again.

The whole action was so miraculous, that all men who knew the place, wondered that any sober men, with what courage soever endued, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done; whilst the Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief, that they were devils, and not men, who had destroyed them in such a manner. So much a strong resolution of bold and courageous men can bring to pass, that no resistance and advantage of ground can disappoint them. And it can hardly be imagined, how small loss the English sustained in this unparalleled action; no one ship being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred men, when the slaughter on board the Spanish ships, and on the shore, was incredible.

The fleet after this, having been long abroad, found it necessary to return home. And this was the last service performed by Blake; who sickened in his return, and in the very entrance of the fleet

into the sound of Plymouth, expired. He wanted no pomp of funeral when he was dead, Cromwell causing him to be brought up by land to London in all the state that could be; and then, according to the method of that time, to encourage his officers to be killed, that they might be pompously buried, he was, with all the solemnity possible, and at the charge of the public, interred in Harry the Seventh's chapel, among the monuments of the kings. He was a man of an ordinary extraction; yet had enough left him by his father to give him a good education; which his own inclination disposed him to receive in the university of Oxford; where he took the degree of a master of arts; and was enough versed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profession, having sufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was. He was of a melancholic and a sullen nature, and spent his time most with good fellows, who liked his moroseness, and a freedom he used in inveighing against the license of the time, and the power of the court. They who knew him inwardly, discovered that he had an antimonarchical spirit, when few men thought the government in any danger. When the troubles begun, he quickly declared himself against the king; and having some command in Bristol, when it was first taken by prince Rupert and the marquis of Hertford, being trusted with the command of a little fort upon the line, he refused to give it up, after the governor had signed the articles of surrender, and kept it some hours after the prince was in the town, and killed some of the soldiers; for which the prince resolved to hang him, if some friends had not interposed for him, upon his want of experience in war; and prevailed with him to quit the place by very great importunity, and with much difficulty. He then betook himself wholly to the sea; and quickly made himself signal there. He was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined; and despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and his men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water: and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that drew the copy of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements.

After all this lustre and glory, in which the protector seemed to flourish, the season of the year threatened some tempest and foul weather. January brought the parliament again together. They did not reassemble with the same temper and resignation in which they parted; and it quickly appeared how insecure new institutions of government are; and when the contrivers of

them have provided, as they think, against all mischievous contingencies, they find, that they have unwarily left a gap open to let their destruction in upon them.

Cromwell thought he had sufficiently provided for his own security, and to restrain the insolence of the commons, by having called the other house; which by the petition and advice was to be done; and having filled it, for the most part, with the officers of the army, and such others as he had good reason to be confident of. So on the twentieth of January, the day appointed to meet, (whereas, before, the parliament used to attend him in the painted chamber, when he had any thing to say to them; now) he came to the house of lords; where his new creations were; then he sent the gentleman usher of the black rod to call the commons to him. And they being conducted to the bar of that house, he being placed in his chair under a cloth of state, begun his speech in the old style, "My lords, and you, the knights, citizens, and burgesses, of the house of commons:" and then discoursed some particulars, which he recommended to them; thanked them "for their fair correspondence the last session;" and assured them, "if they would continue to prosecute his designs, they should be called the blessed of the Lord, and generations to come should bless them."

But as soon as the commons came to their house, they caused the third article of the petition and advice to be read; by which it was provided, that no members legally chosen should be excluded from the performance of their duty, but by consent of that house of which they were members. Upon which, they proceeded to the calling over their house, and readmitted presently all those who had been excluded for refusing to sign that recognition of the protector; and by this means, near two hundred of the most inveterate enemies the protector had, came and sat in the house; among whom were sir Harry Vane, Haslerig, and many other signal men; who had much the more credit and interest in the house, for having been excluded for their fidelity to the commonwealth; many of those who had subscribed it, valuing themselves for having thereby become instruments to introduce them again, who could never otherwise have come to be readmitted.

As soon as these men came into the house, they begun to question the authority and jurisdiction of the other house; "that it was true, the petition and advice had admitted there should be such an house; but that it should be a house of peers, that they should be called *my lords*, there was no provision; nor did it appear what jurisdiction it should have: that it would be a very ridiculous thing, if they should suffer those who were created by themselves, and sat only by their vote, to be better men than they, and to have a negative voice to control their masters." When they had enough vilified them, they questioned the protector's authority to send writs to call them thither: "Who gave him that authority to make peers? that it had been the proper business of that house to have provided for all this; which it is probable they would have done at this meeting, if he had not presumptuously taken that sovereign power upon him." Cromwell was exceedingly surprised and per-

plexed with this new spirit; and found that he had been shortsighted in not having provided, at the same time, for the filling his house of commons, when he erected his other of peers: for he had taken away those out of that house, who were the boldest speakers, and best able to oppose this torrent, to institute this other house, without supplying those other places by men who could as well undergo the work of the other. However, he made one effort more; and convened both houses before him; and very magisterially, and in a dialect he had never used before, reprehended them for presuming to question his authority. "The 'other house,'" he said, "were lords, and should 'be lords;'" and commanded them "to enter 'upon such business, as might be for the benefit, 'not the distraction of the commonwealth; which 'he would with God's help prevent.'" And when he found this animadversion did not reform them, but that they continued in their presumption, and every day improved their reproaches and contempt of him, he went to his house of lords upon the fourth of February; and sending for the commons, after he had used many sharp expressions of indignation, he told them, "that 'it concerned his interest, as much as the peace 'and tranquillity of the nation, to dissolve that 'parliament; and therefore he did put an end 'to their sitting.'" So that cloud was, for the present, dissipated, that threatened so great a storm.

The parliament being dissolved, Cromwell found himself at ease to prosecute his other designs. After the taking of Mardike, Raynolds, who was commander in chief of that body of the English in the service of France, endeavouring to give his friends in England a visit, was, together with some other officers who accompanied him, cast away, and drowned at sea; upon which, before the dissolution of the parliament, Lockhart, who was the protector's ambassador in France, was designed to take that charge upon him; and all things, which were to be transported from England, for the prosecution of the business in Flanders the next spring, were executed with the more care and punctuality, that there might be no room left for the cardinal to imagine, that the protector was in any degree perplexed with the contradiction and ill humour of the parliament.

As soon as he was rid of that, he thought it as necessary to give some instances at home, how little he feared those men who were thought to be so much his rivals in power, and in the opinion of the army, that he durst not disoblige them. And therefore, after some sharp expostulations with Lambert, who was as positive in his own humour, he sent to him for his commission; which he sullenly gave up, when there was a general imagination that he would have refused to have delivered it. So he was deprived of his regiment, his authority in the army, and of being major general in the north, in an instant, without the least appearance of contradiction or murmur, and the officers Cromwell substituted in the several places, found all the obedience that had been paid to the other; and Lambert retired to his garden as unvisited and untaken notice of, as if he had never been in authority; which gave great reputation to the protector, that he was entire master of his army.

He had observed, throughout the parliament, that the major generals were extremely odious to the people, as they had been formidable to him. For, whilst his party were prosecuting to have his authority confirmed to him, and that he might have the title of king conferred upon him, Lambert was as solicitous to have the major generals confirmed by parliament, and to have their dependence only upon it; which, with the authority they had of listing men in a readiness, would have made their power, and their strength, in a short time to be equal to the other's. Now that was over, Cromwell was content to continue their names, that they might still be formidable in the counties, but abridged them of all that power which might be inconvenient to himself.

He took likewise an occasion from an accident that happened, to amuse the people with the apprehension of plots at home to facilitate an invasion from abroad; and sending for the lord mayor and aldermen to attend him, he made them a large discourse of the danger they were in of being surprised; "that there was a design to 'seize upon the Tower; and at the same time 'that there should be a general insurrection in 'the city of the cavaliers, and discontented party, 'whilst the city remained so secure, that they had 'put their militia into no posture to be ready to 'preserve themselves in such an attempt; but 'on the contrary, that they were so negligent in 'their discipline, that the marquis of Ormond 'had lain securely in the city full three weeks 'without being discovered; who was sent over 'by the king to countenance a general insurrection, whilst the king himself," he said, "had 'ten thousand men ready at Bruges, with two 'and twenty ships, with which he meant to invade some other more northern part of the kingdom." He wished them "to lose no time in 'putting their militia into a good posture, and 'to make very strict searches to discover what 'strangers were harboured within the walls of 'the city, and to keep good watches every night." He ordered double guards to be set about the Tower; and that they might see that there was more than ordinary occasion for all this, he caused very many persons of all conditions, most of them such as were reasonably to be suspected to be of the king's party, to be surprised in the night in their beds, (for those circumstances made all that was done to be the more notorious,) and, after some short examination, to be sent to the Tower; and to other prisons; for there was, at the same time, the same severity used in the several counties; for the better explanation and understanding whereof, it will be necessary now that we return to Flanders.

Within little more than two months after the king's coming to Bruges, the little treaty which had been signed by the archduke with the king, was sent ratified from Madrid by the king of Spain, with many great compliments; which the king was willing should be believed to be of extraordinary importance. After wonderful excuses for the lowness of their affairs in all places, which disabled them to perform those services which are due from and to a great king, they let his majesty know, "that the catholic king had 'assigned so many crowns as amounted to six 'thousand gilders, to be paid every month towards a royal aid; and half so much more, for

"the support of the duke of Gloucester; that though the sum was very small, it was as much as their necessities would bear; and the smallness should be recompensed by the punctuality of the payment;" the first payment being to be made about the middle of the next month; without taking notice that the king had been already in that country near three months, during which time he had not received the least present, or assistance towards his support.

They were willing that the king should raise four regiments of foot, which should march with their army, until the king should find the season ripe to make an invasion with that other supply which they were bound by the treaty to give. But for the raising those four regiments, there was not one penny allowed; or any other encouragement, than little quarters to bring their men to; and, after their muster, the common allowance of bread. However, the king was glad of the opportunity to employ and dispose of many officers and soldiers, who flocked to him from the time of his first coming into Flanders. He resolved to raise one regiment of guards, the command whereof he gave to the lord Wentworth, which was to do duty in the army as common men, till his majesty should be in such a posture, that they might be brought about his person. The marquis of Ormond had a regiment in order to be commanded by his lieutenant colonel, that the Irish might be tempted to come over. The earl of Rochester would have a regiment, that such officers and soldiers might resort to, who were desirous to serve under his command: and because the Scots had many officers about the court, who pretended that they could draw many of their countrymen to them, the king gave the fourth regiment to the lord Newburgh, a nobleman of that kingdom, of great courage; who had served his father and himself with very signal fidelity. Those four regiments were raised with more expedition than can be imagined, upon so little encouragement.

As soon as the treaty was confirmed, in truth, from the time that his majesty came into Flanders, and that he resolved to make as entire a conjunction with the Spaniards as they would permit, he gave notice to the king of France, that he would no longer receive that pension, which, during the time he had remained at Cologne, had been reasonably well paid; but, after his coming into Flanders, he never would receive any part of it.

The Spanish army was at this time before Condé; a place garrisoned by the French between Valenciennes and Cambray; which was invested now by don Juan; who finding that the greatest part of the garrison consisted of Irish, and that there was in it a regiment commanded by Muskery, a nephew of the marquis of Ormond, he thought this a good season to manifest the dependence the Irish had upon the king; and therefore writ to his majesty at Bruges, and desired that he would send the marquis to the camp; which his majesty could not refuse; and the marquis was very willing to go thither; and at the same time the chancellor of the exchequer was sent to Brussels (under pretence of soliciting the payment of the three first months, which were assigned to the king) to confer with don Alonzo de Cardinas upon all such particulars as might be necessary, to adjust some design for the winter

upon England; don Juan and the marquis of Carracena referring all things which related to England to don Alonzo, and being very glad that the chancellor went to Brussels, at the same time that the marquis went to the camp, that so a correspondence between them two might ascertain any thing that should be desired on either side.

Condé was reduced to straits by the time the marquis came thither; who was received with much more civility by don Juan, at least by the marquis of Carracena, than any man who related to the king, or indeed than the king himself. The thing they desired of him was, that when the garrison should be reduced, which was then capitulating, he would prevail with those of the Irish nation, when they marched out, to enter into the Spanish service, that is, as they called it, to serve their own king: for they talked of nothing but going over in the winter into England; especially they desired that his nephew Muskery, who had the reputation of a stout and an excellent officer, as in truth he was, would come over with his regiment, which was much the best, whatever the other would do. After the capitulation was signed, the marquis easily found opportunity to confer with his nephew, and the other officers of the several regiments. When he had informed them of the king's pleasure, and that the entering into the service of the Spaniard was, for the present, necessary in order to the king's service, the other regiments made no scruple of it; and engaged, as soon as they marched out, to go whither they should be directed.

Only Muskery expressly refused that either himself, or any of his men, should leave their colours, till, according to his articles, they should march into France. He said, "it was not consistent with his honour to do otherwise." But he declared, "that as soon as he should come into France, he would leave his regiment in their quarters; and would himself ride to the court, and demand his pass; which, by his contract with the cardinal, was to be given to him, whenever his own king should demand his service; and his regiment should likewise be permitted to march with him." It was urged to him, "that it was now in his own power to dispose of himself; which he might lawfully do; but that, when he was found in France, he would no more have it in his power." He said, "he was bound to ask his dismissal, and the cardinal was bound to give it: and when he had done his part, he was very confident the cardinal would not break his word with him; but if he should, he would get nothing by it; for he knew his men would follow him whithersoever he went; and therefore desired his uncle to satisfy himself; and to assure the king and don Juan, that he would, within six weeks, return; and if he might have quarters assigned him, his regiment should be there within few days after him." It was in vain to press him farther, and the marquis telling don Juan, that he believed he would keep his word, he was contented to part kindly with him; and had a much better esteem of him than of the other officers, who came to him, and brought over their men without any ceremony.

Muskery marched away with the rest of the garrison; and as soon as he was in France, rode to Paris; where the cardinal then was; who re-



ceived him with extraordinary grace; but when he asked his dismissal, and urged his capitulation, the cardinal, by all imaginable caresses, and promises of a pension, endeavoured to divert him from the inclination; told him, "that this was only to serve the Spaniard, and not his own king; who had no employment for him: that if he would stay in their service till the king had need of him, he would take care to send him and his regiment in a better condition to his majesty, than they were now in." When he could neither by promises nor reproaches divert him from quitting their service, he gave him a pass only for himself; and expressly refused to dismiss the regiment; averring, "that he was not bound to it, because there could be no pretence that they could serve the king; who had no use of them, nor wherewithal to pay them."

Muskery took what he could get, his own pass; and made haste to the place where his regiment was; and after he had given them such directions as he thought necessary, he came away only with two or three servants to Brussels; and desired don Juan to assign him convenient quarters for his regiment; which he very willingly did; and he no sooner gave notice to them whither they should come, but they behaved themselves so, that, by sixes and sevens, his whole regiment, officers and soldiers, to the number of very near eight hundred, came to the place assigned them; and brought their arms with them; which the Spaniard was amazed at; and ever after very much valued him, and took as much care for the preservation of that regiment, as of any that was in their service.

When the marquis proposed any thing that concerned the king, during the time he was in the army, don Juan still writ to don Alonzo to confer with the chancellor of the exchequer about it; who found don Alonzo in all respects so untractable, and so absolutely governed by the Irish Jesuit, who filled his head with the hopes of the levellers, that, after he had received the money that was assigned to the king, he returned to Bruges, as the marquis did from the army, when the business of Condé was over.

It was well enough known, at least generally believed, from the time that the secret confidence begun between Cromwell and the cardinal, and long before Lockhart appeared there as ambassador, that the cardinal had not only promised, "that the king should receive no assistance from thence; but that nobody who related to his service, or against whom any exception should be taken, should be permitted to reside in France;" and that, as the king had already been driven thence; so, when the time should be ripe, the duke of York would be likewise necessitated to leave that kingdom. And now, upon the king's coming into Flanders, and upon the coming over of the six thousand English for the service of France, and the publication of the treaty with Cromwell, the French did not much desire to keep that article secret which provided against the king's residing in that kingdom, and for the exclusion of the duke of York, and many other persons, by name, who attended upon the king, and some who had charges in the army. And the cardinal, and the queen, with some seeming regret, communicated it to the duke, as a thing

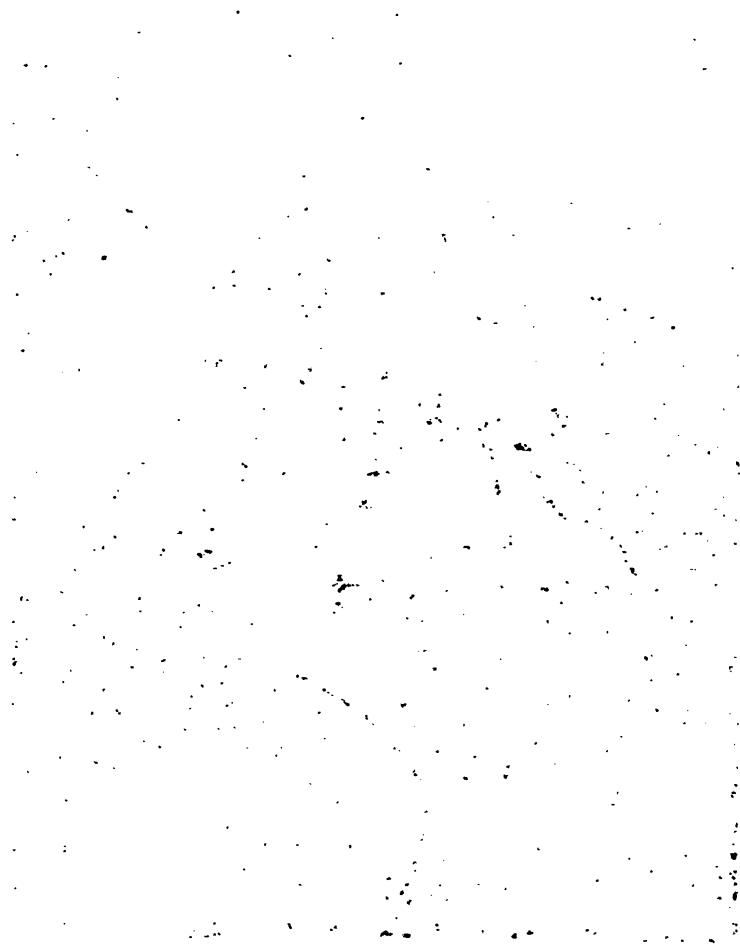
they could not refuse, and infinitely lamented, with many professions of kindness and everlasting respect; and all this in confidence, and that he might know it some time before it was to be executed by his departure.

Amongst those who by that secret article were to leave the French service, the earl of Bristol was one; whose name was, as was generally believed, put into the article by the cardinal, rather than by Cromwell. For the earl, having received very great obligations from the cardinal, thought his interest greater in the queen than in truth it was, (according to his natural custom of deceiving himself,) and so, in the cardinal's disgrace and retirement, had shewed himself less inclined to his return than he ought to have been; which the cardinal never forgave; yet treated him with the same familiarity as before, (which the earl took for pure friendship,) until the time came for the publishing this treaty, when the earl was lieutenant general of the army in Italy. Then he sent for him; and bewailed the condition that France was in, "which obliged them to receive commands from Cromwell, which were very uneasy to them;" then told him, "that he could stay no longer in their service, and that they must be compelled to dismiss the duke of York himself;" but made infinite professions of kindness, and "that they would part with him, as with a man that had done them great service." The earl, who could always much better bear ill accidents than prevent them, believed that all proceeded from the malice of Cromwell; and quickly had the image of a better fortune in his fancy than that he was to quit; and so setting his heart upon the getting as good a supply of money from them as he could, and the cardinal desiring to part fairly with him, he received such a present, as enabled him to remove with a handsome equipage in servants and horses. So he came directly for Bruges to the king; to whom he had made himself in some degree gracious before his majesty left Paris. But his business there was only to present his duty to his majesty; where after he had stayed two or three days, he made his journey to the army to offer his service to don Juan, without so much as desiring any recommendation from the king.

There was nothing more known, than that the Spaniard had all imaginable prejudice and hatred against the earl, both for the little kindness he had shewed towards them in England, whilst he was secretary of state, of which don Alonzo was a faithful remembrancer, and for the more than ordinary animosity he had expressed against them from the time that he had been in the French service; which angered them the more, because he had been born in Spain. He had then likewise rendered himself particularly odious to Flanders; where he was proclaimed, and detested in all the rhymes and songs of the country, for the savage outrages his forces had committed by fire and plunder, two years before, when he made a winter incursion with his troops into that country, and committed greater waste than ever the French themselves had done, when the forces were commanded by them. Upon all which, his friends dissuaded him at Bruges from going to the Spanish army, where he would receive very cold treatment. But he smiled at the advertisement; and told them, "that all the time he was in









Engraved by J. T. Ryall.

**GEORGE DIGBY, EARL OF BRISTOL.**

**OB. 1677.**

**FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF**

**THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL SPENCER.**



France, he was out of his sphere; and that his "own genius always disposed him to Spain; where he was now resolved to make his fortune." And with this confidence he left Bruges, and went to the army, when it had newly taken Condé; where he found his reception such, both from don Juan and the marquis of Carracena, as he had reason to expect; which did not at all deject him.

He was present when don Juan eat, and when he used to discourse of all things at large; and most willingly of scholastic points, if his confessor, or any other learned person, was present. The earl always interposed in those discourses with an admirable acuteness, which, besides his exactness in the Spanish language, made his parts wondered at by every body; and don Juan begun to be very much pleased with his company; and the more, because he was much given to speculations in astrology; in which he found the earl so much more conversant than any man he had met with, that, within a week after he had first seen him, he desired the earl to compute his nativity. In a word, his presence grew to be very acceptable to don Juan; which when the marquis of Carracena discerned, he likewise treated him with more respect; in which he found likewise his account: for the earl having been lieutenant general of the French army under prince Thomas, in conjunction with the duke of Modena, against Milan, the very year before, when the marquis of Carracena was governor there, he could both discourse the several transactions there with the marquis, and knew how to take fit occasions, both in his presence and absence, to magnify his conduct in signal actions; which the marquis was very glad to see, and hear, that he did very frequently. And don Alonso being sent for to the army to consult some affair, though he had all imaginable detestation of the earl, and had prepared as much prejudice towards him in don Juan and the marquis, when he found him in so much favour with both, he treated him likewise with more regard; and was well content to hear himself commended by him for understanding the affairs of England; which he desired don Juan and the marquis should believe him to do. So that before he had been a month in Flanders, he had perfectly reconciled himself to the court, and to the army; and suppressed and diverted all the prejudice that had been against him; and don Juan invited him to spend the winter with him at Brussels.

There was another accident likewise fell out at this time, as if it had been produced by his own stars. The French had yet a garrison at a place called St. Ghislain; which, being within four leagues of Brussels, infested the whole country very much, and even put them into mutiny against the court, that they would think of any other expedition before they had reduced that garrison; which was so strong that they had once attempted it, and were obliged to desist. Half the garrison were Irish, under the command of Schomberg, an officer of the first rank. Some of the officers were nearly allied to sir George Lane, who was secretary to the marquis of Ormond, and had written to him to know, "whether the giving up that place would be a service to the king? and if it would, they would undertake it." The marquis sent his secretary to inform the earl of Bristol of it; who looked upon it as an opportunity sent from heaven to raise his fortune with the Spaniard. He

communicated it to don Juan, as a matter in his own disposal, and to be conducted by persons who had a dependence upon him, but yet who intended it only as a service to the king. So now he became intrusted between the king and don Juan; which he had from the beginning contrived to be; don Juan being very glad to find he had so much interest in the king, and the king well pleased that he had such credit with don Juan, of whose assistance in the next winter he thought he should have much use; for all attempts upon England must be in the winter. In a word, this affair of St. Ghislain was very acceptable to the Spaniards; their campaign being ended without any other considerable action than the taking of Condé. They foresaw a very sad year would succeed, if they should enter into the field, where they were sure the French would be early, and leave St. Ghislain behind them; and they should run more hazard if they begun with the siege of that place; and therefore they authorized the earl to promise great rewards in money, and pensions, to those officers and soldiers who would contribute to the reduction of it. The matter was so well carried, that don Juan assembling his army together a little before Christmas, in a very great frost, and coming before the place, though Schomberg discovered the conspiracy, and apprehended two or three of the officers, yet the soldiers, which were upon the guards in some outposts, declaring themselves at the same time, and receiving the Spaniards, he was compelled to make conditions, and to give up the place, that he might have liberty to march away with the rest.

This service was of infinite importance to the Spaniard, and of no less detriment to the French, and consequently gave great reputation to the earl; who then came to the king at Bruges; and said all that he thought fit of don Juan to the king, and, amongst the rest, "that don Juan advised his majesty to send some discreet person to Madrid, to solicit his affairs there; but that he did not think the person he had designed to send thither" (who was sir Harry de Vic, that had been long resident in Brussels) "would be acceptable there." This was only to introduce another person, who was dear to him, sir Henry Bennet, who had been formerly his servant when he was secretary of state, and bred by him; and was now secretary to the duke of York; but upon the factions that were in that family was so uneasy in his place, that he desired to be in any other post; and was about this time come to the king, as a forerunner to inform him of the duke of York's purpose to be speedily with him, being within few days to take his leave of the court of France. Bennet had been long a person very acceptable to the king; and therefore his majesty readily consented, that he should go to Madrid instead of De Vic: so he returned with the earl to Brussels, that he might be presented, and made known to don Juan; from whom the earl doubted not to procure particular recommendation.

The time was now come that the duke of York found it necessary to leave Paris, and so came to the king to Bruges; where there were then all the visible hopes of the crown of England together, and all the royal issue of the late king, the princess Henrietta only excepted; for, besides the king and his two brothers, the dukes of York and Gloucester, the princess royal of Orange made that her

way from Paris into the Low Countries, and stayed there some days with her brothers.

It was at this time that the king made the chancellor of the exchequer lord chancellor of England, sir Edward Herbert, who was the last lord keeper of the great seal, being lately dead at Paris. Now the king put the seal, which he had till then kept himself, into the hands of the chancellor; which he received very unwillingly: but the king first employed the marquis of Ormond, with whom his majesty knew he had an entire friendship, to dispose him to receive it; which when he could not do, (he giving him many reasons, besides his own unfitness, why there was no need of such an officer, or indeed any use of the great seal till the king should come into England; and, "that his majesty found some ease in being without such an officer, that he was not troubled with those suits, which he would be, if the seal were in the hands of a proper officer to be used, since every body would be then importuning the king for the grant of offices, honours, and lands, which would give him great vexation to refuse, and he would undergo as great mischief by granting.") The which when the marquis told the king, his majesty himself went to the chancellor's lodging, and took notice of what the marquis had told him; and said, "he would deal truly and freely with him; that the principal reason which he had alleged against receiving the seal, was the greatest reason that disposed him to confer it upon him." Thereupon he pulled letters out of his pocket, which he received lately from Paris for the grant of several reversions in England of offices, and of lands; one whereof was of the queen's house and lands of Oatlands, to the same man who had purchased it from the State; who would willingly have paid a good sum of money to that person who was to procure such a confirmation of his title; the draught whereof was prepared at London, upon confidence that it would have the seal presently put to it; which being in the king's own hand, none need, as they thought, to be privy to the secret. His majesty told him also of many other importunities, with which he was every day disquieted; and "that he saw no other remedy to give himself ease, than to put the seal out of his own keeping, into such hands as would not be importuned, and would help him to deny." And thereupon he conjured the chancellor to receive that trust, with many gracious promises of his favour and protection. Whereupon the earl of Bristol, and secretary Nicholas, using likewise their persuasions, he submitted to the king's pleasure; who delivered the seal to him in the council, in the Christmas time in the year 1657; which particular is only fit to be mentioned, because many great affairs, and some alterations accompanied, though not attended upon it.

After so long and so dark a retirement in Cologne, the king's very coming into Flanders raised the spirits of his friends in England. And when they were assured that there was a treaty signed between his majesty and the king of Spain, they made no doubt of an army sufficient to begin the business, and then that the general affections of the kingdom would finish it. The king, who had hitherto restrained his friends from exposing themselves to unnecessary dangers, thought it now fit to encourage them to put themselves into such a posture, that they might be ready to join with him

when he appeared; which he hoped the Spaniard would enable him to do in the depth of winter. Several messengers were sent from England to assure him, "that there was so universal a readiness there, that they could hardly be persuaded to stay to expect the king, but they would begin the work themselves;" yet they complained much of the backwardness of those who were most trusted by the king, and they again as much inveighed against the rashness and precipitation of the other, "that they would ruin themselves, and all people who should join with them."

The king was much perplexed to discover this distemper amongst those, who, if they were united, would find the work very hard; and though he preferred in his own opinion the judgment of those that were most wary, yet it concerned him to prevent the other from appearing in an unseasonable engagement; and therefore he sent to them, and conjured them "to attempt nothing, till he sent a person to them, who, if they were ready, should have authority enough to persuade the rest to a conjunction with them, and should himself be fit to conduct them in any reasonable enterprise."

The marquis of Ormond had frankly offered to the king, "that he would privately go into England, and confer with those who were most forward; and if he found, that their counsels were discreetly laid, he would encourage them, and unite all the rest to them; and if matters were not ripe, he would compose them to be quiet;" and there was no man in England affected to the king's service, who would not be readily advised by him. The chancellor would by no means consent to his journey, as an unreasonable adventure upon an improbable design, seeing no ground to imagine they could do any thing. But the marquis exceedingly undervalued any imagination of danger; and it cannot be conceived, with what security all men ventured every day, in the height of Cromwell's jealousy and vigilance, to go into England, and to stay a month in London, and return again. The king consenting to the journey, the chief care was, that the marquis's absence from Bruges might not create jealousy, and discourse, "whither he should be gone." Therefore it was for some time discoursed, "that the marquis of Ormond was to go into Germany to the duke of Newburgh," (who was known to have affection for the king,) and, "that he should from thence bring with him two regiments for the service of his majesty."

These discourses being generally made and believed, the marquis took his leave publicly of the king, with his servants fit for such a journey, who continued the journey towards Germany; so that the letters from Cologne to all places gave an account of the marquis of Ormond's being there; whilst he himself, with one only servant, and O'Neile, (who had inflamed him very much to that undertaking,) took the way of Holland; and hired a bark at Schevelin; in which they embarked, and were safely landed in Essex; from whence, without any trouble, they got to London, whilst the parliament was still sitting. When he was there, he found opportunity to speak with most of those of any condition upon whose advice and interest the king most depended, and against whose positive advice his majesty would not suffer any thing to be attempted. That which troubled him









Engraved by H. Robinson.

**JAMES BUTLER, DUKE OF ORMOND.**

**OB. 1688.**

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF STRATHMORE.



most was to discover a jealousy, or rather an animosity between many of those who equally wished the king's restoration, to that degree, that they would neither confer nor correspond with each other. They who had the most experience, and were of the greatest reputation with those who would appear when any thing was to be done, but would not expose themselves in meetings or correspondencies before, complained very much of "the rashness of the other, who believed any officer of the army that pretended discontent, and would presently desire them to communicate with such persons; which because they refused, (as they had reason,) the others loaded them with reproaches, as having lost all affection and zeal for his majesty's service:" they protested, "that they could not discover or believe that there was any such preparations in readiness, that it could be counsellable to appear in arms against a government so fortified and established, as the protector's seemed to be: that it was probable the parliament might not comply with Cromwell's desires; and then there was such a discovery of malice between several persons of potent condition, that many advantages might be offered to the king's party: if they would have the patience to attend the event, and till those factions should be engaged in blood, they might be sure to advance the king's interest in disposing of themselves; but if they should engage, before such a time, in any insurrection, or by seizing some insignificant town, all dissenting parties would be reconciled, till the king's friends should all be ruined, though they might afterwards return to their old animosities." In a word, though they appeared very wary, they declared such a resignation to the king's pleasure, "that, if the marquis were satisfied, upon his conference with other men, that the time was ripe for their appearance in arms, they would presently receive his orders; and do what he should require, how unsuccessfully soever."

On the other side, there were many younger men, who, having had no part in the former war, were impatient to shew their courage and affection to the king. And those men, being acquainted with many of the old officers of the late king's army, who saw many of their old soldiers now in Cromwell's army, and found them to talk after their old manner, concluded that they would all appear for the king, as soon as they should see his colours flying. These men talking together, would often discourse, how easy a thing it would be, with two troops of horse, to beat up such a quarter, or seize such a guard; and then those men consulted how to get those troops, and found men who had listed so many, which would be ready upon call. There were always in these meetings some citizens, who undertook for the affection of the city; and some of these made little doubt of seizing upon the Tower. And truly the putting many gentlemen's sons as apprentices into the city, since the beginning of the troubles, had made a great alteration, at least in the general talk of that people. It was upon this kind of materials, that many honest men did build their hopes, and upon some assurances they had from officers of the army, who were as little to be depended upon.

There was another particular, which had principally contributed to this distemper, which pass-

ing from hand to hand had made men impatient to be in arms; which was an opinion, that the king was even ready to land with such an army as would be able to do his business. This had been dispersed by some who had been sent expresses into Flanders; who, though they always lay concealed during the time they waited for their despatches from the king, yet found some friends and acquaintance about the court, or in their way, who thought they did the king good service in making his majesty be thought to be in a good condition; and so filled those people with such discourses, as would make them most welcome when they returned.

When the marquis had taken the full survey of all that was to be depended upon, he conjured the warmer people to be quiet, and not to think of any action till they should be infallibly sure of the king's being landed, and confirmed the other in their wariness; and being informed that Cromwell knew of his being there, and made many searches for him, he thought it time to return. And so about the time that the parliament was dissolved, he was conducted by Dr. Quatermaine, the king's physician, through Sussex; and there embarked, and safely transported into France; from whence he came into Flanders.

This gave the occasion to Cromwell to make that discourse before mentioned to the mayor and aldermen of London, of the lord marquis of Ormond's having been three weeks in the city; of which he had received perfect intelligence from a hand that was not then in the least degree suspected, nor was then wicked enough to put him into Cromwell's hand; which he could easily have done; of which more shall be said hereafter. But when the protector was well assured that the marquis was out of his reach, which vexed and grieved him exceedingly, he caused all persons, who he knew had, or he thought might have, spoken with him, to be apprehended. All prisons, as well in the country as the city, were filled with those who had been of the king's party, or he believed would be; and he thought this a necessary season to terrify his enemies, of all conditions, within the kingdom, with spectacles which might mortify them.

In the preparations which had been made towards an insurrection, many persons in the country, as well as in the city, had received commissions for regiments of horse and foot; and, amongst the rest, one Mr. Stapley, a gentleman of a good extraction, and a good fortune in the county of Sussex; whose mother had been sister to the earl of Norwich, but his father had been in the number of the blackest offenders, and one of the king's judges. This son of his, who now possessed his estate, had taken great pains to mingle in the company of those who were known to have affection for the king; and, upon all occasions, made professions of a desire, for the expiation of his father's crime, to venture his own life and his fortune for his majesty's restoration; and not only his fortune, but his interest was considerable in that maritime county: so that many thought fit to cherish those inclinations in him, and to encourage him to hope, that his fidelity might deserve to enjoy that estate, which the treason of his father had forfeited.

There was a young gentleman, John Mordaunt, the younger son, and brother, of the earls of Peter-

borough; who, having been too young to be engaged in the late war, during which time he had his education in France and Italy, was now of age, of parts, and great vigour of mind, and newly married to a young beautiful lady of a very loyal spirit, and notable vivacity of wit and humour, who concurred with him in all honourable dedications of himself. He resolved to embrace all opportunities to serve the king, and to dispose those upon whom he had influence to take the same resolution; and being allied to the marquise of Ormond, he did by him inform his majesty of his resolution, and his readiness to receive any commands from him. This was many months before the marquise's journey into England.

Mr. Stapley was well known to Mr. Mordaunt, who had represented his affections to the king, and how useful he might be towards the possessing some place in Sussex, and his undertaking that he would do so, by a letter to the king under Mr. Stapley's own hand: and thereupon Mr. Mordaunt desired, that his majesty would send a commission for the command of a regiment of horse to him; which he would provide, and cause to be ready against the season he should be required to appear: which commission, with many others, was sent to Mr. Mordaunt; and he delivered it to Mr. Stapley; who was exceedingly pleased with it, renewed all his vows and protestations, and it is still believed that he really meant all he pretended. But he had trusted some servant, who betrayed him; and being thereupon sent for by Cromwell, his father's fast old friend, was by him so cajoled by promises and by threats, that he was not able to withstand him; but believing that he knew already all that he asked him, he concealed nothing that he knew himself; informed him of those of the same country who were to join with him; of whom some had likewise received commissions, as well as himself; and in the end he confessed, "that he had received his commission from Mr. Mordaunt's own hand." Before this discovery Mr. Mordaunt had been sent for by Cromwell, and very strictly examined, whether he had seen the marquise of Ormond during his late being in London; which, though he had done often, he very confidently and positively denied, being well assured that it could not be proved, and that the marquise himself was in safety: upon which confident denial, he was dismissed to return to his own lodging. But upon this discovery by Stapley, he was within two days after sent for again, and committed close prisoner to the Tower; and new men were every day sent for, and committed in all quarters of the kingdom; and within some time after, a high court of justice was erected for the trial of the prisoners, the crimes of none being yet discovered; which put all those who knew how liable they themselves were, under a terrible consternation.

Before this high court of justice, of which John Lisle, who gave his vote in the king's blood, and continued an entire confidant and instrument of Cromwell's, was president; there were first brought to be tried, John Mordaunt; sir Harry Slingsby, a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of a very ample fortune in Yorkshire; and Dr. Hewet, an eminent preacher in London, and very orthodox, to whose church those of the king's party frequently resorted, and few but those. These three were totally unacquainted with each other; and though every one of them knew enough against himself,

they could not accuse one another, if they had been inclined to it. The first and the last could not doubt but that there would be evidence enough against them; and they had found means to correspond so much together, as to resolve that neither of them would plead to the impeachment, but demur to the jurisdiction of the court, and desire to have counsel assigned to argue against it in point of law; they being both sufficiently instructed, how to urge law enough to make it evident that neither of them could be legally tried by that court, and that it was erected contrary to law. The first that was brought to trial was Mr. Mordaunt. After his arraignment, by which he found that the delivery of the commission to Stapley would be principally insisted on, and which he knew might too easily be proved, he, according to former resolution, refused to plead not-guilty; but insisted, "that by the law of the land he ought not to be tried by that court;" for which he gave more reasons than they could answer; and then desired, "that his council might have liberty to argue the point in law;" which of course used to be granted in all legal courts. But he was told, "that he was better to bethink himself; that they were well satisfied in the legality of their court, and would not suffer the jurisdiction of it to be disputed; that the law of England had provided a sentence for such obstinate persons as refused to be tried by it; which was, that they should be condemned as mutes; which would be his case, if he continued refractory:" so he was carried back to the Tower, to consider better what he would do the next day. Sir Harry Slingsby was called next. He knowing nothing of, or for the other resolution, pleaded not-guilty; and so was sent to the prison to be tried in his turn. Dr. Hewet, whose greatest crime was collecting and sending money to the king, besides having given money to some officers, refused to plead, as Mr. Mordaunt had done, and demanded that his counsel might be heard; and received the same answer, and admonition, that the other had done; and was remitted again to prison.

Those courts seldom consisted of fewer than twenty judges; amongst whom there were usually some, who, out of generosity, or for money, were inclined to do good offices to the prisoners who came before them; at least to communicate such secrets to them, as might inform them what would be most pressed against them. Mr. Mordaunt's lady had, by giving money, procured some in the number to be very propitious to her husband: and in the evening of that day the trial had been begun, she received two very important advices from them. The one, "that she should prevail with her husband to plead; then his friends might do him some service: whereas, if he insisted upon the point of law, he would infallibly suffer, and no man durst speak for him." The other, "that they had no sufficient proof to condemn him upon any particular with which he stood charged, but only for the delivery of the commission to Stapley; and that there was to that point, besides Stapley, one colonel Mallory, whose testimony was more valued than the other's." This Mallory had the reputation of an honest man, and loved Mr. Mordaunt very well, and was one of those who were principally trusted in the business of Sussex, and had been apprehended about the same time that Stapley

was; and finding, upon his first examination, by the questions administered to him by Thurlow, that all was discovered, he unwarily confessed all that he knew concerning Mr. Mordaunt; having been himself the person principally employed between him and Stapley. He was brought in custody from the Tower, to give in evidence against Mr. Mordaunt, with an intention in the court, after he had done that good service, to proceed as strictly against himself, though they promised him indemnity.

The lady, having clear information of this whole matter, could not find any way that night to advertise her husband, that he should no more insist upon the want of jurisdiction in the court. For there was no possibility of speaking with, or sending to him, during the time of his trial. Therefore she laid aside the thought of that business till the morning, and passed the night in contriving how Mallory might be prevailed with to make an escape; and was so dexterous, and so fortunate, that a friend of hers disposed the money she gave him so effectually, that the next morning, when Mallory was brought to the hall to be ready to give in his evidence, he found some means to withdraw from his guard, and when he was in the crowd he easily got away.

She had as good fortune likewise to have a little note she writ concerning the other advice, put into her husband's hand, as he passed to the bar; which having perused, he departed from his former resolution; and after he had modestly urged the same again which he had done the day before, to spend time, and the president, in much choler, answering as he had done, he submitted to his trial; and behaved himself with courage; and easily evaded the greatest part of the evidence they had against him; nor could they find proof, what presumption soever there might be, that he had spoken with the marquis of Ormond; and he evaded many other particulars of his correspondence with the king, with notable address. That of the commission of Stapley was reserved to the last; and the commission being produced, and both the hand and the signet generally known, by reason of so many of the like, which had fallen into their hands at Worcester, and by many other accidents, Mr. Stapley was called to declare where he had it; and seeing himself confronted by Mr. Mordaunt, though he did, after many questions and reproaches from the counsel that prosecuted, at last confess that he did receive it from Mr. Mordaunt; yet he did it in so disorderly and confused a manner, that it appeared he had much rather not have said it; and answered the questions Mr. Mordaunt asked him with that confusion, that his evidence could not be satisfactory to any impartial judges. Then Mallory was called for; but by no search could be found; and they could not, by their own rules, defer their sentence. And it so fell out, [by one of the judges withdrawing upon a sudden fit of the stone,] that the court was divided, one half for the condemning him, and the other half that he was not guilty; whereupon the determination depended upon the single vote of the president; who made some excuses for the justice he was about to do, and acknowledged many obligations to the mother of the prisoner, and, in contemplation thereof, pronounced him innocent for aught appeared to the court. There was not in Cromwell's time the like

instance; and scarce any other man escaped the judgment, that was tried before any high court of justice. And he was so offended at it, that, contrary to all the forms used by themselves, he caused him to be kept for some months after in the Tower, (whereas he ought to have been released the same moment,) and would willingly have brought him to be tried again. For, within a day or two after, Mallory was retaken, and they had likewise corrupted a Frenchman, who had long served him, and was the only servant whom he had made choice of (since he was to be allowed but one) to attend him in the prison: and he had discovered enough to have taken away his life several ways. But the scandal was so great, and the case so unheard of, that any man, discharged upon a public trial, should be again proceeded against upon new evidence for the same offence, that Cromwell himself thought not fit to undergo the reproach of it, but was in the end prevailed with to set him at liberty. And he was very few days at liberty, before he embarked himself as frankly in the king's service as before, and with better success.

Sir Harry Slingsby and poor Dr. Hewet had worse fortune; and their blood was the more thirsted after for the other's indemnity; and the court was too severely reprehended, to commit the same fault again. The former had lain two years in prison in Hull, and was brought now up to the Tower, for fear they might not discover enough of any new plot, to make so many formidable examples, as the present conjuncture required. They had against him evidence enough, (besides his incorrigible fidelity to the crown from the first assaulting it,) that he had contrived, and contracted with some officers of Hull, about the time that the earl of Rochester had been in Yorkshire two years before, for the delivery of one of the block-houses to him for the king's service: nor did he care to defend himself against the accusation; but rather acknowledged and justified his affection, and owned his loyalty to the king, with very little compliment or ceremony to the present power. The other, Dr. Hewet, receiving no information of Mr. Mordaunt's declining the way formerly resolved upon, (which it was not possible to convey to him in that instant, nobody being suffered to speak with him,) and being brought to the bar as soon as the other was removed from it, persisted in the same resolution, and spoke only against the illegality of the court; which, upon better information, and before the judgment was pronounced against him, he desired to retract, and would have put himself upon his trial: but they then refused to admit him; and so sentence of death was pronounced against them both; which they both underwent with great Christian courage.

Sir Harry Slingsby, as is said before, was in the first rank of the gentlemen of Yorkshire; and was returned to serve as a member in the parliament that continued so many years; where he sat till the troubles begun; and having no relation to or dependence upon the court, he was swayed only by his conscience to detest the violent and undutiful behaviour of that parliament. He was a gentleman of a good understanding, but of a very melancholic nature, and of very few words: and when he could stay no longer with a good conscience in their counsels, in which he never

concurred, he went into his country, and joined with the first who took up arms for the king. And when the war was ended, he remained still in his own house, prepared and disposed to run the fortune of the crown in any other attempt: and having a good fortune and a general reputation, had a greater influence upon the people, than they who talked more and louder; and was known to be irreconcilable to the new government; and therefore was cut off, notwithstanding very great intercession to preserve him. For he was uncle to the lord Falconbridge; who engaged his wife and all his new allies to intercede for him, without effect. When he was brought to die, he spent very little time in discourse; but told them, "he was to die for being an honest man, of which he was very glad."

Dr. Hewet was born a gentleman, and bred a scholar, and was a divine before the beginning of the troubles. He lived in Oxford, and in the army, till the end of the war, and continued afterwards to preach with great applause in a little church in London; where, by the affection of the parish, he was admitted, since he was enough known to lie notoriously under the brand of malignity. When the lord Falconbridge married Cromwell's daughter (who had used secretly to frequent his church) after the ceremony of the time, he was made choice of to marry them according to the order of the church; which engaged both that lord and lady to use their utmost credit with the protector to preserve his life; but he was inexorable, and desirous that the churchmen, upon whom he looked as his mortal enemies, should see what they were to trust to, if they stood in need of his mercy.

It was then believed that, if he had pleaded, he might have been quitted, since in truth he never had been with the king at Cologne or Bruges; with which he was charged in his impeachment; and they had blood enough in their power to pour out; for, besides the two before mentioned, to whom they granted the favour to be beheaded, there were three others, colonel Ashton, Stacy, and Betteley, condemned by the same court; who were treated with more severity; and were hanged, drawn, and quartered, with the utmost rigour, in several great streets in the city, to make the deeper impression upon the people, the two last being citizens. But all men appeared so nauseated with blood, and so tired with those abominable spectacles, that Cromwell thought it best to pardon the rest who were condemned, or rather to relieve them; amongst whom Mallory was one; who was not at liberty till the king's return; and was more troubled for the weakness he had been guilty of, than they were against whom he had trespassed.

Though the king, and all who were faithful to him, were exceedingly afflicted with this bloody proceeding, yet Cromwell did not seem to be the more confirmed in his tyranny. It is true, the king's party was the more dispirited; but Cromwell found another kind of enemy much more dangerous than they, and that knew better how to deal with him in his own way. They who were raised by him, and who had raised him, even almost the whole body of sectaries, anabaptists, independents, quakers, declared an implacable hatred against him; and whilst they contrived how to raise a power to contend with

him, they likewise entered into several conspiracies to assassinate him; which he exceedingly apprehended. They sent an address to the king by one of their party, a young gentleman of an honourable extraction, and great parts, by whom they made many extravagant propositions, and seemed to depend very much upon the death of Cromwell, and thereupon to compute their own power to serve the king; who gave such an answer only to them, as might dispose them to hope for his favour, if he received service from them; and to believe that he did not intend to persecute or trouble any men for their opinions, if their actions were peaceable; which they pretended to affect.

Since the spirit, humour, and language of that people, and, in truth, of that time, cannot be better described and represented, than by that petition and address, which was never published, and of which there remains no copy in any hand, that I know of, but only the original, which was presented to the king, (it being too dangerous a thing for any man who remained in England, to have any such transcript in his custody,) it will not be amiss in this place to insert the petition and address, in the very words in which it was presented to his majesty, with the letter that accompanied it from the gentleman mentioned before, who was an anabaptist of special trust among them, and who came not with the petition, but expected the king's pleasure upon the receipt of it; it being sent by an officer who had served the king in an eminent command, and was now gracious amongst those sectaries without swerving in the least degree from his former principles and integrity: for that people always pretended a just esteem and value of all men who had faithfully adhered to the king, and lived soberly and virtuously. The address was in these words:

*To his most excellent majesty, Charles the Second, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.*

"The humble address of the subscribers, in  
"the behalf of themselves, and many thousands more, your majesty's most humble  
"and faithful subjects.

"May it please your majesty,

"When we sit down and recount the wonderful  
"and unheard of dispensations of God amongst  
"us, when we call to our remembrances the tragical actions and transactions of these late times,  
"when we seriously consider the dark and mysterious effects of Providence, the unexpected dis-  
"appointment of counsels, the strange and strong  
"convulsions of state, the various and violent  
"motions and commotions of the people, the  
"many changings, turnings, and overturnings of  
"governors and governments, which, in the revolutions of a few years, have been produced in  
"this land of miracles, we cannot but be even  
"swallowed up in astonishment, and are constrained to command an unwilling silence upon  
"our sometimes mutinous and over-inquiring  
"hearts, resolving all into the good-will and  
"pleasure of that all-disposing One, whose wisdom is unsearchable, and whose ways are past  
"finding out.

"But although it is, and we hope ever will be,  
"far from us, either peevishly or presumptuously

“to kick against the irresistible decrees of Heaven, or vainly to attempt, by any faint and infirm designs of ours, to give an interruption to that overruling divine hand, which steers and guides, governs and determines the affairs of the whole world; yet we cannot but judge it a duty highly incumbent upon us, to endeavour, as much as in us lies, to repair the breaches of our dear country. And, since it is our lot (we may say our unhappiness) to be embarked in a shipwrecked commonwealth, (which, like a poor weatherbeaten pinnacle, has, for so long a time, been tossed upon the waves and billows of faction, split upon the rocks of violence, and is now almost quite devoured in the quicksands of ambition,) what can we do more worthy of Englishmen, as we are by nation, or of Christians, as we are by profession, than every one of us to put our hand to an oar, and try if it be the will of our God, that such weak instruments as we, may be, in any measure, helpful to bring it at last into the safe and quiet harbour of justice and righteousness?”

“To this undertaking, though too great for us, we are apt to think ourselves so much the more strongly engaged, by how much the more we are sensible, that as our sins have been the greatest causes, so our many follies and imprudences have not been the least means of giving both birth and growth to those many miseries and calamities, which we, together with three once most flourishing kingdoms, do at this day sadly groan under.

“It is not, the Lord knows, it is not pleasing unto us, nor can we believe it will be grateful to your majesty, that we should recur to the beginnings, rise, and root of the late unhappy differences betwixt your royal father and the parliament. In such a discourse as this, we may seem, perhaps, rather to go about to make the wounds bleed afresh, than to endeavour the curing of them: yet forasmuch as we do profess, that we come not with corrosives but with balsams, and that our desire is not to hurt but heal, not to pour vinegar but oil into the wounds, we hope your majesty will give us leave to open them gently, that we may apply remedies the more aptly, and discover our own past errors the more clearly.

“In what posture the affairs of these nations stood, before the noise of drums and trumpets disturbed the sweet harmony that was amongst us, is not unknown to your majesty: that we were blest with a long peace, and, together with it, with riches, wealth, plenty, and abundance of all things, the lovely companions and beautiful products of peace, must ever be acknowledged with thankfulness to God, the author of it, and with a grateful veneration of the memory of those princes, your father and grandfather, by the propitious influence of whose care and wisdom we thus flourished. But, as it is observed in natural bodies, idleness and fulness of diet do for the most part lay the foundation of those maladies, and secretly nourish those diseases, which can hardly be expelled by the assistance of the most skilful physician, and seldom without the use of the most loathsome medicines, nay sometimes not without the hazardous trial of the most dangerous experiments; so did we find it, by sad experience, to be in this great

“body politic. It cannot be denied, but the whole commonwealth was faint, the whole nation sick, the whole body out of order, every member thereof feeble, and every part thereof languishing. And in this so general and universal a distemper, that there should be no weakness nor infirmity, no unsoundness in the head, cannot well be imagined. We are unwilling to enumerate particulars, the mention whereof would but renew old griefs; but, in general, we may say, and we think it will gain the easy assent of all men, that there were many errors, many defects, many excesses, many irregularities, many illegal and eccentric proceedings, (some of which were in matters of the highest and greatest concerns,) manifestly appearing as blots and stains upon the otherwise good government of the late king. That these proceeded from the pravity of his own disposition, or from principles of tyranny radicated and implanted in his own nature, we do not see how it can be asserted, without apparent injury to the truth; it being confessed, even by his most peevish enemies, that he was a gentleman, as of the most strong and perfect intellectuals, so of the best and purest morals, of any prince that ever swayed the English sceptre. This the then parliament being sensible of, and desirous, out of a zeal they had to the honour of their sovereign, to disperse and dispel those black clouds that were contracted about him, that he might shine the more glorious in the beauty of his own lustre, thought themselves engaged in duty to endeavour to redeem and rescue him from the violent and strong impulses of his evil counsellors; who did captivate him at their pleasures to their own corrupt lusts, and did every day thrust him into actions prejudicial to himself, and destructive to the common good and safety of the people.

“Upon this account, and to this, and no other end, were we at first invited to take up arms; and though we have too great cause to conclude from what we have since seen acted, that, under those plausible and gilded pretences of liberty and reformation, there were secretly managed the hellish designs of wicked, vile, and ambitious persons, (whom though then, and for a long time after, concealed, Providence, and the series of things, have since discovered to us,) yet we bless God, that we went out in the simplicity of our souls, aiming at nothing more but what was publicly owned in the face of the sun; and that we were so far from entertaining any thoughts of casting off our allegiance to his majesty, or extirpating his family, that we had not the least intentions of so much as abridging him of any of his just prerogatives, but only of restraining those excesses of government for the future, which were nothing but the excrescences of a wanton power, and were more truly to be accounted the burdens, than ornaments, of his royal diadem.

“These things, sir, we are bold to make recital of to your majesty; not that we suppose your majesty to be ignorant of them, or that we take delight to derive the pedigree of our own and the nation's misfortunes; but, like poor wildered travellers, perceiving that we have lost our way, we are necessitated, though with tired and irksome steps, thus to walk the same ground over again, that we may discover where it was that



"we first turned aside, and may institute a more prosperous course in the progress of our journey. Thus far we can say we have gone right, keeping the road of honesty and sincerity, and having as yet done nothing but what we think we are able to justify, not by those weak and beggarly arguments, drawn either from success, which is the same to the just and to the unjust, or from the silence and satisfaction of a becalmed conscience, which is more often the effect of blindness than virtue, but from the sure, safe, sound, and unerring maxims of law, justice, reason, and righteousness.

"In all the rest of our motions ever since to this very day, we must confess, we have been wandering, deviating, and roving up and down, this way and that way, through all the dangerous, uncouth, and untrodden paths of fanatic and enthusiastic notions, till now at last, but too late, we find ourselves intricately and involved in so many windings, labyrinths, and meanders of knavery, that nothing but a divine clue of thread handed to us from heaven, can be sufficient to extricate us, and restore us. We know not, we know not, whether we have juster matter of shame or sorrow administered to us, when we take a reflex view of our past actions, and consider into the commission of what crimes, impieties, wickednesses, and unheard of villanies, we have been led, cheated, cozened, and betrayed, by that grand impostor, that loathsome hypocrite, that detestable traitor, that prodigy of nature, that *opprobrium* of mankind, that landscape of iniquity, that sink of sin, and that compendium of baseness, who now calls himself our protector. What have we done, nay, what have we not done, which either hellish policy was able to contrive, or brutish power to execute? We have trampled underfoot all authorities; we have laid violent hands upon our own sovereign; we have ravished our parliaments; we have deflowered the virgin liberty of our nation; we have put a yoke, an heavy yoke of iron, upon the necks of our own countrymen; we have thrown down the walls and bulwarks of the people's safety; we have broken often-repeated oaths, vows, engagements, covenants, protestations; we have betrayed our trusts; we have violated our faiths; we have lifted up our hands to heaven deceitfully; and that these our sins might want no aggravation to make them exceeding sinful, we have added hypocrisy to them all; and have not only, like the audacious strumpet, wiped our mouths, and boasted *that we have done no evil*; but in the midst of all our abominations (such as are too bad to be named amongst the worst of heathens) we have not wanted impudence enough to say, Let the Lord be glorified: let Jesus Christ be exalted: let his kingdom be advanced: let the gospel be propagated: let the saints be dignified: let righteousness be established: *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis aut dici potuisse, aut non potuisse refelli.*

"Will not the holy One of Israel visit? will not the righteous One punish? will not he, who is the true and faithful One, be avenged for such things as these? will he not, nay has he not already, come forth as a swift witness against us? has he not whet his sword? has he not bent his bow? has he not prepared his quiver? has

"he not already begun to shoot his arrows at us? "Who is so blind as not to see that the hand of the Almighty is upon us, and that his anger waxes hotter and hotter against us? How have our hopes been blasted! how have our expectations been disappointed! how have our ends been frustrated! All those pleasant gourds, under which we were sometimes solacing and caressing ourselves, how are they perished in a moment! how are they withered in a night! how are they vanished, and come to nothing! "Righteous is the Lord, and righteous are all his judgments. We have sown the wind, and we have reaped a whirlwind; we have sown faction, and we have reaped confusion; we have sown folly, and we have reaped deceit: when we looked for liberty, behold slavery; when we expected righteousness, behold oppression; when we sought for justice, behold a cry, a great and a lamentable cry throughout the whole nation.

"Every man's hand is upon his loins, every one complaining, sighing, mourning, lamenting, and saying, I am pained, I am pained, pain and anguish, and sorrow, and perplexity of spirit, has taken hold upon me, like the pains of a woman in travail. Surely we may take up the lamentation of the prophet concerning this the land of our nativity. How does England sit solitary! how is she become as a widow! she, that was great amongst the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she now become tributary! She weepeth sore in the night; her tears are on her cheeks; amongst all her lovers she hath none to comfort her; all her friends have dealt treacherously with her, they are become her enemies; she lifteth up her voice in the streets, she crieth aloud in the gates of the city, in the places of chief concourse, she sitteth, and thus we hear her wailing and bemoaning her condition: Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger. The yoke of my transgressions is bound by his hands, they are wretched, and come up upon my neck; he hath made my strength to fall, the Lord hath delivered me into their hands from whom I am not able to rise up. The Lord hath trodden underfoot all my mighty men in the midst of me; he hath called an assembly to crush my young men; he hath trodden me as in a winepress; all that pass by clap their hands at me, they hiss and wag their heads at me, saying, Is this the nation that men call the perfection of beauty? the joy of the whole earth? All mine enemies have opened their mouths against me; they hiss and gnash their teeth; they say, We have swallowed her up; certainly this is the day that we looked for, we have found, we have seen it.

"How are our bowels troubled! how are our hearts saddened! how are our souls afflicted, whilst we hear the groans, whilst we see the desolation of our dear country! It pitieth us, it pitieth us, that Sion should lie any longer in the dust. But, alas! what shall we do for her in this day of her great calamity? We were sometimes wise to pull down, but we now want art to build; we were ingenious to pluck up, but we have no skill to plant; we were strong to destroy, but we are weak to restore: whither



"shall we go for help? or to whom shall we address ourselves for relief? If we say, We will have recourse to parliaments, and they shall save us; behold, they are broken reeds, reeds shaken with the wind. They cannot save themselves. If we turn to the army, and say, They are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, it may be they will at last have pity upon us, and deliver us; behold, they are become as a rod of iron to bruise us, rather than a staff of strength to support us. If we go to him who had treacherously usurped, and does tyrannically exercise an unjust power over us, and say to him, Free us from this yoke, for it oppresseth us, and from these burdens, for they are heavier than either we are, or our fathers ever were, able to bear; behold, in the pride and haughtiness of his spirit, he answers us, You are factious, you are factious; if your burdens are heavy, I will make them yet heavier; if I have hitherto chastised you with whips, I will henceforward chastise you with scorpions.

"Thus do we fly, like partridges hunted, from hill to hill, and from mountain to mountain, but can find no rest; we look this way, and that way, but there is none to save, none to deliver. At last we begun to whisper, and but to whisper only, among ourselves, saying one to another, Why should we not return to our first husband? Surely it will be better with us then, than it is now. At the first starting of this question amongst us, many doubts, many fears, many jealousies, many suspicions did arise within us. We were conscious to ourselves, that we had dealt unkindly with him, that we had treacherously forsaken him, that we had defiled ourselves with other lovers, and that our filthiness was still upon our skirts: therefore were we apt to conclude, if we do return unto him, how can he receive us? or if he does receive us, how can he love us? how can he pardon the injuries we have done unto him? how can he forget the unkindness we have shewn unto him in the day of his distress?

"We must confess (for we come not to deceive your majesty, but to speak the truth in simplicity) that these cowardly apprehensions did, for a while, make some strong impressions upon us; and had almost frightened us out of our newly conceived thoughts of duty and loyalty. But it was not long before they vanished, and gave place to the more noble and heroic considerations of common good, public safety, the honour, peace, welfare, and prosperity of these nations; all which we are persuaded, and do find, though by too late experience, are as inseparably and as naturally bound up in your majesty, as heat in fire, or light in the sun. Contemning therefore and disdaining the mean and low thoughts of our own private safety, (which we have no cause to despair of, having to deal with so good and so gracious a prince,) we durst not allow of any longer debate about matters of personal concernment; but did think ourselves engaged in duty, honour, and conscience, to make this our humble address unto your majesty, and to leave ourselves at the feet of your mercy: yet, lest we should seem to be altogether negligent of that first good, though since dishonoured, cause, which God has so eminently owned us in, and to be unmindful of the security of those, who,

"together with ourselves, being carried away with the delusive and hypocritical pretences of wicked and ungodly men, have ignorantly, not maliciously, been drawn into a concurrence with those actions which may render them justly obnoxious to your majesty's indignation, we have presumed in all humility to offer unto your majesty these few propositions hereunto annexed; to which if your majesty shall be pleased graciously to condescend, we do solemnly protest in the presence of Almighty God, before whose tribunal we know we must one day appear, that we will hazard our lives, and all that is dear unto us, for the restoring and reestablishing your majesty in the throne of your father; and that we will never be wanting in a ready and willing compliance to your majesty's commands to approve ourselves

"Your majesty's

"most humble, most faithful,

"and most devoted subjects and servants,

"*W. Howard.* *John Wildman.*

"*Ralph Jennings.* *John Aumigau.*

"*Edw. Penkaruan.* *Randolph Hedworth.*

"*John Hedworth.* *Thomas*

"*John Sturgion.* *Rich. Reynolds.*

"The earnest desires of the subscribers, in all humility presented to your majesty in these following proposals, in order to an happy, speedy, and well grounded peace in these your majesty's dominions.

1. "Forasmuch as the parliament, called and convened by the authority of his late majesty your royal father, in the year 1640, was never legally dissolved, but did continue their sitting until the year 1648, at which time the army, violently and treasonably breaking in upon them, did, and has ever since given a continued interruption to their session, by taking away the whole house of lords, and secluding the greatest part of the house of commons, it is therefore humbly desired that (to the end we may be established upon the ancient basis and foundation of law) your majesty would be pleased, by public proclamations, as soon as it shall be judged seasonable, to invite all those persons, as well lords as commons, who were then sitting, to return to their places; and that your majesty would own them (so convened and met together) to be the true and lawful parliament of England.

2. "That your majesty would concur with the parliament in the ratification and confirmation of all those things granted and agreed unto by the late king your father, at the last and fatal treaty in the Isle of Wight; as also in the making and repealing of all such laws, acts, and statutes, as by the parliament shall be judged expedient and necessary to be made, and repealed, for the better securing of the just and natural rights and liberties of the people, and for the obviating and preventing all dangerous and destructive excesses of government for the future.

3. "Forasmuch as it cannot be denied, but that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by his death and resurrection, has purchased the liberties of his own people, and is thereby become their sole Lord and King, to whom, and to whom only, they owe obedience in things spiritual; we do

"therefore humbly beseech your majesty, that you  
"woud engage your royal word never to erect,  
"nor suffer to be erected, any such tyrannical,  
"popish, and Antichristian hierarchy, (episcopal,  
"presbyterian, or by what name soever it be  
"called,) as shall assume a power over, or impose  
"a yoke upon, the consciences of others; but that  
"every one of your majesty's subjects may here-  
"after be left at liberty to worship God in such a  
"way, form, and manner, as shall appear to them  
"to be agreeable to the mind and will of Christ,  
"revealed in his word, according to that proportion  
"or measure of faith and knowledge which they  
"have received.

4. "Forasmuch as the exaction of tithes is a  
"burden under which the whole nation groans in  
"general, and the people of God in particular, we  
"woud therefore crave leave humbly to offer it to  
"your majesty's consideration, that, if it be possi-  
"ble, some other way may be found out for the  
"maintenance of that which is called the national  
"ministry; and that those of the separated and  
"congregated churches may not (as hitherto they  
"have been, and still are) be compelled to contri-  
"bute thereunto.

5. "Forasmuch as in these times of license,  
"confusion, and disorder, many honest, godly,  
"and religious persons, by the crafty devices and  
"cunning pretences of wicked men, have been  
"ignorantly and blindly led, either into the com-  
"mission of, or compliance with, many vile, illegal,  
"and abominable actions, whereof they are now  
"ashamed; we do therefore most humbly implore  
"your majesty, that an act of amnesty and oblivion  
"may be granted for the pardoning, acquitting,  
"and discharging all your majesty's long deceived  
"and deluded subjects, from the guilt and impu-  
"tation of all crimes, treasons, and offences what-  
"soever, committed or done by them, or any of  
"them, either against your majesty's father, or  
"yourself, since the beginning of these unhappy  
"wars, excepting only such who do adhere to that  
"ugly tyrant who calls himself protector, or who,  
"in justification of his or any other interest, shall,  
"after the publication of this act of grace, con-  
"tinue and persevere in their disloyalty to your  
"majesty."

The gentleman who brought this address, and these wild propositions, brought likewise with him a particular letter to the king from the gentleman that is before described; upon whose temper, ingenuity, and interest, the messenger principally depended, having had much acquaintance and conversation with him; who, though he was an anabaptist, made himself merry with the extravagancy and madness of his companions; and told this gentleman, "that, though the first address  
"could not be prepared but with those demands,  
"which might satisfy the whole party, and comprehend all that was desired by any of them, yet  
"if the king gave them such an encouragement, as  
"might dispose them to send some of the wisest  
"of them to attend his majesty, he would be able,  
"upon conference with them, to make them his  
"instruments to reduce the rest to more moderate  
"desires, when they should discern, that they  
"might have more protection and security from  
"the king, than from any other power that would  
"assume the government." The letter was as followeth.

"May it please your majesty,  
"Time, the great discoverer of all things, has  
"at last unmasked the disguised designs of this  
"mysterious age, and made that obvious to the  
"dull sense of fools, which was before visible  
"enough to the quicksighted prudence of wise  
"men, viz. that liberty, religion, and reformation,  
"the wonted engines of politicians, are but deceit-  
"ful baits, by which the easily deluded multitude  
"are tempted to a greedy pursuit of their own  
"ruin. In the unhappy number of these fools, I  
"must confess myself to have been one; who  
"have nothing more now to boast of, but only  
"that, as I was not the first was cheated, so I was  
"not the last was undeceived; having long since,  
"by peeping a little (now and then, as I had  
"opportunity) under the vizard of the impostor,  
"got such glimpses, though but imperfect ones,  
"of his ugly face, concealed under the painted  
"pretences of sanctity, as made me conclude, that  
"the series of affairs, and the revolution of a few  
"years, would convince this blinded generation of  
"their errors; and make them affrightedly to  
"start from him, as a prodigious piece of deformity,  
"whom they adored and revered as the  
"beautiful image of a deity.

"Nor did this my expectation fail me: God,  
"who glories in no attribute more than to be  
"acknowledged the searcher of the inward parts,  
"could no longer endure the bold affronts of this  
"audacious hypocrite; but, to the astonishment  
"and confusion of all his idolatrous worshippers,  
"has, by the unsearchable wisdom of his deep-  
"laid counsels, lighted such a candle into the dark  
"dungeon of his soul, that there is none so blind  
"who does not plainly read treachery, tyranny,  
"perfidiousness, dissimulation, atheism, hypo-  
"cristy, and all manner of villainy, written in large  
"characters on his heart; nor is there any one  
"remaining, who dares open his mouth in justifi-  
"cation of him, for fear of incurring the deserved  
"character of being a professed advocate for all  
"wickedness, and a sworn enemy to all virtue.

"This was no sooner brought forth, but pre-  
"sently I conceived hopes of being able, in a short  
"time, to put in practice those thoughts of loyalty  
"to your majesty, which had long had entertain-  
"ment in my breast, but till now were forced to  
"seek concealment under a seeming conformity to  
"the iniquity of the times. A fit opportunity of  
"giving birth to these designs was happily admi-  
"nistered by the following occasion.

"Great was the rage, and just the indignation  
"of the people, when they first found the authority  
"of their parliament swallowed up in the new  
"name of a protector; greater was their fury, and  
"upon better grounds, when they observed, that  
"under the silent, modest, and flattering title of  
"this protector, was secretly assumed a power  
"more absolute, more arbitrary, more unlimited,  
"than ever was pretended to by any king. The  
"pulpits straightways sound with declamations,  
"the streets are filled with pasquils and libels,  
"every one expresses a detestation of this innova-  
"tion by public invectives, and all the nation,  
"with one accord, seems at once to be inspired  
"with one and the same resolution of endeavour-  
"ing valiantly to redeem that liberty, by arms and  
"force, which was treacherously stolen from them  
"by deceit and fraud.

"When they had for a while exercised them-

"selves in tumultuary discourses, (the first effects of popular discontents,) at length they begin to contrive by what means to free themselves from the yoke that is upon them. In order hereunto, several of the chiefest of the malecontents enter into consultations amongst themselves; to which they were pleased to invite and admit me. Being taken into their council, and made privy to their debates, I thought it my work to acquaint myself fully with the tempers, inclinations, dispositions, and principles of them; which (though all meeting and concentrating in an irreconcilable hatred and animosity against the usurper) I find so various in their ends, and so contrary in the means conducing to those ends, that they do naturally fall under the distinction of different parties. Some, drunk with enthusiasms, and besotted with fanatic notions, do allow of none to have a share in government besides the saints; and these are called Christian royalists, or fifth-monarchy-men. Others violently opposing this, as destructive to the liberty of the free-born people, strongly contend to have the nation governed by a continual succession of parliaments, consisting of equal representatives; and these style themselves commonwealth's-men. A third party there is, who finding, by the observation of these times, that parliaments are better physic than food, seem to incline most to monarchy, if laid under such restrictions as might free the people from the fear of tyranny; and these are contented to suffer under the opprobrious name of levellers: to these did I particularly apply myself; and after some few days' conference with them in private by themselves apart, I was so happy in my endeavours, as to prevail with some of them to lay aside those vain and idle prejudices, grounded rather upon passion than judgment, and return, as their duty engaged them, to their obedience to your majesty. Having proceeded thus far, and gained as many of the chief of them, whom I knew to be leaders of the rest, as could safely be intrusted with a business of this nature, (the success whereof does principally depend upon the secret management of it,) I thought I had nothing more now to do, but only to confirm and establish them, as well as I could, in their infant allegiance, by engaging them so far in an humble address unto your majesty, that they might not know how to make either a safe or honourable retreat.

"I must leave it to the ingenuity of this worthy gentleman, by whose hands it is conveyed, to make answer to any such objections as may perhaps be made by your majesty, either as to the matter or manner of it. This only I would put your majesty in mind of, that they are but young proselytes, and are to be driven *lento pede*, lest, being urged at first too violently, they should resist the more refractorily.

"As to the quality of the persons, I cannot say they are either of great families, or great estates. But this I am confident of, that, whether it be by their own virtue, or by the misfortune of the times, I will not determine, they are such who may be more serviceable to your majesty in this conjuncture, than those whose names swell much bigger than theirs with the addition of great titles. I durst not undertake to persuade your majesty to any thing, being ignorant by what

"maxims your counsels are governed; but this I shall crave leave to say, that I have often observed, that a desperate game at chess has been recovered after the loss of the nobility, only by playing the pawns well; and that the subscribers may not be of the same use to your majesty, if well managed, I cannot despair, especially at such a time as this, when there is scarce any thing but pawns left upon the board, and those few others that are left may justly be complained of in the words of Tacitus, *presentia et tuta, quam vetera et periculosa, malunt omnes*.

"I have many things more to offer unto your majesty, but fearing I have already given too bold a trouble, I shall defer the mention of them at present; intending, as soon as I hear how your majesty resents this overture, to wait upon your majesty in person, and then to communicate that *viva voce*, which I cannot bring within the narrow compass of an address of this nature. In the mean time, if our services shall be judged useful to your majesty, I shall humbly desire some speedy course may be taken for the advance of two thousand pound, as well for the answering the expectation of those whom I have already engaged, as for the defraying of several other necessary expenses, which do, and will every day inevitably come upon us in the prosecution of our design.

"What more is expedient to be done by your majesty, in order to the encouragement and satisfaction of those gentlemen who already are, or hereafter may be, brought over to the assistance of your majesty's cause and interest, I shall commit to the care of this honourable person; who being no stranger to the complexion and constitution of those with whom I have to deal, is able sufficiently to inform your majesty by what ways and means they may be laid under the strongest obligations to your majesty's service.

"For my own part, as I do now aim at nothing more, than only to give your majesty a small essay of my zeal for, and absolute devotion to, your majesty, so I have nothing more to beg of your majesty, but that you would be pleased to account me,

"May it please your majesty, &c."

The king believed that these distempers might, in some conjuncture, be of use to him; and therefore returned the general answer that is mentioned before; and, "that he would be willing to confer with some persons of that party, trusted by the rest, if they would come over to him;" his majesty being then at Bruges. Upon which that young gentleman came over thither to him, and remained some days there concealed. He was a person of very extraordinary parts, sharpness of wit, readiness and volubility of tongue, but an anabaptist. He had been bred in the university of Cambridge, and afterwards in the inns of court; but being too young to have known the religion or the government of the precedent time, and his father having been engaged from the beginning against the king, he had sucked in the opinions that were most prevalent, and had been a soldier in Cromwell's life-guard of horse, when he was thought to be most resolved to establish a republic. But when that mask was pulled off, he detested him with that rage, that he was of the

combination with those who resolved to destroy him by what way soever; and was very intimate with Syndercome. He had a great confidence of the strength and power of that party; and confessed that their demands were extravagant, and such as the king could not grant; which, after they were once engaged in blood, he doubted not they would recede from, by the credit the wiser men had amongst them. He returned into England very well satisfied with the king; and did afterwards correspond very faithfully with his professions; but left the king without any hope of other benefit from that party, than by their increasing the faction and animosity against Cromwell: for it was manifest they expected a good sum of present money from the king; which could not be in his power to supply.

While these things were transacting, the king found every day, that the Spaniards so much despaired of his cause, that they had no mind to give him any assistance with which he might make an attempt upon England; and that, if they had been never so well disposed, they were not able to do it: and therefore he resolved that he would not, in a country that was so great a scene of war, live unactive and unconcerned: so his majesty sent to don Juan, "that he would accompany him in the field the next campaign, without expecting any ceremony, or putting him to any trouble." But the Spaniards sent him a formal message, and employed the earl of Bristol to excuse them from consenting, or admitting his proposition, and to dissuade his majesty from affecting so unreasonably exposing his person. They said, "that they could not answer it to his catholic majesty, if they should permit his majesty, when his two brothers were already in the army, and known to affect danger so much as they did, likewise to engage his own royal person; which they positively protested against." And when they afterwards saw, that it was not in their power to restrain him from such adventures, whilst he remained at Bruges, which was now become a frontier by the neighbourhood of Mardike, and particularly that, under pretence of visiting the duke of York, who lay then at Dunkirk to make some attempt in the winter upon that fort, his majesty having notice, what night they intended to assault it, went some days before to Dunkirk, and was present in that action, and so near that many were killed about him, and the marquis of Ormond, who was next to him, had his horse killed under him: they were willing his majesty should remove to Brussels; which they would never before consent to; and which was in many respects most grateful to him. And so, towards the spring, and before the armies were in motion, he left Bruges, where he had received, both from the bishop and the magistrates, all possible respect, there being at that time a Spaniard, Mark Ogniate, burgomaster, who, being born of an English mother, had all imaginable duty for the king, and being a man of excellent parts, and very dexterous in business, was very serviceable to his majesty; which he ever afterwards acknowledged; and about the end of February, in the year, by that account, 1658, he went to Brussels, and never after returned to Bruges to reside there.

His majesty was no sooner come thither, but don Alonzo renewed his advices, and importunity, that he would make a conjunction with the level-

lers; and to that purpose prevailed with him to admit their agent, one Sexby, to confer with him; which his majesty willingly consented to, presuming that Sexby might be privy to the address that had been made to him by the same party; which he was not, though they that sent the address well knew of his employment to the Spaniard, and had no mind to trust him to the king, at least not so soon. The man, for an illiterate person, spoke very well, and properly; and used those words very well, the true meaning and signification whereof he could not understand. He had been, in the beginning, a common soldier of Cromwell's troops, and was afterwards one of those agitators who were made use of to control the parliament; and had so great an interest in Cromwell, that he was frequently his bedfellow; a familiarity he frequently admitted those to, whom he employed in any great trust, and with whom he could not so freely converse, as in those hours. He was very perfect in the history of Cromwell's dissimulations, and would describe his artifices to the life, and did very well understand the temper of the army, and wonderfully undervalue the credit and interest of the king's party; and made such demands to the king, as if it were in his power, and his alone, to restore him; in which don Alonzo concurred so totally, that, when he saw that the king would not be advised by him, he sent his friend Sexby into Spain to conclude there; and, upon the matter, wholly withdrew himself from so much as visiting the king. And there need not be any other character or description of the stupidity of that Spaniard, than that such a fellow, with the help of an Irish priest, should be able to cozen him, and make him to cozen his master of ten thousand pistoles; for he received not less than that in Flanders, whatever else he got by his journey to Madrid; which did not use to be of small expense to the Spaniard.

Nothing that was yet to come could be more manifest, than it was to all discerning men, that the first design the French army would undertake, when they should begin their campaign, must be the siege of Dunkirk; without taking which, Mardike would do them little good: besides, their contract with Cromwell was no secret; yet the Spaniards totally neglected making provisions to defend it; being persuaded by some intelligence they always purchased at a great rate, to deceive themselves, that the French would begin the campaign with besieging Cambray. In the beginning of the year, the marquis de Leyde, governor of Dunkirk, and the best officer they had, in all respects, came to Brussels, having sent several expresses thither to no purpose to solicit for supplies. He told them, "that his intelligence was infallible, that marshal Turenne was ready to march, and that the French king himself would be in the field to countenance the siege of Dunkirk, which he could not defend, if he were not supplied with men, ammunition, and victual;" of all which he stood in great need, and of neither of which he could get supply; they telling him, "that he would not be besieged; that they were sure the French meant to attempt Cambray;" which they provided the best they could, and bid him be confident, "that, if he were attacked, they would relieve him with their army, and fight a battle before he should be in danger." Being able to procure no other answer, he returned, and

came to take his leave of the king as he went out of the town, and complained very much to his majesty of their counsels, and deluding themselves with false intelligence. He said, "he was going to defend a town without men, without ammunition, and without victual, against a very strong and triumphant army; that, if he could have obtained supplies in any reasonable degree, he should have been able to have entertained them some time; but in the condition he was in, he could only lose his life there; which he was resolved to do:" and spoke as if he were very willing to do it; and was as good as his word.

Within three or four days after his return, the French army appeared before Dunkirk; and then the Spaniard believed it; and made what haste they could to draw their army together, which was very much dispersed, so that, before they were upon their march, the French had perfected their circumvallation, and rendered it impossible to put any succours into the town. Now they found it necessary indeed to hazard a battle, which they had promised to do, when they intended nothing less. When the Spaniards had taken a full view of the posture the enemy was in, and were thereupon to choose their own ground, upon which they would be found, don Juan, and the marquis of Carracena, who agreed in nothing else, resolved how the army should be ranged; which the prince of Condé dissuaded them from; and told them very exactly what the marshal Turenne would do in that case; "and that he would still maintain the siege, and give them likewise battle upon the advantage of the ground; whereas, if they would place their army near another part of the line, they should easily have communication with the town, and compel the French to fight with more equal hazards."

It might very reasonably be said of the prince of Condé and marshal Turenne, what a good Roman historian said heretofore of Jugurtha and Marius; that "*in iisdem castris didicere, quæ postea in contrariis fecere*;" they had in the same armies learned that discipline, and those stratagems, "which they afterwards practised against each other in enemy armies;" and it was a wonderful and a pleasant thing to see and observe in attacks or in marches, with what foresight either of them would declare what the other would do: as the prince of Condé, when the armies marched near, and the Spaniards would not alter their former lazy pace, nor their rest at noon, would in choler tell them, "if we do not make great haste to possess such a pass," (which they never thought of,) "marshal Turenne will take it, though it be much farther from him;" and would then, when they considered not what he said, advance with his own troops to possess the place, even when the French were come in view; and by such seasonable foresights saved the Spanish army from many distresses. And marshal Turenne had the same caution, and governed himself according as the prince of Condé was in the rear or van of the army; and, upon the matter, only considered where he was, and ordered his marches accordingly; of which there was a very memorable instance two years before, when the Spanish army had besieged Arras, and when the duke of York was present with marshal Turenne.

The Spaniards had made themselves so very strong, that when the French army came thither, they found that they could not compel them to fight, and that the town must be lost if they did not force the line. Marshal Turenne, accompanied with the duke of York, who would never be absent upon those occasions, and some of the principal officers, spent two or three days in viewing the line round, and observing and informing himself of all that was to be known, and riding so near the line very frequently, that some of his company were killed within much less than musket shot. In the end, he called some of the principal officers, and said, "he would, that day at noon, assault the line," at a place which he shewed to them; which the officers wondered at; and said, "it was the strongest part of the line; and that they had observed to him, that the whole line on the other side was very much weaker:" to which the marshal replied, "You do not know who keeps that line; we shall do no good there; monsieur le prince never sleeps, and that is his post; but I will tell you, what will fall out on the other side;" for he had himself marched in the Spanish army, and very well understood the customs of it. He told them then, "that it would be very long, before the soldiers upon the line, or the adjacent guard, would believe that the French were in earnest, and that they would in truth at that time of day assault them; but would think, that they meant only to give them an alarm; which they were never warm in receiving: that when the Spaniards were convinced that the French were in earnest, in which time he should be got near their line, they would send to the count of Fuensaldagna, who at that time of day was usually asleep, and his servants would not be persuaded to waken him in a moment. He would then send for his horse, and ride up to the line; which when he saw, he would with some haste repair to the archduke's tent; who was likewise at his siesto, and when he was awake, they would consult what was to be done; by which time," the marshal said, "they should have done:" and they did enter the line accordingly, and found by the prisoners, that every thing had fallen out as he had foretold. So the siege was raised, the Spaniards fled without making any resistance, left their cannon, bag and baggage, behind them: only the prince of Condé was in so good order upon the first alarm, that when he heard of the confusion they were in, he drew off with his cannon, and lost nothing that belonged to him, and marched with all his men to a place of safety.

Notwithstanding the advice which the prince of Condé had given, don Juan was positive in his first resolution. The prince, not without great indignation, consented; and drew up his troops in the place they desired; and quickly saw all come to pass that he had foretold. The country was most enclosed, so that the horse could not fight but in small bodies. The English foot under Lockhart charged the Spanish foot, and, after a good resistance, broke and routed them; after which there was not much more resistance on that side, the Spanish horse doing no better than their foot. Our king's foot were placed by themselves upon a little rising ground, and were charged by the French horse after the Spanish

foot were beaten. Some of them, and the greater part, marched off by the favour of the enclosures, there not being above two hundred taken prisoners. The dukes of York and Gloucester charged several times on horseback; and in the end, having gotten some troops to go with them, charged the English, (whom, though enemies, they were glad to see behave themselves so well,) and with great difficulty, and some blows of muskets, got safe off. But there was a rumour spread in the French army, that the duke of York was taken prisoner by the English, some men undertaking to say that they saw him in their hands: whereupon many of the French officers and gentlemen resolved to set him at liberty, and rode up to the body of English, and looked upon all their prisoners, and found they were misinformed; which if they had not been, they would undoubtedly, at any hazard, or danger, have enlarged him; so great an affection that nation owned to have for his highness.

The day being thus lost with a greater rout and confusion than loss of men, don Juan and the marquis of Carracena, who behaved themselves in their own persons with courage enough, were contented to think better of the prince of Condé's advice, by which they preserved the best part of the army, and retired to Ypres and Furnes, and the duke of York to Newport, that they might defend the rest when Dunkirk should be taken; which was the present business of marshal Turenne; who found the marquis de Leyde resolved to defend it, notwithstanding the defeat of the army: and therefore he betook himself again to that work, as soon as the Spanish army was retired into fastness. The marquis de Leyde, when he saw there was no more hope of relief from don Juan, which whilst he expected, he was wary in the hazard of his men, was now resolved to try what he could do for himself: so with as strong a party as he could make, he made a desperate sally upon the enemy; who, though he disordered them, were quickly so seconded, that they drove him back into the town with great loss, after himself had received a wound, of which he died within three days after. And then the officers sent to treat, which he would not consent to whilst he lived. The marquis was a much greater loss than the town; which the master of the field may be always master of in two months' time at most. But in truth the death of the marquis was an irreparable damage, he being a very wise man, of great experience, great wisdom, and great piety; insomuch as he had an intention to have taken orders in the church; to which he was most devoted.

Those in the town had fair conditions to march to St. Omers, that they might not join with the relics of their army. The French king, being by this time come to the camp with the cardinal, entered the town, and took possession of it himself; which as soon as he had done, he delivered it into the hands of Lockhart, whom Cromwell had made governor of it. Thus the treaty was performed between them; and that king went presently to Calais, and from thence sent the duke of Crequy, together with Mancini, nephew to the cardinal, to London to visit Cromwell; who likewise sent his son-in-law, the lord Falconbridge, to Calais, to congratulate with that king for their joint prosperity. And mutual professions were then re-

newed between them, with new obligations "never to make peace without each other's consent."

When don Juan had first removed from Brussels, and the army marched into the field, the king had renewed his desire that he might likewise go with them, but was refused with the same positiveness he had been before. His majesty thereupon resolved that he would not stay alone in Brussels, whilst all the world was in action; but thought of some more private place, where he might take the summer air, and refresh himself during that season. He was the more confirmed in this upon the news of the defeat of the army near Dunkirk, and the loss of that place. So he removed to a village called Hochstraten; where there were very good houses, capable to have received a greater train than belonged to his court. Thither the king went about the month of August; the village lying upon the skirts of the States' dominions in Brabant, and within five or six miles of Breda, sometimes he made journeys, *incognito*, to see places where he had not been before.

There a man might have observed the great difference of the condition, which the subjects in the States' dominions, even in the sight and view of the other, enjoy above what their neighbours of the Spanish territories are acquainted with. Hochstraten is an open village belonging to the count of that name, and hath enjoyed very ample privileges, the owner thereof being one of the greatest nobles in the duchy of Brabant. It is pleasantly seated, many very good houses, and the manor large of extent, and of great revenue. But by reason that it is always a horse-quarter in the winter season, who use great license, it is so poor, that those good houses have only walls; so that the people had not furniture to supply those rooms which were for the accommodation of those who attended the king, though they were sure to be very well paid, and therefore used all the means they could to procure it. But there appeared poverty in the faces and looks of the people, good grounds without any stock, and, in a word, nothing that looked well but the houses, and those empty within: on the other side of a line that is drawn, (for a man may set one foot in the dominion that is reserved to the king of Spain, and the other in that which is assigned to the Hollander,) the houses, though not standing so thick, nor so beautiful without, clean, neat; and well furnished within; very good linen, and some plate in every house; the people fat, well clothed, and with looks very well pleased; all the grounds and land fully stocked with all kind of cattle, and, as if it were the land of Goshen, the appearance of nothing but wealth and fertility, encompassed by extreme barrenness, and unconceivable poverty. And they on the Holland side, that lies equally open and undefended, can see the Spanish troops exercise all license upon their poor neighbours of Hochstraten; and yet the most dissolute among them dare not step into their quarters to take a hen, or commit the least trespass: so strictly the articles of the peace are observed.

Whilst the king spent his time in this manner, about the middle of September, the duke of York, who remained still with the troops at Newport to defend that place, as don Juan, and the rest, remained about Farnes and Bruges, sent an express

to the king to let him know, "that the letters "from England, and some passengers, reported confidently that Cromwell was dead;" which, there having been no news of his sickness, was not at first easily believed. But every day brought confirmation of it; so that his majesty thought fit to give over his country life, and returned again to Brussels, that he might be ready to make use of any advantage, which, in that conjuncture, upon so wonderful an alteration, he might reasonably expect.

It had been observed in England, that, though from the dissolution of the last parliament, all things seemed to succeed, at home and abroad, to the protector's wish, and his power and greatness to be better established than ever it had been, yet he never had the same serenity of mind he had been used to, after he had refused the crown; but was out of countenance, and chagrin, as if he were conscious of not having been true to himself; and much more apprehensive of danger to his person than he had used to be. Insomuch as he was not easy of access, nor so much seen abroad; and seemed to be in some disorder, when his eyes found any stranger in the room; upon whom they were still fixed. When he intended to go to Hampton Court, which was his principal delight and diversion, it was never known, till he was in the coach, which way he would go; and he was still hemmed in by his guards both before and behind; and the coach in which he went was always thronged as full as it could be, with his servants; who were armed; and he seldom returned the same way he went; and rarely lodged two nights together in one chamber, but had many furnished and prepared, to which his own key conveyed him and those he would have with him, when he had a mind to go to bed: which made his fears the more taken notice of, and public, because he had never been accustomed to those precautions.

It is very true, he knew of many combinations to assassinate him, by those who, he believed, wished the king no good. And when he had discovered the design of Syndercome, who was a very stout man, and one who had been much in his favour, and who had twice or thrice, by wonderful and unexpected accidents, been disappointed in the minute he made sure to kill him, and had caused him to be apprehended, his behaviour was so resolute in his examination and trial, as if he thought he should still be able to do it; and it was manifest that he had many more associates, who were undiscovered and as resolute as himself; and though he had got him condemned to die, the fellow's carriage and words were such, as if he knew well how to avoid the judgment; which made Cromwell believe, that a party in the army would attempt his rescue; whereupon he gave strict charge, "that he "should be carefully looked to in the Tower, "and three or four of the guard always with him "day and night."

At the day appointed for his execution, those troops Cromwell was most confident of were placed upon the Tower-hill, where the gallows were erected. But when the guard called Syndercome to arise in the morning, they found him dead in his bed; which gave trouble exceedingly to Cromwell; for besides that he hoped, that, at his death, to avoid the utmost rigour of it, he

would have confessed many of his confederates, he now found himself under the reproach of having caused him to be poisoned, as not daring to bring him to public justice: nor could he suppress that scandal. Though it did appear upon examination, that the night before, when he was going to bed in the presence of his guard, his sister came to take her leave of him; and whilst they spake together at the bedside, he rubbed his nose with his hand, of which they then took no notice; and she going away, he put off his clothes, and leaped into his bed, with some snuffing in his nose, and said, "this was the last "bed he should ever go into;" and seemed to turn to sleep, and never in the whole night made the least noise or motion, save that he sneezed once. When the physicians and surgeons opened his head, they found he had snuffed up through his nostrils some very well prepared poison, that in an instant curdled all his blood in that region, which presently suffocated him. His body was drawn by a horse to the gallows where he should have hanged, and buried under it, with a stake driven through him, as is usual in the case of self-murderers: yet this accident perplexed Cromwell very much; and though he was without the particular discovery which he expected, he made a general discovery by it, that he himself was more odious in his army than he believed he had been.

He seemed to be much afflicted at the death of his friend the earl of Warwick; with whom he had a fast friendship; though neither their humours nor their natures were like. And the heir of that house, who had married his youngest daughter, died about the same time; so that all his relation to, or confidence in, that family was at an end; the other branches of it abhorring his alliance. His domestic delights were lessened every day: he plainly discovered that his son Falconbridge's heart was set upon an interest destructive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly. But that which chiefly broke his peace, was the death of his daughter Claypole; who had been always his greatest joy, and who, in her sickness, which was of a nature the physicians knew not how to deal with, had several conferences with him, which exceedingly perplexed him. Though nobody was near enough to hear the particulars, yet her often mentioning, in the pains she endured, the blood her father had spilt, made people conclude, that she had presented his worst actions to his consideration. And though he never made the least show of remorse for any of those actions, it is very certain, that either what she said, or her death, affected him wonderfully.

Whatever it was, about the middle of August, he was seized on by a common tertian ague, from which, he believed, a little ease and divertisement at Hampton Court would have freed him. But the fits grew stronger, and his spirits much abated: so that he returned again to Whitehall, when his physicians began to think him in danger, though the preachers, who prayed always about him, and told God Almighty what great things he had done for him, and how much more need he had still of his service, declared as from God, that he should recover: and he did not think he should die, till even the time that his spirits failed him. Then he declared to them, "that he did appoint his son to succeed him, his



"eldest son Richard;" and so expired upon the third day of September, 1658, a day he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for several victories; a day very memorable for the greatest storm of wind that had been ever known, for some hours before and after his death, which overthrew trees, houses, and made great wrecks at sea; and [the tempest] was so universal, that the effects of it were terrible both in France and Flanders, where all people trembled at it; for, besides the wrecks all along the sea-coast, many boats were cast away in the very rivers; and within few days after, the circumstance of his death, that accompanied that storm, was known.

He was one of those men, *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent*: [whom his very enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time:] for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of courage, industry, and judgment. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in applying them; who, from a private and obscure birth, (though of a good family,) without interest or estate, alliance or friendship, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests into a consistence, that contributed to his designs, and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What Velleius Paterculus said of China may very justly be said of him, *ausum eum, quæ nemo auderet bonus; perfecisse, quæ a nullo, nisi fortissimo, perfici possent*: [he attempted those things which no good man durst have ventured on; and achieved those in which none but a valiant and great man could have succeeded.] Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion, and moral honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those trophies, without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

When he appeared first in the parliament, he seemed to have a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse; none of those talents which use to reconcile the affections of the stander by: yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had had concealed faculties, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom.

After he was confirmed and invested protector by the humble petition and advice, he consulted with very few upon any action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolved upon, with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it; nor with them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority; but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

When he had laid some very extraordinary tax

upon the city, one Cony, an eminent fanatic, and one who had heretofore served him very notably, positively refused to pay his part; and loudly dissuaded others from submitting to it, "as an imposition notoriously against the law, and the propriety of the subject, which all honest men were bound to defend." Cromwell sent for him, and cajoled him with the memory of "the old kindness, and friendship, that had been between them; and that of all men he did not expect this opposition from him, in a matter that was so necessary for the good of the commonwealth." But it was always his fortune to meet with the most rude and obstinate behaviour from those who had formerly been absolutely governed by him; and they commonly put him in mind of some expressions and sayings of his own, in cases of the like nature: so this man remembered him, how great an enemy he had expressed himself to such grievances, and had declared, "that all who submitted to them, and paid illegal taxes, were more to blame, and greater enemies to their country, than they who had imposed them; and that the tyranny of princes could never be grievous, but by the tameness and stupidity of the people." When Cromwell saw that he could not convert him, he told him, "that he had a will as stubborn as his, and he would try which of them two should be master." Thereupon, with some terms of reproach and contempt, he committed the man to prison; whose courage was nothing abated by it; but as soon as the term came, he brought his habeas corpus in the king's bench, which they then called the upper bench. Maynard, who was of council with the prisoner, demanded his liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and the illegality of the imposition, as being laid without any lawful authority. The judges could not maintain or defend either, and enough declared what their sentence would be; and therefore the protector's attorney required a farther day, to answer what had been urged. Before that day, Maynard was committed to the Tower, for presuming to question or make doubt of his authority; and the judges were sent for, and severely reprehended for suffering that license; when they, with all humility, mentioned the law and magna charta, Cromwell told them, "their magna f— should not control his actions; which he knew were for the safety of the commonwealth." He asked them, "who made them judges? whether they had any authority to sit there, but what he gave them? and if his authority were at an end, they knew well enough what would become of themselves; and therefore advised them to be more tender of that which could only preserve them;" and so dismissed them with caution, "that they should not suffer the lawyers to prate what it would not become them to hear."

Thus he subdued a spirit that had been often troublesome to the most sovereign power, and made Westminster-hall as obedient, and subservient to his commands, as any of the rest of his quarters. In all other matters, which did not concern the life of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interposing between party and party. As he proceeded with this kind of indignation and haughtiness with those who were refractory, and dared to contend with his greatness, so towards all who com-









Engraved by H. Robinson.

**OLIVER CROMWELL.**

**OB. 1658.**

**FROM THE ORIGINAL OF WALKER, IN THE COLLECTION OF**

**THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL SPENCER.**



plied with his good pleasure, and courted his protection, he used a wonderful civility, generosity, and bounty.

To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates; to awe and govern those nations by an army that was indebted to him, and wished his ruin, was an instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover, which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it. As they did all sacrifice their honour and their interest to his pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded, that either of them would have denied him. To manifest which, there needs only two instances. The first is, when those of the valley of Lucerne had unwarily rebelled against the duke of Savoy, which gave occasion to the pope, and the neighbour princes of Italy, to call and solicit for their extirpation, and their prince positively resolved upon it, Cromwell sent his agent to the duke of Savoy, a prince with whom he had no correspondence, or commerce, and so engaged the cardinal, and even terrified the pope himself, without so much as doing any grace to the English Roman catholics, (nothing being more usual than his saying, "that his ships in the Mediterranean " should visit Civita Vecchia; and that the sound " of his cannon should be heard in Rome,") that the duke of Savoy thought it necessary to restore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all those privileges they had formerly enjoyed, and newly forfeited.

The other instance of his authority was yet greater, and more incredible. In the city of Nismes, which is one of the fairest in the province of Languedoc, and where those of the religion do most abound, there was a great faction at that season when the consuls (who are the chief magistrates) were to be chosen. Those of the reformed religion had the confidence to set up one of themselves for that magistracy; which they of the Roman religion resolved to oppose with all their power. The dissension between them made so much noise, that the intendant of the province, who is the supreme minister in all civil affairs throughout the whole province, went thither to prevent any disorder that might happen. When the day of election came, those of the religion possessed themselves with many armed men of the town-house, where the election was to be made. The magistrates sent to know what their meaning was; to which they answered, "they were there " to give their voices for the choice of the new " consuls, and to be sure that the election should " be fairly made." The bishop of the city, the intendant of the province, with all the officers of the church, and the present magistrates of the town, went together in their robes to be present at the election, without any suspicion that there would be any force used. When they came near the gate of the town-house, which was shut, and they supposed would be opened when they came, they within poured out a volley of musket-shot upon them, by which the dean of the church, and two or three of the magistrates of the town, were killed upon the place, and very many others wounded; whereof some died shortly after. In this confusion, the magistrates put themselves into

as good a posture to defend themselves as they could, without any purpose of offending the other, till they should be better provided; in order to which they sent an express to the court with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact, "and " that there appeared to be no manner of combination with those of the religion in other places " of the province; but that it was an insolence in " those of the place, upon the presumption of " their great numbers, which were little inferior " to those of the catholics." The court was glad of the occasion, and resolved that this provocation, in which other places were not involved, and which nobody could excuse, should warrant all kind of severity in that city, even to the pulling down their temples, and expelling many of them for ever out of the city; which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the principal persons, would be a general mortification to all of the religion in France; with whom they were heartily offended; and a part of the army was forthwith ordered to march towards Nismes, to see this executed with the utmost rigour.

Those of the religion in the town were quickly sensible into what condition they had brought themselves; and sent, with all possible submission, to the magistrates to excuse themselves, and to impute what had been done to the rashness of particular men, who had no order for what they did. The magistrates answered, "that they were " glad they were sensible of their miscarriage; " but they could say nothing upon the subject, " till the king's pleasure should be known; to " whom they had sent a full relation of all that " had passed." The others very well knew what the king's pleasure would be, and forthwith sent an express, one Moulins, a Scotchman, who had lived many years in that place, and in Montpellier, to Cromwell to desire his protection and interposition. The express made so much haste, and found so good a reception the first hour he came, that Cromwell, after he had received the whole account, bade him "refresh himself after so long " a journey, and he would take such care of his " business, that by the time he came to Paris he " should find it despatched;" and, that night, sent away another messenger to his ambassador Lockhart; who, by the time Moulins came thither, had so far prevailed with the cardinal, that orders were sent to stop the troops, which were upon their march towards Nismes; and, within few days after, Moulins returned with a full pardon and amnesty from the king, under the great seal of France, so fully confirmed with all circumstances, that there was never farther mention made of it, but all things passed as if there had never been any such thing. So that nobody can wonder, that his memory remains still in those parts, and with those people, in great veneration.

He would never suffer himself to be denied any thing he ever asked of the cardinal, alleging, "that " the people would not be otherwise satisfied;" which the cardinal bore very heavily, and complained of to those with whom he would be free. One day he visited madam Turenne, and when he took his leave of her, she, according to her custom, besought him to continue gracious to the churches. Whereupon the cardinal told her, "that he knew not how to behave himself; if he " advised the king to punish and suppress their " insolence, Cromwell threatened him to join with

"the Spaniard; and if he shewed any favour to them, at Rome they accounted him an heretic."

He was not a man of blood, and totally declined Machiavel's method; which prescribes, upon any alteration of government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their families, who are friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that, in the council of officers, it was more than once proposed, "that there might be a general massacre of all the

"royal party, as the only expedient to secure the government," but that Cromwell would never consent to it; it may be, out of too much contempt of his enemies. In a word, as he had all the wickedness against which damnation is denounced, and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some virtues which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave bad man.

END OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK.

## THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

### BOOK XVI.

CONTRARY to all expectation both at home and abroad, this earthquake was attended with no signal alteration. It was believed that Lambert would be in the head of the army, and that Monk in Scotland would never submit to that subordination. Besides the expectation the king had from the general affection of the kingdom, he had fair promises from men of interest in it, and of command in the army, who professed to prepare for such a conjuncture as this; and that the disorder arising from Cromwell's death might dispose Lockhart to depend upon the best title, seemed a reasonable expectation: but nothing of this fell out. Never monarch, after he had inherited a crown by many descents, died in more silence, nor with less alteration; and there was the same, or a greater calm in the kingdom than had been before.

The next morning after the death of Oliver, Richard his son was proclaimed his lawful successor; the army congratulate their new general, and renew their vows of fidelity to him; the navy doth the like; the city appears more unanimous for his service, than they were for his father's; and most counties in England, by addresses under their hands, testified their obedience to their new sovereign without any hesitation. The dead is interred in the sepulchre of the kings, and with the obsequies due to such. His son inherits all his greatness, and all his glory, without that public hate, that visibly attended the other. Foreign princes addressed their condolences to him, and desired to renew their alliances; and nothing was heard in England but the voice of joy, and large encomiums of their new protector: so that the king's condition never appeared so hopeless, so desperate; for a more favourable conjuncture his friends could never expect than this, which blasted all their hopes, and confirmed their utmost despair.

It is probable that this melancholic prospect might have continued long, if this child of fortune could have sat still, and been contented to have enjoyed his own felicity. But his council thought it necessary that he should call a parliament, to confirm what they had already given him, and to dispel all clouds which might arise. And there seemed to be the more reason for it, because the last alliance which Oliver had made with the crown of Sweden, and of which he was fonder than of all the rest, did oblige him in the spring to send a strong fleet into the Sound, to assist that king against Denmark; at least to oblige Denmark, by way of mediation, to accept of such conditions as the other would be willing to give him. This could hardly be done without some assistance by parliament; and therefore the new protector sent out his writs to call a parliament, to meet together on the twenty-seventh day of January; till which day, for near five months, he remained as great a prince as ever his father had been. He followed the model that was left him; and sent out his writs to call those as peers who had constituted the other house in the former parliament; and so both lords and commons met at the day assigned.

Richard came to the parliament in the same state that Oliver his father had used to do; and sent the gentleman usher of the black rod to the commons, that they should attend him in the other house; where, first by himself, and then by the keeper of his great seal, Nathaniel Fiennes, he recommended to them the prosecution of the war with Spain, and the assistance of the king of Sweden in the Sound. He had so good fortune at the entrance, that all the commons signed an engagement not to alter the present government. But they were no sooner enclosed within those walls, than there appeared the old republican spirit, though more wary than it had used to be. It

begun with inquiring into the accounts, how the money had been spent, and into the offices of excise and customs, and what was become of all that revenue. When they were called upon to settle the act of recognition, to confirm Richard, and his authority in the state, they would first inform themselves of their own authority, and how far the government was already settled, and what part was fit to be assigned to the other house; which they would by no means allow to be a part of the government already established, which they had promised not to alter. Upon this argument they exercised themselves with great license, as well upon the creator of those peers, and the power of the late protector, as upon his creatures the peers; of whose dignity they were not tender, but handled them according to the quality they had been of, not that which they were in. They put the house in mind, "how grievous it had been to the kingdom, that the bishops had sat in the house of peers, because they were looked upon as so many votes for the king; which was a reason much stronger against these persons; who were all the work of the protector's own hand, and therefore could not but be entirely addicted and devoted to his interest." They concluded, that they could not, with good consciences, and without the guilt of perjury, ever consent, that that other house should have any part in the government, since they had all taken the engagement, that there should be no more any house of peers, and that the office of protector had been and might still continue without it."

Notwithstanding all this confidence, which disturbed the method intended to be proceeded in, this violent party could not prevail, but it was carried by the major part of the house, "that they would meet, and confer with the other house, as a part of the parliament, during this present parliament; and likewise, that such other persons, as had a right to come to that other house, and had not forfeited it by their breach of trust," (by which they meant those lords who had been always against the king,) "should not be restrained from coming thither:" yet the temper of the house of commons could hardly be judged by all this. Some things were done, which looked like condescension to the royal party; but more for the countenance of the presbyterians; and whatsoever contradicted those who were for a republic, was looked upon as favourable to the protector.

The stirring these several humours, and the drowsy temper of Richard, raised another spirit in the army. A new council of officers met together by their own authority, and admitted Lambert, though no member of the army, to sit with them; they neither liked protector nor parliament, but consulted what government to settle, that might be better than either: yet they would not incense them both together, nor appear to have any disinclination to Richard, who had many of his nearest friends amongst them. They therefore prepared an address to him; in which they complained of "the great arrears of pay that were due to the army, by which they were in great straits: that they, who had borne the brunt of the war, and undergone all the difficulties and dangers of it, were now undervalued, derided, and laid aside: that the good old cause was ill spoken of, and traduced by malignants and disaffected

"persons; who grew every day more insolent, and their numbers increased, by the resort out of Flanders, and other places; and they had several secret meetings in the city of London: that the names of all those who had sat upon the late king as his judges, were lately printed in red letters, and scattered abroad, as if they were designed to destruction; and that many suits were commenced at common law against honest men, for what they had transacted in the war as soldiers: that those famous acts which had been performed in the long parliament, and by the late protector, were censured, railed at, and vilified. By all which," they said, "it was very manifest, that the good old cause was declined; which they were resolved to assert. And therefore they besought his highness to represent those their complaints to the parliament, and to require proper and speedy remedies."

This address was delivered from the army by Fleetwood to Richard, on April 6th, 1659; which was no sooner known, than Tichburn and Ireton, two aldermen of London, and principal commanders of that militia, drew up likewise a remonstrance, and sent it to the council of officers; in which they declared their resolutions with the army to stick to the good old cause, and that they were resolved to accompany them, in whatsoever they should do for the nation's good.

The parliament was quickly alarmed with these cabals of the army and the city; which Richard was as much terrified with as they. In order to the suppression thereof, the parliament voted, "that there should be no meeting, or general council of officers, without the protector's consent, and by his order: and, that no person should have commands by sea or land, in either of the three nations, who did not immediately subscribe, that he would not disturb the free meeting of parliaments, or of any members in either house of parliament; nor obstruct their freedom in debates and counsels." These votes, or to this effect, were sent to Richard, and by him presently to Wallingford-house, where the council of officers then sat.

These officers were men who resolved to execute as well as order; they knew well that they were gone much too far, if they went no farther: and therefore they no sooner received these votes, but they sent Fleetwood and Desborough to Richard (the first had married his sister; the other was his uncle: both raised by Cromwell) to advise him forthwith to dissolve the parliament. They were two upon whose affection, in regard of the nearness of their alliance, and their obligation to and dependence upon his father, he had as much reason to be confident, as on any men's in the nation. Fleetwood used no arguments but of conscience, "to prevent the nation's being engaged in blood; which," he said, "would inevitably fall out, if the parliament were not presently dissolved." Desborough, a fellow of a rough and rude temper, treated him only with threats and menaces; told him, "it was impossible for him to keep both the parliament and the army his friends;" wished him "to choose which he would prefer: if he dissolved the parliament out of hand, he had the army at his devotion; if he refused that, he believed the army would quickly pull him out of Whitehall."

The poor man had not spirit enough to discern what was best for him ; and yet he was not without friends to counsel him, if he had been capable to receive counsel. Besides many members of the parliament, of courage and interest, who repaired to him with assurance, "that the parliament would continue firm to him, and destroy the ringleaders of this seditious crew, if he would adhere to the parliament ; but if he were prevailed upon to dissolve it, he would be left without a friend ; and they who had compelled him to do so imprudent an action would condemn him when he had done it ;" some officers of the army likewise, of equal courage and interest with any of the rest, persuaded him "to reject the desire of those who called themselves the council of the army, and to think of punishing their presumption." Ingoldsby, Whaley, and Goffe, three colonels of the army, and the two former, men of signal courage, offered to stand by him ; and one of them offered to kill Lambert, (whom they looked upon as the author of this conspiracy,) if he would give him a warrant to that purpose.

Richard continued irresolute, now inclined one way, then another. But in the end, Desborough and his companions prevailed with him, before they parted, to sign a commission, which they had caused to be prepared, to Nathaniel Fiennes, his keeper of the seal, to dissolve the parliament the next morning ; of which the parliament having notice, they resolved not to go up. So that when Fiennes sent for them to the other house, the commons shut the door of their house, and would not suffer the gentleman usher of the black rod to come in, but adjourned themselves for three days, till the five and twentieth of April, imagining that they should by that time convert the protector from destroying himself. But the poor creature was so harried by the council of officers, that he presently caused a proclamation to be issued out, by which he did declare the parliament to be dissolved. And from that minute nobody resorted to him, nor was the name of the protector afterwards heard of but in derision ; the council of officers appointing guards to attend at Westminster, which kept out those members, who, in pursuance of their adjournment, would have entered into the house upon the day appointed. Thus, by extreme pusillanimity, the son suffered himself to be stripped, in one moment, of all the greatness and power, which the father had acquired in so many years, with wonderful courage, industry, and resolution.

When the council of officers had, with this strange success, having no authority but what they gave one another, rid themselves of a superior ; or, as the phrase then was, removed the *single person* ; they knew that they could not long hold the government in their own hands, if, before any thing else, they did not remove Ingoldsby, Whaley, Goffe, and those other officers, who had dissuaded Richard from submitting to their advice, from having any command in the army ; which they therefore did ; and replaced Lambert, and all the rest who had been cashiered by Oliver, into their own charges again. So that the army was become republican to their wish ; and, that the government might return to be purely such, they published a declaration upon the sixth of May, wherein, after a large preamble in commendation of the good old cause, and excusing themselves, "for having been

"instrumental in declining from it ; whence all the ill, the commonwealth had sustained, had proceeded, and the vindication whereof they were resolved to pursue for the future," they remembered, "that the long parliament, consisting of those members who had continued to sit till the twentieth of April 1653," (which was the day that Cromwell, with the assistance of these very officers, had pulled them out of the house, and dismissed them,) "had been eminent assertors of that cause, and had a special presence of God with them, and were signally blessed in that work." They said, "that the desires of many good people concurring with them, they did, by that declaration, according to their duty, invite those members to return to the discharge of their trust, as they had done before that day ;" and promised, "that they would be ready, in their places, to yield them their utmost assistance, that they might sit, and consult in safety, for the settling and securing the peace and quiet of the commonwealth, for which they had now so good an opportunity."

This [restoring the rump parliament] was the only way in which they could all agree, though it was not suitable to what most of them desired : they well foresaw, that they might give an opportunity to more people to come together than would be for their benefit ; for that all the surviving members of that parliament would pretend a title to sit there : and therefore they did not only carefully limit the convention to such members who had continued to sit from January 1648 to April 1653, but caused a guard likewise to attend, to hinder and keep the other members from entering into the house. When Lenthal, the old speaker, with forty or fifty of those old members specified in the declaration, took their places in the house, and some of the old excluded members likewise got in, and entered into debate with them upon the matters proposed, the house was adjourned till the next day : and then better care was taken, by appointing such persons, who well knew all the members, to inform the guards, who were, and who were not, to go into the house. By this means that cabal only was suffered to enter which had first formed the commonwealth, and fostered it for near five years after it was born. So that the return of the government into these men's hands again, seemed to all to be the most dismal change that could happen, and to pull up all the hopes of the king by the roots ; and it did for the present make so deep an impression in the hearts of many, that when an overture was at that time made from Spain to make the duke of York admiral of his galleys, which the king for many reasons suspended giving his consent unto, the chief servants about his royal highness were so transported with the proposition, that they were very much troubled that their master made not all the haste that was possible to be possessed of the charge ; and endeavoured all they could to persuade the duke, that they who prevailed with the king not to give his consent were his enemies, and would not have him to be in a condition in which he might be able to live like a prince. And when in discourse they were desired to consider, that if the duke went into Spain, he could not be permitted to enter into that charge, what title soever he might have given to him, unless he changed his religion and became catholic ; and what the



consequence of that might be in England, they were so far from being moved with the argument, and in that despair of ever seeing England, that they thought the religion of it not worth the insisting on.

We must, for the better observation and distinction of the several changes in the government, call this congregation of men, who were now repossessed of the government, by the style they called themselves, the parliament; how far soever they were from being one. They resolved in the first place to vindicate and establish their own authority; which they could not think to be firm, whilst there was still a protector, or the name of a protector, in being, and residing in Whitehall. They appointed therefore a committee to go to Richard Cromwell, and, that he might have hope they would be his good masters, first to inquire into the estate of his debts, and then to demand of him, whether he acquiesced in the present government? He, already humbled to that poverty of spirit they could wish, gave the committee a paper, "in which," he said, "was contained the state of his debts, and how contracted;" which amounted to twenty-nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds.

To the other question, his answer was likewise in writing; "that he trusted, his carriage and behaviour had manifested his acquiescence in the will and good pleasure of God, and that he loved and valued the peace of the commonwealth much above his private concernment; desiring by this, that a measure of his future comportment might be taken; which, by the blessing of God, should be such as should bear the same witness; he having, he hoped, in some degree learned rather to reverence and submit to the hand of God, than be unquiet under it: that, as to the late providence that had fallen out, however, in respect to the particular engagement that lay upon him, he could not be active in making a change in the government of the nation, yet, through the goodness of God, he could freely acquiesce in it being made; and did hold himself obliged, as with other men he might expect protection from the present government, so to demean himself with all peaceableness under it, and to procure, to the uttermost of his power, that all in whom he had interest should do the same."

This satisfied them as to Richard; but they were not without apprehension that they should find a more refractory spirit in his brother Harry, who was lieutenant of Ireland, and looked upon as a man of another air and temper. He had in his exercise of that government, by the jolliness of his humour, and a general civility towards all, and very particularly obliging some, rendered himself gracious and popular to all sorts of people, and might have been able to have made some contests with the parliament. But as soon as he received an order from them to attend them in person, he thought not fit to be wiser than his elder brother, and came over to them even sooner than they expected, and laid his commission at their feet; which they accepted, and put the government of that kingdom into the hands of Ludlow, and four other commissioners.

It may not prove ingrateful to the reader, in this place, to entertain him with a very pleasant story, that related to this miserable Richard, though [it

happened] long afterwards; because there will not be again any occasion so much as to mention him, during the continuance of this relation. Shortly after the king's return, and the manifest joy that possessed the whole kingdom thereupon, this poor creature found it necessary to transport himself into France, more for fear of his debts than of the king; who thought it not necessary to inquire after a man so long forgotten. After he had lived some years in Paris untaken notice of, and indeed unknown, living in a most obscure condition and disguise, not owning his own name, nor having above one servant to attend him, he thought it necessary, upon the first rumour and apprehension that there was like to be a war between England and France, to quit that kingdom, and to remove to some place that would be neutral to either party; and pitched upon Geneva. Making his way thither by Bourdeaux, and through the province of Languedoc, he passed through Pezenas, a very pleasant town belonging to the prince of Conti, who hath a fair palace there, and, being then governor of Languedoc, made his residence in it.

In this place Richard made some stay, and walking abroad to entertain himself with the view of the situation, and of many things worth the seeing, he met with a person who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having always been of his father's and of his party; so that they were glad enough to find themselves together. The other told him, "that all strangers who came to that town used to wait upon the prince of Conti, the governor of the province; who expected it, and always treated strangers, and particularly the English, with much civility: that he need not be known, but that he himself would first go to the prince and inform him, that another English gentleman was passing through that town towards Italy, who would be glad to have the honour to kiss his hands." The prince received him with great civility and grace, according to his natural custom, and, after few words, begun to discourse of the affairs of England, and asked many questions concerning the king, and whether all men were quiet, and submitted obediently to him; which the other answered briefly, according to the truth. "Well," said the prince, "Oliver, though he was a traitor and a villain, was a brave fellow, had great parts, great courage, and was worthy to command: but that Richard, that coxcomb, *coquin*, *poltron*, was surely the basest fellow alive. What is become of that fool? how was it possible he could be such a sot?" He answered, "that he was betrayed by those whom he most trusted, and who had been most obliged by his father;" so being weary of his visit, quickly took his leave, and the next morning left the town, out of fear that the prince might know that he was the very fool and coxcomb he had mentioned so kindly. And within two days after, the prince did come to know who it was whom he had treated so well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believed to be a man not very glad of the king's restoration.

Monk from Scotland presented his obedience to the parliament, and the assurance of the fidelity of the army under his command, to all their determinations. The navy congratulated their return to the sovereign power, and tendered their submission. The ambassadors who were in the town

quickly received new credentials, and then had audience from them, as their good allies, making all the professions to them, which they had formerly done to Oliver and Richard. The parliament continued Lockhart as their ambassador in France, as a man who could best cajole the cardinal, and knew well the bowels of that court. They sent ambassadors to the Sound, to mediate a peace between those two crowns, being resolved to decline all occasions of expense abroad, that they might the better settle their government at home. To that purpose they were willing to put an end to the war with Spain, without parting with any thing that had been taken from it, which would not consist with their honour. That they might thoroughly unite their friends of the army to them, they passed an act of indemnity to pardon all their former transgressions and tergiversations, which had been the cause of the parliament's former dissolution, and of all the mischief which had followed.

Now there appeared as great a calm as ever, and their government well settled, to the general content of the people, who testified the same by their general acclamations, and likewise by particular addresses. And, that they might be sure to be liable to no more affronts, they would no more make a general, which might again introduce a single person; the thought of which, or of any thing that might contribute towards it, they most heartily abhorred. And to make that impossible, they appointed "the speaker to execute the office of general, in such manner as they should direct; and that all commissions should be granted by him, and sealed with their own seal;" all the seals used by the Cromwells being broken. And accordingly all the officers of the army and navy (for the speaker was admiral as well as general) delivered up their commissions, and took new ones in the form that was prescribed. So that now they saw not how their empire could be shaken.

But these men had not sat long in their old places, when they called to mind how they had been used after they had been deposed, the reproaches and the contempt they underwent from all kind of people; but above all, the scoffs and derision they suffered from the king's party, when they saw them reduced to the same level in power and authority. And though the smart they felt from others vexed and angered them as much, yet they were content to suspend their revenge towards them, that they might with less control exercise their tyranny over the poor broken cavaliers. So they made a present order, "to banish all who had ever manifested any affection to the king, or his father, twenty miles from London;" and revived all those orders they had formerly made, and which Cromwell had abolished or forborne to execute; by which many persons were committed to prisons for offences they thought had been forgotten. And the consequence of these proceedings awakened those of another classis, to apprehensions of what they might be made liable to. The soldiers were very merry at their new general, and thought it necessary he should march with them upon the next adventure; and the officers thought they had deserved more than an act of indemnity, for restoring them to such a sovereignty. In a word, as the parliament remembered how they had been used, so all other people remembered how they had used them, and could

not bring themselves to look with reverence upon those, whom, for above four years together, they had derided and contemned.

This universal temper raised the spirits again of the king's friends, who found very many of those who had heretofore served the parliament, and been afterwards disobliged by Cromwell, very desirous to enter into amity with them, and to make a firm conjunction with them towards the king's reestablishment. Those members of the long parliament, who, after the treaty of the Isle of Wight, were by violence kept from the house, took it in great indignation, that they, upon whom the said violence was practised afterwards, which they had first countenanced upon them, should not restore them being now restored themselves, and were ready to embrace any occasion to disturb their new governors; to which they were the more encouraged by the common discourse of the soldiers; who declared, "that, if there were any commotion in the kingdom, they would go no farther to suppress it, than Lenthal should lead them."

Mr. Mordaunt, who had so lately his head upon the block, was more active than any man; and was so well trusted by men of all conditions, upon the courage of his former behaviour, that he had in truth very full engagements from very good men in most quarters of the kingdom, "that if the king would assign them a day, and promise to come to them after they were embodied, they would not fail to appear at the day." Whereupon, Mr. Mordaunt ventured himself to come in disguise to the king to Brussels, to give him a clear account how his business stood, and what probability there was of success, and likewise to complain of the want of forwardness in some of those upon whom the king most relied, to encourage other men, and to desire that his majesty would, by him, require them to concur with the rest. It appeared, by the account he gave, that there were very few counties in England, where there was not a formal undertaking by the most powerful men of that country, to possess themselves of some considerable place in that county; and if any of them succeeded, the opportunity would be fairer for the king to venture his own person, than he yet had had, or than he was like to have, if he suffered those who were now in the government, to be settled in it.

That which was best digested, and, in respect of the undertakers, most like to succeed, was, first the surprisal and possessing of Lynne, a maritime town, of great importance in respect of the situation, and likewise of the good affection of the gentlemen of the parts adjacent. This was undertaken by the lord Willoughby of Parham, with the consent and approbation of sir Horatio Townsend: who, being a gentleman of the greatest interest and credit in that large county of Norfolk, was able to bring in a good body of men to possess it. The former had served the parliament, and was in great credit with the presbyterians, and so less liable to suspicion; the latter had been under age till long after the end of the war, and so liable to no reproach or jealousy, yet of very worthy principles, and of a noble fortune; which he engaged very frankly, to borrow money; and laid it out to provide arms and ammunition; and all the king's friends in those parts were ready to obey those persons in whatsoever they undertook.

Another design, which was looked upon as ripe

too, was the surprisal of Gloucester, a town very advantageously situated upon the river of Severn, that would have great influence upon Bristol and Worcester; both which, persons of the best interest undertook to secure, as soon as Gloucester should be possessed; which major general Massey, who had been formerly governor thereof, and defended it too well against the king, made no question he should be able to do, having been in the town *incognito*, and conferred with his friends there, and lain concealed in the adjacent places, till the day should be appointed for the execution of it; of all which he sent the king an account; nor did there appear much difficulty in the point, there being no garrison in either of the places.

The lord Newport, Littleton, and other gentlemen of Shropshire, were ready at the same time to secure Shrewsbury; and, for the making that communication perfect, sir George Booth, a person of one of the best fortunes and interest in Cheshire, and, for the memory of his grandfather, of absolute power with the presbyterians, promised to possess himself of the city and castle of Chester. And sir Thomas Middleton, who had likewise served the parliament, and was one of the best fortune and interest in North Wales, was ready to join with sir George Booth; and both of them to unite entirely with the king's party in those parts. In the west, Arundel, Pollard, Greenvil, and the rest in Cornwall and Devonshire, hoped to possess Plymouth, but were sure of Exeter. Other undertakings there were in the north, by men very ready to venture all they had.

When the king received this account in gross from a person so well instructed, whereof he had by retail received much from the persons concerned, (for it was another circumstance of the looseness of the present government, that messengers went forward and backward with all security,) and likewise found by Mr. Mordaunt, that all things were now gone so far that there was no retreat, and therefore that the resolution was general, "that, though any discovery should be made, and any persons imprisoned, the rest would proceed as soon as the day should be appointed by the king," his majesty resolved that he would adventure his own person, and would be ready *incognito* at Calais upon such a day of the month; and that his brother the duke of York should be likewise there, or very near, to the end that from thence, upon the intelligence of the success of that day, which was likewise then appointed, they might dispose themselves, one to one place, and the other to another.

There was in this conjuncture a very unhappy accident, which did do much harm, and might have done much more. From the death of Oliver, some of those who were in the secretest part of his affairs discerned evidently, that their new protector would never be able to bear the burden; and so thought how they might do such service to the king, as might merit from him. One who had a part in the office of secrecy, [Mr. Moreland,] sent an express to the king, to inform him of many particulars of moment, and to give him some advices, what his majesty was to do; which was reasonable and prudent to be done. He sent him word what persons might be induced to serve him, and what way he was to take to induce them to it, and what other persons would never do it, what professions soever they might make. He

made offer of his service to his majesty, and constantly to advertise him of whatsoever was necessary for him to know; and, as an instance of his fidelity and his usefulness, he advertised the king of a person who was much trusted by his majesty, and constantly betrayed him; "that he had received a large pension from Cromwell, and that he continually gave Thurlow intelligence of all that he knew; but that it was with so great circumspection, that he was never seen in his presence: that in his contract he had promised to make such discoveries, as should prevent any danger to the state; but that he would never endanger any man's life, nor be produced to give in evidence against any: and that this very person had discovered the marquis of Ormond's being in London the last year, to Cromwell; but could not be induced to discover where his lodging was; only undertook his journey should be ineffectual, and that he should quickly return; and then they might take him if they could; to which he would not contribute." To conclude, his majesty was desired to trust this man no more, and to give his friends notice of it for their caution and indemnity.

The king, and they who were most trusted by him in his secret transactions, believed not this information: but concluded that it was contrived to amuse him, and to distract all his affairs by a jealousy of those who were intrusted in the conduct of them. The gentleman accused [was sir Richard Willis; who] had from the beginning to the end of the war, given testimony of his duty and allegiance, and was universally thought to be superior to all temptations of infidelity. He was a gentleman, and was very well bred, and of very good parts, a courage eminently known, and a very good officer, and in truth of so general a good reputation, that, if the king had professed to have any doubt of his honesty, his friends would have thought he had received ill infusions without any ground; and he had given a very late testimony of his sincerity by concealing the marquis of Ormond, who had communicated more with him, than with any man in England, during his being there. On the other side, all the other informations and advices, that were sent by the person [who accused him], were very important, and could have no end but his majesty's service; and the offices that gentleman offered to perform for the future were of that consequence, that they could not be overvalued. This intelligence could not be sent with a hope of getting money; for the present condition of him who sent it was so good, that he expected no reward, till the king should be enabled to give it; and he who was sent in the errand was likewise a gentleman, who did not look for the charges of his journey: and how could it have been known to Cromwell, that that person had been trusted by the marquis of Ormond, if he had not discovered it himself?

In this perplexity, his majesty would not presently depart from his confidence in the gentleman accused. As to all other particulars, he confessed himself much satisfied in the information he had received; acknowledged the great service; and made all those promises which were necessary in such a case; only frankly declared, "that nothing could convince him of the infidelity of that gentleman, or make him withdraw his trust from him, but the evidence of his handwriting; which

"was well known." This messenger no sooner returned to London, but another was despatched with all that manifestation of the truth of what had been before informed, that there remained no more room to doubt. A great number of his letters were sent, whereof the character was well known; and the intelligence communicated was of such things as were known to very few besides that person himself.

One thing was observed throughout the whole, that he never communicated any thing in which there was a necessity to name any man who was of the king's party, and had been always so reputed. But what was undertaken by any of the presbyterian party, or by any who had been against the king, was poured out to the life. Amongst those, he gave information of Massey's design upon Gloucester, and of his being concealed in some place near the same. If at any time he named any who had been of the king's party, it was chiefly of them who were satisfied with what they had done, how little soever, and resolved to adventure no more. Whereupon very many were imprisoned in several places, and great noise of want of secrecy or treachery in the king's councils; which reproach fell upon those who were about the person of the king.

It was a new perplexity to the king, that he knew not by what means to communicate this treachery to his friends, lest the discovery of it might likewise come to light; which must ruin a person of merit, and disappoint his majesty of that service, which must be of huge moment. In this conjuncture, Mr. Mordaunt came to Brussels, and informed his majesty of all those particulars relating to the posture his friends were in, which are mentioned before; and amongst the other orders he desired, one was, that some message might be sent to that knot of men, (whereof the accused person was one,) "who," he said, "were principally trusted by his majesty, and were all men of honour, but so wary and incredulous, that others were much discouraged by their coldness;" and therefore wished, "that they might be quickened, and required to concur with the most forward." Hereupon the king asked him, what he thought of such a one, naming the person: Mr. Mordaunt answered, "it was of him they complained principally; who, they thought, was the cause of all the wariness in the rest; who looked upon him not only as an excellent officer, but as a prudent and discreet man; and therefore, for the most part, all debates were referred to him; and he was so much given to objections, and to raising difficulties, and making things unpracticable, that most men had an unwillingness to make any proposition to him." The king asked him, "whether he had any suspicion of his want of honesty?" The other answered, "that he was so far from any such suspicion, that, though he did not take him to be his friend, by reason of the many disputes and contradictions frequently between them, he would put his life into his hand to-morrow."

It was not thought reasonable, that Mr. Mordaunt should return into England with a confidence in this man; and therefore his majesty freely told him all he knew, but not the way by which he knew it, or that he had his very letters in his own hand, which would quickly have discovered how he came by them; and the king

charged him "no farther to communicate with that person, and to give his friends such caution, as might not give a greater disturbance to his affairs, by raising new factions amongst them, or provoke him to do more mischief, which it was in his power to do." But for all this there was another expedient found; for by the time Mr. Mordaunt returned to London, the person who gave the king the advertisement, out of his own wisdom, and knowledge of the ill consequence of that trust, caused papers to be posted up in several places, by which all persons were warned not to look upon such a man (who was named) as faithful to the king, but as one who betrayed all that he was trusted with; which in the general had some effect, though many worthy men still continued that intimacy with him, and communicated with him all they knew to be resolved.

It was towards the end of June that Mr. Mordaunt left Brussels, with a resolution that there should be a general rendezvous throughout England of all who would declare for the king, upon a day named, about the middle of July; there being commissions in every county directed to six or seven known men, with authority to them to choose one to command in chief in that county, till they should make a conjunction with other forces, who had a superior commission from the king. And those commissioners had in their hands plenty of commissions under the king's hand, for regiments and governments, to distribute to such as they judged fit to receive them; which was the best model (how liable soever to exception) that, in so distracted a state of affairs, could be devised.

The king, as is said, resolved at the day appointed to be at Calais; which resolution was kept with so great secrecy at Brussels, that his majesty had left the town before it was suspected; and when he was gone, it was as little known whither he was gone; there being as much care taken to have it concealed from being known in France, as in England. Therefore, as the king went out in the morning, so the duke of York went out in the afternoon, another way: his highness's motion being without any suspicion, or notice, by reason of his command in the army. The king went attended by the marquis of Ormond, the earl of Bristol, (who was the guide, being well acquainted with the frontiers on both sides,) and two or three servants, all *incognito*, and as companions; and so they found their way to Calais; where they stayed. The duke of York, with four or five of his own menial servants, and the lord Langdale, who desired to attend his highness, went to Boulogne; where he remained with equal privacy; and they corresponded with each other.

The affairs in England had no prosperous aspect; every post brought news of many persons of honour and quality committed to several prisons, throughout the kingdom, before the day appointed; which did not terrify the rest. The day itself was accompanied with very unusual weather at that season of the year, being the middle of July. The night before, there had been an excessive rain, which continued all the next day, with so terrible a cold high wind, that the winter had seldom so great a storm: so that the persons over England, who were drawing to their appointed rendezvous, were much dismayed, and met with many cross

accidents; some mistook the place, and went some whither else, others went where they should be, and were weary of expecting those who should have been there too.

In the beginning of the night, when Massey was going for Gloucester, a troop of the army beset the house where he was, and took him prisoner; and putting him before one of the troopers well guarded, they made haste to carry him to a place where he might be secure. But that tempestuous night had so much of good fortune in it to him, that, in the darkest part of it, the troop marching down a very steep hill, with woods on both sides, he, either by his activity, or the connivance of the soldier, who was upon the same horse with him, found means, that, in the steepest of the descent, they both fell from the horse, and he disentangled himself from the embraces of the other, and, being strong and nimble, got into the woods, and so escaped out of their hands, though his design was broken.

Of all the enterprises for the seizing upon strong places, only one succeeded; which was that undertaken by sir George Booth; all the rest failed. The lord Willoughby of Parham, and sir Horatio Townsend, and most of their friends, were apprehended before the day, and made prisoners, most of them upon general suspicions, as men able to do hurt. Only sir George Booth, being a person of the best quality and fortune of that county, of those who had never been of the king's party, came into Chester, with such persons as he thought fit to take with him, the night before: so that though the tempestuousness of the night, and the next morning, had the same effect, as in other places, to break or disorder the rendezvous, that was appointed within four or five miles of that city, yet sir George being himself there with a good troop of horse he brought with him, and finding others, though not in the number he looked for, he retired with those he had into Chester, where his party was strong enough: and sir Thomas Middleton, having kept his rendezvous, came thither to him, and brought strength enough with him to keep those parts at their devotion, and to suppress all there who had inclination to oppose them.

Then they published their declaration, rather against those who called themselves the parliament, and usurped the government by the power of the army, than owning directly the king's interest; and desiring well affected men of all conditions, especially the city of London, to join with them, in order to the calling a free parliament, for settling the government of the nation in church and state, to the determinations whereof they would willingly submit, and lay down their arms, with those expressions, which they knew would be most acceptable to the presbyterians; but giving all countenance and reception, and all imaginable assurance to the king's party, who had all direction from the king to concur and to unite themselves to them.

What disappointments soever there were in other places, the fame of this action of these two gentlemen raised the spirits of all men. They who were at liberty renewed their former designs; and they who could not promise themselves places of refuge prepared themselves to march to Chester, if sir George Booth did not draw nearer with his army; which in truth he meant to have done, if the appointments which had been made had been

observed. But when he heard that all other places failed, and of the multitude of persons imprisoned, upon whose assistance he most depended, he was in great apprehension that he had begun the work too soon; and though his numbers increased every day, he thought it best to keep the post he was in, till he knew what was like to be done elsewhere.

This fire was kindled in a place which the parliament least suspected; and therefore they were the more alarmed at the news of it; and knew it would spread far, if it were not quickly quenched; and they had now too soon use of their army, in which they had not confidence. There were many officers whom they had much rather trust than Lambert; but there was none they thought could do their business so well: so they made choice of him to march with such troops as he liked, and with the greatest expedition, to suppress this new rebellion, which they saw had many friends. They had formerly sent for two regiments out of Ireland, which, they knew, were devoted to the republican interest, and those they appointed Lambert to join with. He undertook the charge very willingly, being desirous to renew his credit with the soldiers, who had loved to be under his command, because, though he was strict in discipline, he provided well for them, and was himself brave upon any action. He cared not to take any thing with him that might hinder his march; which he resolved should be very swift, to prevent the increase of the enemy in numbers. And he did make incredible haste; so that sir George Booth found he was within less than a day's march, before he thought he could have been half the way. Sir George himself had not been acquainted with the war, and the officers who were with him were not of one mind or humour; yet all were desirous to fight, (the natural infirmity of the nation, which could never endure the view of an enemy without engaging in a battle,) and instead of retiring into the town, which they might have defended against a much greater army than Lambert had with him, longer than he could stay before it, they marched to meet him; and were, after a short encounter, routed by him, and totally broken: so that, the next day, the gates of Chester were opened to Lambert; sir George Booth himself making his flight in a disguise; but he was taken upon the way, and sent prisoner to the Tower.

Lambert prosecuted the advantage he had got, and marched into North Wales, whither sir Thomas Middleton was retired with his troops to a strong castle of his own; and he thought neither the man, nor the place, were to be left behind him. It was to no purpose for one man to oppose the whole kingdom, where all other persons appeared subdued. And therefore, after a day or two making show of resistance, Middleton accepted such conditions as he could obtain, and suffered his goodly house, for the strength of the situation, to be pulled down.

This success put an end to all endeavours of force in England; and the army had nothing to do but to make all persons prisoners whose looks they did not like; so that all prisons in England were filled; whilst the parliament, exalted with their conquest, consulted what persons they would execute, and how they should confiscate the rest; by means whereof, they made no doubt they should destroy all seeds of future insurrections on the

behalf of the king, most of the nobility being at present in custody. And they resolved, if other evidence was wanting, that their suspicion should be their conviction.

When the king came to Calais, where he received accounts every day from England of what was transacted there, as he was much troubled with the news he received daily of the imprisonment of his friends, so he was revived with the fame of sir George Booth's being possessed of Chester, and of the conjunction between him and Middleton. They were reported to be in a much better posture than in truth they were; and the expectation of some appearance of troops in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, stood fair; whereupon the king resolved to go himself to some other part of France, from whence he might securely transport himself into those parts of England, from whence, with least hazard, he might join himself with the troops which were in arms for him, and so went to the coast of Bretagne.

The duke of York remained at Boulogne, to expect some appearance of arms in Kent and Essex; which was still promised, as soon as the army should be drawn farther from London. In this expectation, his royal highness found an opportunity to confer with his old friend marshal Turenne; who very frankly assigned him some troops; and likewise provided vessels to transport them, if an opportunity had invited him to an engagement in any probable enterprise; and this with so much generosity and secrecy, that the cardinal should have had no notice of the preparation, till it was too late to prevent the effect thereof. But it pleased God, that, whilst his highness was providing for his longed for expedition, and when the king, after his visiting St. Maloes, was at Rochelle, in hope to find a conveniency for his transportation, the fatal news arrived in all parts of the defeat of sir George Booth, and of the total and entire suppression of all kind of opposition to the power of the parliament; which seemed now to be in as absolute possession of the government of the three nations, as ever Cromwell had been.

Struck with this dismal relation, they had nothing to do but to make what haste they could back to Brussels, and were obliged to use more than ordinary caution to get themselves out of France again, where they could not be found with safety. The duke of York, being much nearer, came thither first; and shortly after the king returned, less dejected than might have been expected from the extreme despair of his condition, resumed a resolution he had formerly taken, to make a journey himself to the borders of Spain, to solicit more powerful supplies; the two chief ministers of the two crowns being there met at this time. And indeed his majesty preferred any peregrination before the neglect he was sure to find at Brussels, and the dry looks of the Spaniards there; who were broken into so many factions amongst themselves, that the government was hardly in a state to subsist; and the marquis of Carracena and don Alonzo had such an influence upon the counsels at Madrid, that don Juan received orders without delay to return to Spain, and to leave the government in the hands of the marquis of Carracena; which don Juan very unwillingly obeyed; and as soon as he could obtain a pass to go through France, he left those provinces,

and made his journey through that kingdom towards Madrid. He was a person of a small stature, but well made, and of great vivacity in his looks; his parts very good, both natural and acquired, in fancy and judgment. And if he had not been restrained by his education, and accustomed to the pride and forms of a Spanish breeding, which likewise disposed him to laziness and taking his music, he was capable of any great employment, and would have discharged it well.

At this time an accident happened, that, as it was new, administered new hopes to raise the king's spirits; and for men to exercise their thoughts on with variety of conjectures. The war had now continued between the two crowns of France and Spain, for near the space of thirty years, to the scandal and reproach of Christianity, and in spite of all the interposition and mediation of most of the princes of Europe; a war wantonly entered into, without the least pretence of right and justice, to comply with the pride and humour of the two favourites of the crowns, (besides the natural animosity, which will always be between the two nations,) who would try the mastery of their wit and invention, at the charge of their masters' treasure, and the blood of their subjects, against all the obligations of leagues and alliances; a war prosecuted only for war's sake, with all the circumstances of fire, sword, and rapine, to the consumption of millions of treasure, and millions of lives of noble, worthy, and honest men, only to improve the skill, and mystery, and science of destruction. All which appeared the more unnatural and the more monstrous, that this seemed to be effected and carried on by the power of a brother and sister against each other, (for half the time had been spent in the regency of the queen of France,) when they both loved, and tendered each other's good and happiness, as the best brother and sister ought to do.

It was high time to put an end to this barbarous cruel war, which the queen mother had long and passionately desired in vain. But now being more struck in years, and troubled with the infirmities of age, and the young king being of years ripe to marry, and the infants of Spain being in that and all other respects the most competent match for him, which would be the best, and was the only expedient to procure a peace, her majesty resolved to employ all her interest and authority to bring it to pass; and knowing well, all her desires could produce no effect, if she had not the full concurrence of the cardinal, she proposed it to him with all the warmth and all the concernment such a subject required; conjuring him "by all the good offices she had performed towards him, that he would not only consent to it, but take it to heart, and put it into such a way of negotiation, that it might arrive at the issue she desired."

The cardinal used all the arguments he could, to dissuade her majesty from desiring it at this time; "that it would not be for her majesty's service; nor was he able to bear the reproach, of being the instrument of making a peace, at a time when Spain was reduced to those straits, that it could no longer resist the victorious arms of France; that they could not fail the next summer of being possessed of Brussels itself, and then they should not be long without the rest of the Spanish Netherlands; and therefore,

"at this time, to propose a peace, which must disappoint them of so sure a conquest, would not only be very ingrateful to the army, but incense all good Frenchmen against him, and against her majesty herself."

The queen was not diverted from her purpose by those arguments; but proposed it to the king, and prosecuted it with the cardinal, that, as himself confessed to his intimate friends, he was necessitated either to consent to it, or to have an irreconcilable breach with her majesty; which his gratitude would not suffer him to choose; and thereupon he yielded; and don Antonio Pimentel from Madrid, and monsieur de Lyonne from France, so negotiated this last winter in both courts, both *incognito*, making several journeys backward and forward, and with that effect, that, by the end of the winter, it was published, there would be a treaty between the two crowns, and that, in the beginning of the summer of this year 1659, the two favourites, cardinal Mazarine and don Lewis de Haro, would meet, and make a treaty both for the peace and the marriage. And the marshal de Grammont was sent from the king to demand the infanta, who, when he came to Alcovendas, a place within two leagues of Madrid, left his train there, and rode as by post only, with a valet de chambre, and alighted at the palace, and went presently up to the king to demand the infanta; and so returned to Alcovendas, and afterwards made his entry as ambassador.

The cardinal was the sooner induced to this peace by the unsettled condition of England. The death of Cromwell, with whom he had concerted many things to come, had much perplexed him; yet the succession of Richard, under the advice of the same persons who were trusted by his father, pleased him well. But then the throwing him out with such circumstances, broke all his measures. He could not forget that the parliament, that now governed, were the very same men who had eluded all his application, appeared ever more inclined to the Spanish side, and had, without any colour of provocation, and when he believed they stood fair towards France, taken the French fleet, when it could not but have relieved Dunkirk; by which that town was delivered up to the Spaniard. He knew well, that Spain did, at that instant, use all the underhand means they could to make a peace with them; and he did not believe, that the parliament would affect the continuance of that war, at so vast a charge both at sea and land; but that they would rather foment the divisions in France, and endeavour to unite the prince of Condé and the Hugonots; which would make a concussion in that kingdom; and he should then have cause to repent the having put Dunkirk into the hands of the English. These reflections disturbed him, and disposed him at last to believe, that, over and above the benefit of gratifying the queen, he should best provide for the security of France, and of himself, by making a peace with Spain.

However, he was not so sure of bringing it to pass, as to provoke or neglect England. Therefore he renewed all the promises, he had formerly made to Oliver, again to Lockhart, (who was the ambassador now of the republic,) "that he would never make a peace without the consent and inclusion of England;" and very earnestly desired him, and writ to that purpose to the parlia-

ment, that he might be at the treaty with him, that so they might still consult what would be best for their joint interest, from which he would never separate; insinuating to him, in broken and half sentences, "that though the treaty was necessary to satisfy the queen, there were so many difficulties in view, that he had little hope of a peace;" and, in truth, many sober men did not believe the treaty would ever produce a peace: for, besides the great advantages which France had gotten, and that it could not be imagined that Spain would ever consent to the relinquishing all those important places to the French, which they had then in their hands by conquest, (the usual effect of peace being a restitution of all places taken in the war; which France would never permit,) there were two particulars which it was hard to find any expedient to compose, and which, notwithstanding all the preparations made by de Lyonne and Pimentel, were entirely reserved for the treaty of the two favourites; both sides having, with great obstinacy, protested against the departing from the resolution they had taken.

The two particulars were those concerning Portugal, and the prince of Condé. There could not be a greater engagement, than France had made to Portugal, never to desert it, nor to make a peace without providing that that king should quietly enjoy his government to him and his posterity, without being in the least degree subject to the yoke of Spain. And Spain was principally induced to buy a peace upon hard terms, that it might be at liberty to take revenge of Portugal; which they always reckoned they should be able to do within one year; if they had no other enemy upon them; and they would never value any peace, if that were not entirely left to them, and disclaimed by France.

On the other hand, the prince of Condé had the king of Spain's word and obligation, by the most solemn treaty that could be entered into, that he would never conclude a peace without including him, and all who adhered to him, not only to a full restitution to their honours, offices, and estates, but with some farther recompense for the great service he had done; which was very great indeed: and nobody believed, that the cardinal would ever consent to the restoration of that prince, who had wrought him so many calamities, and brought him to the brink of destruction. With these ill presages, great preparations were made for this treaty, and the time and the place were agreed on, when and where the two great favourites should meet. Fuentarabia, a place in the Spanish dominions, very near the borders of France, the same place where Francis the First was delivered, after his long imprisonment in Spain, was agreed upon for their interview; a little river near that place parting both the kingdoms; and a little building of boards over it brought the two favourites to meet, without either of their going out of his master's dominions.

The fame of this treaty had yielded variety, and new matter to the king to consider. Both crowns had made the contention and war that was between them, the only ground and reason, why they did not give him that assistance, which, in a case so nearly relating to themselves, he might well expect; and both had made many professions, that, when it should please God to release



them from that war, they would manifest to the world, that they took the king's case to be their own: so that his majesty might very reasonably promise himself some advantage and benefit from this peace, and the world could not but expect, that he would have some ambassador present to solicit on his behalf. There were so many difficulties to find a fit person, and so many greater to defray the expense of an ambassador, that his majesty had at first resolved to find himself present in that treaty; which resolution he kept very private, though he was shortly after confirmed in it by a letter from sir Harry Bennet; by which he was informed, "that he speaking with don Lewis about his journey to Fuentarabia, and asking him whether he would give him leave to wait on him thither, don Lewis answered, that he should do well to be present; and then asked him, why the king himself would not be there; and two or three days after, he told him, that if the king, with a very light train, came *incognito* thither, for the place could not permit them to receive him in state, after the great difficulties of the treaty were over, he would do all he could to induce the cardinal to concur in what might be of convenience to his majesty." The king had before resolved to have a very little train with him, suitable to the treasure he had to defray his expenses, and to make his whole journey *incognito*, and not to be known in any place through which he was to pass. But he was troubled that he was to do with reference to France, through which he was necessarily to make his journey. How much *incognito* soever he meant to travel, it might be necessary against any accident to have a pass; yet to ask one, and be refused, would be worse than going without one. Though he expected much less from the nature and kindness of the cardinal, than from the sincerity of don Lewis de Haro, yet the former was able to do him much more good than the latter; and therefore care was to be taken that he might have no cause to find himself neglected, and that more depending upon Spain might not irreconcile France.

To extricate himself out of these perplexities, his majesty had written to the queen his mother, to entreat her, "as of herself, to desire the cardinal's advice, whether it would not be fit for the king to be present at the treaty; that she might send his majesty such counsel as was proper: if he thought well of it, she might then propose such passes, as should seem reasonable to her." Her majesty accordingly took an opportunity to ask the question of the cardinal; who, at the very motion, told her very warmly, "that it was by no means fit; and that it would do the king much harm;" and afterwards, recollecting himself, he wished the queen "to let the king know, that he should rely upon him to take care of what concerned him; which he would not fail to do, as soon as he discerned that the treaty would produce a peace." Her majesty acquiesced with this profession, and sent the king word, how kind the cardinal was to him; but would by no means that his majesty should think of undertaking such a journey himself; nor did the queen imagine that the king would ever think of it without a pass, and the cardinal's approbation.

When his majesty had received this account from his mother, he saw it was to no purpose to

think of a pass. Nor would he depart from his former resolution; and when he was fully advertised that the favourites were met, and computed that they were well entered upon their treaty, in the very entrance into which they concluded a cessation of arms, so that all was quiet in Flanders in the month of July, the king, attended only by the marquis of Ormond, Daniel O'Neile, and two or three other servants, together with the earl of Bristol, (though sir Harry Bennet had before informed the king, that don Lewis de Haro had particularly desired he would not bring that earl with him; whose company yet, in respect of his language, the king believed would be very convenient to him,) his majesty left Brussels *incognito*, being in truth not known there to be gone till many days after. He had indeed now more reason than ever to conceal himself in his journey, and really to apprehend being stopped if he were discovered; and therefore was not to go about by Paris, or any of those roads where he had been heretofore known; yet he allowed himself the more time, that he might in his compass see those parts of France where he had never been before, and indeed give himself all the pleasure and divertisement, that such a journey would admit of. To that purpose he appointed the earl of Bristol to be the guide; who knew most of France, at least more than any body else did; and who always delighted to go out of the way; and Daniel O'Neile to take care that they always fared well in their lodgings; for which province no man was fitter. Thus they wheeled about by Lyons into Languedoc, and were so well pleased with the varieties in the journey, that they not enough remembered the end of it, taking their information of the progress in the treaty from the intelligence they met with in the way.

When they came near Toulouse, they found that the French court was there, which they were obliged to decline. However the king, going himself a nearer way, sent the marquis of Ormond thither, to inform himself of the true state of the treaty, and to meet his majesty again at a place appointed, that was the direct way to Fuentarabia. The marquis went alone without a servant, that he might be the less suspected; and when he came to Toulouse, he was informed from the common discourse of the court, that the treaty was upon the matter concluded, and that the cardinal was expected there within less than a week.

It was very true, all matters of difficulty were over in less time than was conceived possible, both parties equally desiring the marriage, which could never be without the peace. The cardinal, who had much the advantage over don Lewis in all the faculties necessary for a treaty, excepting probity and punctuality in observing what he promised, had used all the arts imaginable to induce don Lewis to yield both in the point of Portugal, and what related to the prince of Condé, and his party. He enlarged upon "the desperate estate in which Flanders was; and that they could possess themselves entirely of it in one campaign; and therefore it might easily be concluded, that nothing but the queen's absolute authority could in such a conjuncture have disposed the king to a treaty; and, he hoped, that she should not be so ill requited, as to be obliged to break the treaty, or to oblige the king her



"son to consent to what was indispensably against his honour: that if he should recede from the interest of Portugal, no prince or state would hereafter enter into alliance with him: that though they were bound to insist to have Portugal included in the peace, yet he would be contented that a long truce might be made, and all acts of hostility forborne for a good number of years, which, he said, was necessary for Spain, that they might recover the fatigue of the long war they had sustained, before they entered into a new one: if they would not consent to that, then that Portugal should be left out of the peace, and Spain at liberty to prosecute the war, and France at the same time to assist Portugal, which, he said, in respect of the distance, they should never be able to administer in such a proportion as would be able to preserve it from their conquest;" not without insinuation, "that, so they might not renounce the promise they had made, they would not be over solicitous to perform it. As to the prince of Condé, that the catholic king was now to look upon France as the dominion of his son in law, and to be inherited by his grandson, and therefore he would consider what peril it might bring to both, if the prince of Condé were restored to his greatness in that kingdom, who only could disturb the peace of it, and whose ambition was so restless, that they could no longer enjoy peace, than whilst he was not in a condition to interrupt it." The cardinal told him, in confidence, of several indignities offered by the prince of Condé to the person of the queen, of which her brother ought to be very sensible, and which would absolve him from any engagement he had entered into with that prince; which he would never have done, if his majesty had been fully informed of those rude transgressions. And therefore he besought don Lewis, "that the joy and triumph, which the king and the queen would be possessed of by this peace and marriage, might not be clouded, and even rendered disconsolate, by their being bound to behold a man in their presence, who had so often, and with so much damage and disdain, affronted them both; but that the peace of France might be secured by that prince's being for ever restrained from living in it; which being provided for, whatsoever his catholic majesty should require in ready money, or pensions, to enable the prince to live in his just splendour abroad, should be consented to."

Don Lewis de Haro was a man of great temper, of a sallow complexion, hypochondriac, and never weary of hearing; thought well of what he was to say; what he wanted in acuteness he made up in wariness, and though he might omit the saying somewhat he had a good occasion to say, he never said any thing of which he had occasion to repent. He had a good judgment and understanding, and as he was without any talent of rhetoric, so he was very well able to defend himself from it. He told the cardinal, "that he knew well his master's affairs needed a peace with France; and that the accomplishing this marriage was the only way to attain it: that the marriage was the best and the most honourable in Christendom, and ought to be equally desired on both sides; that his catholic majesty was sensible of his own age, and the infirmities

"which attended it; and desired nothing more than that, before his death, he might see this peace and this marriage finished, and made perfect; and that he was well content to purchase the former at any price, but of his honour; which was the only thing he preferred even before peace: that for Portugal, the groundless rebellion there was so well known to all the world, that he should not go to his grave in peace, if he should do any thing which might look like a countenance, or concession to that title, that was only founded upon treason and rebellion; or if he should omit the doing any thing that might, with God's blessing, of which he could not doubt, reduce that kingdom to their duty, and his obedience: that his resolution was, as soon as this peace should be concluded, to apply all the force and all the treasure of his dominions, to the invasion of Portugal; which, he hoped, would be sufficient speedily to subdue it; and was a great part of the fruit he promised himself from this peace; and therefore he would never permit any thing to be concluded in it, that might leave France at liberty to assist that war: that the catholic king had done all he could, both by don Antonio Pimentel and monsieur de Lyonne, that his most Christian majesty might know his unalterable resolution in the point of Portugal, and with reference to the prince of Condé, before he consented to treat; and that he would never depart from what he had declared in either: that he had made a treaty with the prince of Condé; by which he had engaged himself never to desert his interest, nor to make a peace without providing for his full restitution and reparation, and of those who had run his fortune, and put themselves under his protection: that the prince had performed all he had undertaken to do, and had rendered very great service to his catholic majesty; who would not only rather lose Flanders, but his crown likewise, than fail in any particular which he was bound to make good to the prince:" and therefore he desired the cardinal "to acquiesce in both these particulars, from which he should not recede in a title; in others, he would not have the same obstinacy."

When the cardinal found that all his art and eloquence were lost upon don Lewis's want of politeness; and that he could not bend him in the least degree in either of these important particulars, he resolved they should pay otherwise for their idol honour and punctuality; and after he had brought him to consent to the detention of all the places they had taken, as well in Luxembourg, as Flanders, and all other provinces, by which they dismembered all the Spanish dominions in those parts, and kept themselves nearer neighbours to the Hollanders, than the other desired they should be, he compelled them, though a thing very foreign to the treaty, to deliver the town of Juliers to the duke of Newburgh, without the payment of any money for what they had laid out upon the fortifications; which they could otherwise claim. It is very true, that town did belong of right to the duke of Newburgh, as part of the duchy of Juliers, which was descended to him. But it is as true, that it was preserved by Spain, from being possessed by the Hollanders many years before, and by treaty to remain in

their hands, till they should receive satisfaction for all their disbursements. After which time, they erected the citadel there, and much mended the fortifications. And this dependence and expectation had kept that prince fast to all the Spanish interest in Germany: whereas, by the wresting it now out of their hands, and frankly giving it up to the true owner, they got the entire devotion of the duke of Newburgh to France, and so a new friend to strengthen their alliance upon the Rhine, which was before inconvenient enough to Spain, by stopping the resort of any German succours into Flanders. And if at any time to come the French shall purchase Juliers from the duke of Newburgh, as upon many accidents he may be induced to part with it, they will be possessed of the most advantageous post to facilitate their enterprises upon Liege, or Cologne, or to disturb the Hollanders in Maestricht, or to seize upon Aquisgrane, an imperial town; and, indeed, to disturb the peace of Christendom.

For Portugal, it was agreed that there should not be any mention of it in the whole treaty, which the French ingenuity thought could never be called renouncing it; though there were other articles so binding, that they could not only not send them any relief or assistance, but that restrained them from sending any ambassador to them, or receiving one from them.

To the prince of Condé all things were yielded which had been insisted on; and full recompense made to such of his party as could not be restored to their offices; as president Violle, and some others: yet don Lewis would not sign the treaty, till he had sent an express to the prince of Condé, to inform him of all the particulars, and had received his full approbation. And even then, the king of Spain caused a great sum of money to be paid to him, that he might discharge all the debts which he had contracted in Flanders, and reward his officers, who were to be disbanded; a method France did not use at the same time to their proselytes, but left Catalonia to their king's chastisement, without any provision made for don Josepho de Margarita, and others, who had been the principal contrivers of those disturbances; and were left to eat the bread of France; where it is administered to them very sparingly, without any hope of ever seeing their native country again, except they make their way thither by fomenting a new rebellion.

When all things were concluded, and the engrossments preparing, the cardinal came one morning into don Lewis's chamber with a sad countenance; and told him, "they had lost all their pains, and the peace could not be concluded." At which don Lewis, in much disturbance, asked "what the matter was?" The cardinal very composedly answered, "that it must not be; that they two were too good catholics to do any thing against the pope's infallibility, which would be called in question by this peace; since his holiness had declared, that there would be no peace made;" as indeed he had done, after he had, from the first hour of his pontificate, laboured it for many years, and found himself still deluded by the cardinal, who had yet promised him, that, when the season was ripe for it, he should have the sole power to conclude it; so that when he heard that the two favourites were

to meet, of which he had no notice, he said in the consistory, "that he was sure that cardinal Mazarine would not make a peace." Don Lewis was glad that there was no other objection against it; and so all the company made themselves merry at the pope's charge.

When the marquis of Ormond discovered by the information he received at Toulouse, that the treaty was so near an end, he made all possible haste to the place the king had appointed to meet at, that his majesty might lose no more time. When he came thither, he found nobody; which he imputed to the usual delays in their journey; and stayed one whole day in expectation of them; but then concluded that they were gone forward some other way, and so thought it his business to hasten to Fuentarabia, where he heard nothing of the king. Sir Harry Bennet was in great perplexity, and complained, very reasonably, that the king neglected his own business in such a conjuncture, the benefit whereof was lost by his not coming. Don Lewis seemed troubled, that the king had not come thither, whilst the cardinal and he were together. The treaty was now concluded; and though the cardinal remained still at his old quarters on the French side, under some indisposition of the gout, yet he and don Lewis were to meet no more. But don Lewis was the less troubled that the king had not come sooner, because he had found the cardinal, as often as he had taken occasion to speak of the king, very cold, and reserved; and he had magnified the power of the parliament, and seemed to think his majesty's hopes desperate; and advised don Lewis "to be wary how he embarked himself in an affair that had no foundation; and that it was rather time for all catholics to unite to the breaking the power and interest of the heretical party, wherever it was, than to strengthen it by restoring the king, except he would become catholic." And it is believed by wise men, that, in that treaty, somewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the protestant interest; and that, in a short time, there would have been much done against it both in France and Germany, if the measures they had there taken had not been shortly broken.

During the whole time of the treaty, Lockhart had been at Bayonne, and frequently consulted with the cardinal, and was by him brought to don Lewis twice or thrice, where they spoke of the mutual benefit that would redound to both, if a peace were settled between Spain and England. But the cardinal treated Lockhart (who was in all other occasions too hard for him) in such a manner, that, till the peace was upon the matter concluded, he did really believe it would not be made, (as appeared by some of his letters from Bayonne, which fell into the king's hands,) and to the last he was persuaded, that England should be comprehended in it, in terms to its satisfaction.

The king, the next day after he had sent the marquis of Ormond to Toulouse, received information upon the way, that the treaty was absolutely ended, and that don Lewis was returned to Madrid; to which giving credit, he concluded, that it would be to no purpose to prosecute his journey to Fuentarabia; and therefore was easily persuaded by the earl of Bristol to take the nearest way to Madrid, by entering into Spain as soon

as they could; presuming that the marquis of Ormond would quickly conclude whether they were gone, and follow his majesty. With this resolution, and upon this intelligence, they continued their journey till they came to Saragossa, the metropolis of the kingdom of Arragon. Here they received advertisement, that the treaty was not fully concluded, and that don Lewis remained still at Fuentarabia. This was a new perplexity: at last they resolved, that the king, and the earl of Bristol, who had still a mind to Madrid, should stay at Saragossa, whilst O'Neile should go to Fuentarabia, and return with direction what course they were to steer.

Don Lewis and the marquis of Ormond were in great confusion with the apprehension that some ill accident had befallen the king, when Mr. O'Neile arrived, and informed them by what accident and misintelligence the king had resolved to go to Madrid, if he had not been better informed at Saragossa; where he now remained, till he should receive farther advice. Don Lewis was in all the disturbance imaginable, when he heard the relation: he concluded that this was a trick of the earl of Bristol's; that he held some intelligence with don Juan, and intended to carry the king to Madrid, whilst he was absent, with a purpose to affront him, and in hope to transact somewhat without his privacy. They were now to save and to borrow all the money they could, to defray the expenses which must be shortly made for the interview, marriage, and delivery of the infanta, and all this must be spent upon the king of England's entry and entertainment in Madrid; for a king *incognito* was never heard of in Spain. The marriage was concluded, and now another young unmarried king must be received, from the marquis of Ormond and sir Harry Bennet; who assured him, "that all that was past was by mere mistake, and without any purpose to decline him, upon whose friendship alone the king absolutely depended;" and undertook positively, "that as soon as his majesty should be informed of his advice, he would make all the haste thither he could, without thought of doing any thing else:" which don Lewis desired might be effected as soon as was possible: so O'Neile returned to Saragossa, and his majesty, without delay, made his journey from thence to Fuentarabia, with as much expedition as he could use.

The king was received according to the Spanish mode and generosity, and treated with the same respect and reverence that could be shewed to his catholic majesty himself, if he had been in that place. Don Lewis delivered all that could be said from the king, his master: "how much he was troubled, that the condition of his affairs, and the necessity that was upon him to make shortly a long journey, would not permit him to invite his majesty to Madrid, and to treat him in that manner that was suitable to his grandeur: that having happily concluded the peace, he had now nothing so much in his thoughts, as how he might be able to give or procure such assistance as his majesty stood in need of; and that he should never be destitute of any thing, that his power and interest could

"help him to." Don Lewis for himself made all those professions which could possibly be expected from him. He confessed, "that there was no provision made in the treaty that the two crowns would jointly assist his majesty; but, that he believed the cardinal would be ready to perform all good offices towards him; and that, for his own particular, his majesty should receive good testimony of the profound veneration he had for him."

Don Lewis intimated a wish, that his majesty could yet have some conference with the cardinal; who was, as is said, still within distance. Whereupon the king sent the marquis of Ormond to visit him, and to let him know, that his majesty had a desire to come to him, that he might have some conference with him, and receive his counsel and advice. But the cardinal would by no means admit it; said, "it would administer unseasonable jealousy to the parliament, without any manner of benefit to the king." He made many large professions, which he could do well, of his affection to the king; desired, "he would have patience till the marriage should be over, which would be in the next spring; and till then their majesties must remain in those parts: but, as soon as that should be despatched, the whole court would return to Paris; and that he would not be long there, before he gave the king some evidence of his kindness and respect." Other answer than this the marquis could not obtain.

After his majesty had stayed as long as he thought convenient at Fuentarabia, (for he knew well that don Lewis was to return to Madrid before the king of Spain could take any resolution to begin, or order his own journey, and that he stayed there only to entertain his majesty,) he discerned that he had nothing more to do than to return to Flanders; where, he was assured, his reception should be better than it had been. So he declared his resolution to begin his return on such a day. In the short time of his stay there, the earl of Bristol, according to his excellent talent, which seldom failed him in any exigent, from as great a prejudice as could attend any man, had wrought himself so much into the good graces of all the Spaniards, that don Lewis was willing to take him with him to Madrid, and that he should be received into the service of his catholic majesty, in such a province as should be worthy of him. So that his majesty had now a less train to return with, the marquis of Ormond, Daniel O'Neile, and two or three servants.

Don Lewis, with a million of excuses that their expenses had been so great, as had wasted all their money, presented his majesty with seven thousand gold pistoles, "to defray," as he said, "the expenses of his journey," with assurance, "that when, he came into Flanders, he should find all necessary orders for his better accommodation, and carrying on his business." So his majesty begun his journey, and took Paris in his way to visit the queen his mother, with whom a good understanding was made upon removing all former mistakes: and, towards the end of December, he returned to Brussels in good health; where he found his two brothers, the dukes of York and Gloucester, impatiently expecting him.

The pleasure and variety of his journey, and the very civil treatment he had received from don Lewis, with the good disposition he had left the queen his mother in, had very much revived and refreshed the king's spirit, and the joy for his return dispersed the present clouds. But he had not been long at Brussels, before he discerned the same melancholy and despair in the countenances of most men, which he had left there; and though there had some changes happened in England, which might reasonably encourage men to look for greater, they had so often been disappointed in those expectations, that it was a reproach to any man to think that any good could come from thence.

It was a great blessing of God that this melancholic conjuncture happened in the winter, that men could not execute all the thoughts and purposes the unhappy state of affairs suggested to them. The king could not make his journey through Germany till the spring, and in the mean time men thought of providing a religion, as well as other conveniences, that might be grateful to those people and places, where and with whom they were like to reside. The protestant religion was found to be very unagreeable to their fortune, and they exercised their thoughts most how to get handsomely from it; and if it had not been for the king's own steadiness, of which he gave great indications, men would have been more out of countenance to have owned the faith they were of; and many made little doubt, but that it would shortly be very manifest to the king, that his restoration depended wholly upon a conjunction of catholic princes, who could never be united, but on the behalf of catholic religion.

The best the king could now look for seemed to be a permission to remain in Flanders, with a narrow assignation for his bread, which was a melancholic condition for a king; nor could that be depended upon; for there were secret approaches made, both from England and Spain, towards a peace; and the Spaniard had great reason to desire it, that he might meet with no obstruction in his intended conquest of Portugal. And what influence any peace might have upon his majesty's quiet, might reasonably be apprehended. However, there being no war in Flanders, the dukes of York and Gloucester could no longer remain in an unactive course of life; and the duke of York had a great family, impatient to be where they might enjoy plenty, and where they might be absent from the king. And therefore, when the marquis of Carracena at this time brought the duke of York a letter from the king of Spain, that he would make him *el admirante del oceano*, his highness was exceedingly pleased with it, and those about him so transported with the promotion, that they thought any man to be a declared enemy to their master, who should make any objection against his accepting it. And when they were told, "that it was not such a preferment, that the duke should so greedily embrace it, before he knew what conditions he should be subject to, and what he might expect from it: that the command had been in a younger son of the duke of Savoy, and at another time in a younger son of the duke of Florence, who both grew quickly weary of it: for whatever title they had, the whole command

"was in the Spanish officers under them; and "that, if the duke were there, he might possibly "have a competent pension to live on shore, "but would never be suffered to go to sea under "any title of command, till he first changed "his religion;" all this had no signification with them; but they prevailed with his royal highness, to return his consent, and acceptance of the office, by the same courier who brought the letter.

The marquis of Carracena likewise told the king, "that he had received orders to put all things "in a readiness for his expedition into England, "towards which he would add three thousand "men to those troops which his majesty already "had." At the same time the lord Jermyn and Mr. Walter Mountague came to the king from Paris, with many compliments from the cardinal, "that when there should be a peace between the "northern kings," (for Sweden and Denmark were now in a war,) "France would declare avowedly for the king; but in the mean time they "could only assist him underhand; and to that "purpose they had appointed three thousand "men to be ready on the borders of France, to be "transported out of Flanders, and thirty thousand pistoles to be disposed of by the king to "advance that expedition." Sir Harry Bennet had sent from Madrid a copy of the Spanish orders to the marquis of Carracena; by which he was not (as he had told the king) to add three thousand men to the king's troops, but to make those which his majesty had amount to the number of three thousand. But that which was strangest, the king must be obliged to embark them in France. The men the cardinal would provide must be embarked in Flanders; and they who were to be supplied by Spain must be embarked in France. So that, by these two specious pretences and proffers, the king could only discern, that they were both afraid of offending England, and would offer nothing of which his majesty could make any use, before they might take such a prospect of what was like to come to pass, that they might new form their counsels. And the lord Jermyn and Mr. Mountague had so little expectation of England, that they concurred both in opinion, that the duke of York should embrace the opportunity that was offered from Spain; to which they made no doubt the queen would give her consent.

In this state of despair the king's condition was concluded to be, about the beginning of March, old style, 1659: and though his majesty, and those few intrusted by him, had reason to believe that God would be more propitious to him, from some great alterations in England; yet such imagination was so looked upon as mere dotage, that the king thought not fit to communicate the hopes he had, but left all men to cast about for themselves, till they were awakened and confounded by such a prodigious act of providence, as God hath scarce vouchsafed to any nation, since he led his own chosen people through the Red sea.

After the defeat of Booth and Middleton, and the king's hopes so totally destroyed, the parliament thought of transporting the loyal families into the Barbadoes and Jamaica, and other plantations, lest they might hereafter produce in England children of their father's affections; and, by

degrees, so to model their army that they might never give them more trouble. They had sent Lambert a thousand pounds to buy him a jewel; which he employed better by bestowing it among the officers, who might well deserve it of him. This bounty of his was quickly known to the parliament; which concluded, that he intended to make a party in the army, that should more depend upon him than upon them. And this put them in mind of his former behaviour; and that it was by his advice, that they were first dissolved, and that he in truth had helped to make Cromwell protector, upon his promise that he should succeed him; and that he fell from him only because he had frustrated him of that expectation. They therefore resolved to secure him from doing farther harm, as soon as he should come to the town.

Lambert, instead of making haste to them, found some delays in his march, (as if all were not safe,) to seize upon the persons of delinquents. He was well informed of their good purposes towards him, and knew that the parliament intended to make a peace with all foreigners, and then to disband their army, except only some few regiments, which should consist only of persons at their own devotion. He foresaw what his portion then must be, and that all the ill he had done towards them would be remembered, and the good forgotten. He therefore contrived a petition, which was signed by the inferior officers of his army; in which they desired the parliament, "that they might be governed, as all armies used to be, by a general, who might be amongst them, and other officers, according to their qualities, subordinate to him." The address was entitled, *The humble petition and proposals of the army, under the command of the lord Lambert, in the late northern expedition.*

They made a large recapitulation of "the many services they had done, which they thought were forgotten; and that now lately they had preserved them from an enemy, which, if they had been suffered to grow, would, in a short time, have overrun the kingdom: and engaged the nation in a new bloody war; to which too many men were still inclined;" and concluded with a desire, "that they would commit the army to Fleetwood, as general; and that they would appoint Lambert to be major general." Fleetwood was a weak man, but very popular with all the praying part of the army; a man, whom the parliament would have trusted, if they had not resolved to have no general, being as confident of his fidelity to them, as of any man's; and Lambert knew well he could govern him, as Cromwell had done Fairfax, and then in the like manner lay him aside. This petition was sent by some trusty person to some colonels of the army, in whom Lambert had confidence, to the end that they should deliver it to Fleetwood, to be by him presented to the parliament. He resolved first to consult with some of his friends for their advice; and so it came to the notice of Haslerig, who immediately informed the parliament "of a rebellion growing in the army, which, if not suppressed, would undo all they had done." They, as they were always apt to take alarms of that kind, would not have the patience to expect the delivery of the petition, but sent to Fleetwood for it. He answered, he had it not, but that he had delivered it to such

an officer, whom he named. The officers were presently sent for, but could not be found till the afternoon; when they produced the petition. Whereupon the parliament, that they might discountenance and exclude any address of that kind, passed a vote, "that the having more general officers was a thing needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the commonwealth."

This put the whole army into that distemper, that Lambert could wish it in; and brought the council of officers to meet again more avowedly, than they had done since the reviving of the parliament. They prepared a petition and representation to the parliament; in which they gave them many good words, and assured them of "their fidelity towards them; but yet that they would so far take care for their own preservation, that they would not be at the mercy of their enemies;" and implied, that they had likewise privileges, which they would not quit.

The parliament, that was governed by Vane and Haslerig, (the heads of the republic party, though of very different natures and understandings,) found there would be no compounding this dispute amicably, but that one side must be suppressed. They resolved therefore to take away all hope of subsistence from the army, if they should be inclined to make any alteration in the government, by force. In order thereunto they declared, "that it should be treason in any person whatsoever to raise, levy, and collect money, without consent in parliament." Then they made void all acts for custom and excise; and by this there was nothing left to maintain the army, except they would prey upon the people, which could not hold long. Next they cashiered Lambert, and eight other principal officers of the army; with whom they were most offended, and conferred their regiments and commands upon other persons, in whom they could confide; and committed the whole government of the army into the hands of seven commissioners; who were, Fleetwood, (whom they believed to have a great interest in the army, and so durst not totally disoblige him,) Ludlow, (who commanded the army in Ireland,) Monk, (who was their general in Scotland,) Haslerig, Walton, Morley, and Overton; who were all upon the place.

The army was too far engaged to retire, and it was unskillfully done by the parliament to provoke so many of them, without being sure of a competent strength to execute their orders. But they had a great presumption upon the city; and had already forgotten, how the army baffled it about a dozen years before, when the parliament had much more reputation, and the army less terror. The nine cashiered officers were resolved not to part with their commands, nor would the soldiers submit to their new officers; and both officers and soldiers consulted their affairs so well together, that they agreed to meet at Westminster the next morning, and determine to whose lot it would come to be cashiered.

The parliament, to encounter this design, sent their orders to those regiments whose fidelity they were confident of, to be the next morning at Westminster to defend them from force; and likewise sent into the city to draw down their militia. Of the army, the next morning, there appeared two regiments of foot, and four troops of horse; who were well armed, and ranged themselves in

the Palace-yard, with a resolution to oppose a force that should attempt the parliament. Lambert intended they should have little to do there; and divided his party in the army to the several places by which the city militia could come to Westminster, with order, "that they should suffer none to march that way, or to come out of the gates;" then placed himself with some troops in King-street, to expect when the speaker would come to the house; who, at his accustomed hour, came, in his usual state, guarded with his troop of horse. Lambert rode up to the speaker, and told him, "there was nothing to be done at Westminster," and therefore advised him "to return back again to his own house:" which he refused to do, and endeavoured to proceed, and called to his guard to make way. Upon which Lambert rode to the captain, and pulled him off his horse; and bid major Creed, who had formerly commanded that troop, to mount into his saddle; which he presently did. Then he took away the mace, and bid major Creed conduct Mr. Lenthall to his house. Whereupon they made his coachman turn, and without the least contradiction the troop marched very quietly, till he was alighted at his own house; and then disposed of themselves as their new captain commanded them.

When they had thus secured themselves from any more votes, Lambert sent to those who had been ordered into the Palace-yard by the parliament, to withdraw to their quarters; which they refused to do; at which he smiled, and bid them then to stay there; which they did till towards the evening: but then finding themselves laughed at, that they had nothing to do, and that the parliament eat not, they desired that they might repair to their quarters; which they were appointed to do. But their officers were cashiered; and such sent to command as Lambert thought fit; who found all submission and obedience from the soldiers, though nobody yet knew who had power to command them. There was no parliament, nor any officer in the army who was by his commission above the degree of a colonel, nor had any of them power to command more than his own regiment.

Whereupon the officers of the army meet together and declare, "that the army finding itself without a general, or other general officers, had themselves made choice of Fleetwood to be their general, and of Lambert to be their major general, and of Desborough to be commissary general of the horse; and that they bound themselves to obey them in their several capacities, and to adhere to and defend them." Upon the publishing this declaration, they assumed their several provinces; and the whole army took commissions from their new general; and were as much united, as if they were under Cromwell; and looked upon it as a great deliverance, that they should no more be subject to the parliament; which they all detested.

But these generals were not at ease; they knew well upon what slippery ground they stood: the parliament had stopped all the channels in which the revenue was to run; put an end to all payments of custom and excise; and to revive these impositions, by which the army might receive their wages, required another authority than of the army itself. The divisions in the parliament had made the outrage that was committed upon it less

reproachful. Vane, who was much the wisest man, found he could never make that assembly settle such a government as he affected, either in church or state: and Haslerig, who was of a rude and stubborn nature, and of a weak understanding, concurred only with him in all the fierce counsels, which might more irrecoverably disinherit the king, and root out his majesty's party: in all other things relating to the temporal or ecclesiastical matters, they were not only of different judgments, but of extraordinary animosity against each other.

Vane was a man not to be described by any character of religion; in which he had swallowed some of the fancies and extravagances of every sect or faction; and was become (which cannot be expressed by any other language than was peculiar to that time) *a man above ordinances*, unlimited and unrestrained by any rules or bounds prescribed to other men, by reason of his perfection. He was a perfect enthusiast; and, without doubt, did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding, (which in all matters without the verge of religion was inferior to that of few men,) that he did at some time believe, he was the person deputed to reign over the saints upon earth for a thousand years.

Haslerig was, as to the state, perfectly republican; and as to religion, perfectly presbyterian: and so he might be sure never to be troubled with a king or a bishop, was indifferent to other things; only he believed the parliament to be the only government that would infallibly keep those two out; and his credit in the house was greater than the other's; which made Vane less troubled at the violence that was used, (though he would never advise it,) and appear willing enough to confer and join with those who would find any other hinge to hang the government upon: so he presently entered into conversation with those of the army, who were most like to have authority.

A model of such a government, as the people must acquiesce in, and submit to, would require very much agitation, and very long time; which the present conjuncture would not bear: nor were there enough of one mind, to give great authority to their counsels. In this they could agree, which might be an expedient towards more ripe resolutions, "that a number of persons should be chosen, who, under the style of a committee of safety, should assume the present entire government, and have full power to revive all such orders, or to make new, which might be necessary for raising of money, or for doing any thing else which should be judged for the peace and safety of the kingdom; and to consider and determine, what form of government was fit to be erected, to which the nation was to submit."

To this new invention, how wild soever, they believed the people would be persuaded, with the assistance of the army, to pay a temporary obedience, in hope of another settlement speedily to ensue. They agreed that the number of this committee of safety should consist of three and twenty persons; six officers of the army, whereof Fleetwood, Lambert, and Desborough were three; Ireton, lord mayor of London, and Tichburn, the two principal officers of the militia of the city, with four or five more citizens of more private names; but men tried, and faithful to the republic interest, and not like to give any countenance to presbyte-

rians, (for they were very jealous of that party generally,) besides three or four others of those who had been the king's judges, with Vane, and Whitlock, whom they made keeper of their great seal.

Thus having chosen each other, and agreed that they should exercise the whole legislative power of the nation, and proclaimed themselves the *committee of safety for the kingdom*, and required all people to pay them obedience, and issued out their warrants for all things which they thought good for themselves, to which there appeared a general submission and acquiescence, that they might be sure to receive no disturbance from those of their own tribe in any parts, they sent colonel Cobbet to Scotland, to persuade general Monk to a concurrence with them; and, because they were not confident of him, (there being great emulation between him and Lambert,) to work upon as many of his officers as he could; there being many in that army of whose affections they were well assured; and, at the same time, they sent another colonel into Ireland, to dispose the army there to a submission to their power and authority.

Before the parliament was routed, they discerned what Lambert's intrigues would shortly produce; and therefore had writ to Monk, "that he would take care of his army, lest it should be corrupted against him, which they knew was endeavouring;" and Haslerig, who had some friendship with him, writ particularly to him, "to continue firm to the parliament;" and to assure him, "that before Lambert should be able to be near him to give him any trouble, he would give him other divertisement." And some time after Lambert had acted that violence upon the speaker, so that they could meet no more, Haslerig, and Morley, two of the commissioners of the government of the army, went to Portsmouth, where colonel Whetham the governor was their friend, and devoted to the presbyterian-republican party; for that distinction was now grown amongst them; others, and the most considerable of that party, professing, "that they very much desired monarchical government, and the person of the king, so that they might have him without episcopacy, and enjoy the lands of the church," which they had divided amongst them. They were well received at Portsmouth; and that they might be without any disturbance there, the governor turned all such officers and soldiers out of the town, who were suspected to be, or might be made of the party of the army; and colonel Morley, whose interest was in Sussex, easily drew in enough of his friends, to make them very secure in their garrison; which the committee of safety thought would be quickly reduced, if all the rest of the kingdom were at their devotion; nor did the matter itself much trouble them; for they knew that Haslerig would never be induced to serve the king, whose interest only could break all their measures.

That which gave them real trouble was, that they received bold letters from Monk, about the end of October; who presumed to censure and find fault with what they had done, in using such force and violence to the parliament, from whom they had all their power and authority; and shortly after they heard that he had possessed himself of Berwick. But that which troubled them most was, that as soon as Cobbet came into Scotland, he was committed close prisoner to Edinburgh castle; and that Monk used extraordinary dili-

gence to purge his army, and turned all the fanatics, and other persons who were supposed by him to have any inclination to Lambert and his party, both out of the army and the kingdom; sending them under a guard into Berwick, and from thence dismissing them into England, under the penalty of death, if they were ever after found in Scotland. This was an alarm worthy of their fear, and evidence enough, that they were never to expect Monk to be of their party: besides that they had always looked upon him as entirely devoted to the person of Cromwell; otherwise, without obligation to any party or opinion, and more like to be seduced by the king, than any man who had authority in the three kingdoms: therefore they resolved to send Lambert with their whole army into the north, that he might at least stop him in any march he should think of making; reserving only some troops to send to Portsmouth, if not to reduce it, at least to hinder the garrison there from making incursions into the two neighbour counties of Sussex and Hampshire, where they had many friends.

Whilst all preparations were making for the army to march towards Scotland, the committee of safety resolved once more to try if they could induce Monk to a conjunction with them; and to that purpose they sent to him a committee of such persons as they thought might be grateful to him; of whom one was his wife's brother, with offers of any thing he could desire of advantage to himself, or for any of his friends. He received these men with all imaginable civility and courtesy, making great professions, "that he desired nothing more, than to unite himself and his army with that of England, provided that there might be a lawful power, to which they might all be subject: but that the force that had been used upon the parliament was an action of such a nature, that was destructive to all government, and that it would be absolutely necessary to restore that to its freedom, rights, and privileges; which being done, he would use all the instance and credit he had to procure an act of pardon and oblivion, for all that had been done amiss; and this would unite both parliament and army for the public safety, which was apparently threatened and shaken by this disunion." He added, "that he so much desired peace and union, and so little thought of using force, that he would appoint three officers of his army, Wilks, Cloberry, and Knight, to go to London, and treat with the committee of safety, of all particulars necessary thereunto." When the persons sent from London gave an account of their reception, and of the great professions the general made, and his resolution to send a committee to treat upon the accommodation, the committee of safety was very well pleased, and concluded, that the fame of their army's march had frightened him: so that, as they willingly embraced the overture of a treaty, they likewise appointed Lambert to hasten his march, and to make no stay, till he should come to Newcastle. All which he observed with great punctuality and expedition, his army still increasing till he came thither.

General Monk was a gentleman of a very good extraction, of a very ancient family in Devonshire, always very loyally affected. Being a younger brother, he entered early into the life and condition of a soldier, upon that stage where some of



all Europe then acted, between the Spaniard and the Dutch; and had the reputation of a very good foot-officer in the lord Vere's regiment in Holland, at the time when he assigned it to the command of colonel Goring. When the first troubles begun in Scotland, Monk, and many other officers of the nation, left the Dutch service, and betook themselves to the service of the king. In the beginning of the Irish rebellion, he was sent thither, with the command of the lord Leicester's own regiment of foot, (who was then lieutenant of Ireland,) and continued in that service with singular reputation of courage and conduct. When the war broke out in England between the king and the parliament, he fell under some discountenance, upon a suspicion of an inclination to the parliament; which proceeded from his want of bitterness in his discourses against them, rather than from any inclination towards them; as appeared by his behaviour at Nantwich, where he was taken prisoner, and remained in the Tower till the end of the war. For though his behaviour had been such in Ireland, when the transportation of the regiment from thence, to serve the king in England, was in debate, that it was evident enough he had no mind his regiment should be sent on that expedition, and his answer to the lord of Ormond was so rough and doubtful, (having had no other education but Dutch and Devonshire,) that he thought not fit to trust him, but gave the command of the regiment to Harry Warren, the lieutenant colonel of it, an excellent officer, generally known, and exceedingly beloved where he was known; yet when those regiments were sent to Chester, and there were others at the same time sent to Bristol, and with them Monk was sent prisoner, and from Bristol to the king at Oxford, where he was known to many persons of quality, (and his eldest brother being at the same time most zealous in the king's service in the west, and most useful,) his professions were so sincere, (he being, throughout his whole life, never suspected of dissimulation,) that all men there thought him very worthy of all trust; and the king was willing to send him into the west, where the gentlemen had a great opinion of his ability to command. But he desired that he might serve with his old friends and companions; and so, with the king's leave, made all haste towards Chester; where he arrived the very day before the defeat at Nantwich; and though his lieutenant colonel was very desirous to give up the command again to him, and to receive his orders, he would by no means at that time take it, but chose to serve, as a volunteer, in the first rank, with a pike in his hand; and was the next day, as was said, taken prisoner with the rest, and with most of the other officers sent to Hull, and shortly after from thence to the Tower of London.

He was no sooner there, than the lord Lisle, who had great kindness for him, and good interest in the parliament, with much importunity persuaded him to take a commission in that service, and offered him a command superior to what he had ever had before; which he positively and disdainfully refused to accept, though the straits he suffered in prison were very great, and he thought himself not kindly dealt with, that there was neither care for his exchange, nor money sent for his support. But there was all possible endeavour used for the first, by offering several

officers of the same quality for his exchange; which was always refused; there having been an ordinance made, "that no officer who had been transported out of Ireland should ever be exchanged;" so that most of them remained still in prison with him in the Tower, and the rest in other prisons; who all underwent the same hardships by the extreme necessity of the king's condition, which could not provide money enough for their supply; yet all was done towards it that was possible.

When the war was at an end, and the king a prisoner, Cromwell prevailed with Monk, for his liberty and money, which he loved heartily, to engage himself again in the war of Ireland. And, from that time, Monk continued very firm to Cromwell; who was liberal and bountiful to him, and took him into his entire confidence; and after he had put the command of Scotland into his hands, he feared nothing from those quarters; nor was there any man in either of the armies, upon whose fidelity to himself Cromwell more depended. And those of his western friends, who thought best of him, thought it to no purpose to make any attempt upon him whilst Cromwell lived. But as soon as he was dead, Monk was generally looked upon as a man more inclined to the king, than any other in great authority, if he might discover it without too much loss or hazard. His elder brother had been entirely devoted to the king's service; and all his relations were of the same faith. He himself had no fumes of religion to turn his head, nor any credit with, or dependence upon, any who were swayed by those trances; only he was cursed after a long familiarity to marry a woman of the lowest extraction, the least wit, and less beauty; who, taking no care for any other part of herself, had deposited her soul with some presbyterian ministers, who disposed her to that interest. She was a woman, *nihil muliebri præter corpus gerens*, so utterly unacquainted with all persons of quality of either sex, that there was no possible approach to him by her.

He had a younger brother, a divine, who had a parsonage in Devonshire, and had, through all the ill times, carried himself with singular integrity; and, being a gentleman of a good family, was in great reputation with all those who constantly adhered to the king. Sir Hugh Pollard and Sir John Greenvil, who had both friendship for the general, and old acquaintance, and all confidence in his brother, advised with him, "whether, since Cromwell was now gone, and in all reason it might be expected that his death would be attended with a general revolution, by which the king's interest would be again disputed, he did not believe, that the general might be wrought upon, in a fit conjuncture, to serve the king, in which, they thought, he would be sure to meet with a universal concurrence from the whole Scottish nation." The honest clergyman thought the overture so reasonable, and wished so heartily it might be embraced, that he offered himself to make a journey to his brother into Scotland, upon pretence of a visit, (there having been always a brotherly affection performed between them,) and directly to propose it to him. Pollard and Greenvil informed the king of this design; and believed well themselves of what they wished so much, and desired his majesty's approbation and instruc-









Engraved by W. M. G.

**GEORGE MONK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.**

**OB. 1671.**

**FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR P. LELY, IN THE**

**TOWN HALL, EXETER.**



tion. The king had reason to approve it; and sent such directions as he thought most proper for such a negotiation. Whereupon his brother began his journey towards Edinburgh, where the general received him well. But after he had stayed some time there, and found an opportunity to tell him on what errand he came, he found him to be so far from the temper of a brother, that after infinite reproaches for his daring to endeavour to corrupt him, he required him to leave that kingdom, using many oaths to him, that if he ever returned to him with the same proposition, he would cause him to be hanged; with which the poor man was so terrified, that he was glad when he was gone, and never had the courage after to undertake the like employment.

And at that time there is no question the general had not the least thought or purpose to contribute to the king's restoration, the hope whereof he believed to be desperate; and the disposition that did grow in him afterwards, did arise from those accidents which fell out, and even obliged him to undertake that which proved so much to his profit and glory. And yet from this very time, his brother being known, and his journey taken notice of, it was generally believed in Scotland that he had a purpose to serve the king; which his majesty took no pains to disclaim, either there or in England.

Upon the several sudden changes in England, and the army's possessing itself of the entire government, Monk saw he should be quickly overrun and destroyed by Lambert's greatness, of which he had always great emulation, if he did not provide for his own security. And therefore when he heard of his march towards the north, he used all inventions to get time, by entering into treaties, and in hope that there would appear some other party that would own and avow the parliament's interest, as he had done: nor did he then manifest to have more in his imagination, than his own profit and greatness, under the establishment of that government.

When he heard of Lambert's being past York, and his making haste to Newcastle, and had purged out of his army all those whose affections and fidelity were suspected by him, he called the states of Scotland together; which he had subdued to all imaginable tameness, though he had exercised no other tyranny over them than was absolutely necessary to reduce the pride and tyranny of that people to an entire submission to that tyrannical yoke. In all his other carriage towards them, but what was in order to that end, he was friendly and companionable enough; and as he was feared by the nobility, and hated by the clergy, so he was not unloved by the common people, who received more justice and less oppression from him, than they had been accustomed to under their own lords. When this convention appeared before him, he told them, "that he had received a call from heaven and earth, to march with his army into England, for the better settlement of the government there; and though he did not intend his absence should be long, yet he foresaw that there might be some disturbance of the peace which they enjoyed; and therefore he expected, and

"desired, that, in any such occasion, they would be ready to join with the forces he left behind in their own defence." In the second place, which was indeed all he cared for from them, he very earnestly pressed them, "that they would raise him a present sum of money, for supplying the necessities of the army, without which it could not well march into England."

From the time that he had settled his government in that kingdom, he had shewed more kindness to, and used more familiarity with, such persons as were most notorious for affection to the king, as finding them a more direct and punctual people than the rest: and when these men resorted to him upon this convention, though they could draw nothing from him of promise, or intimation to any such purpose, yet he was very well content they should believe that he carried with him very good inclinations to the king; by which imagination of theirs, he received great advantage: for they gave him a twelvemonths tax over the kingdom; which complied with his wish, and partly enabled him to draw his army together. And after he had assigned those whom he thought fit to leave behind him, and afterwards put them under the command of major general Morgan, he marched with the rest to Berwick; where a good part of his horse and foot expected him; having put an end to his treaty at London, and committed colonel Wilks, one of them, upon his return to Scotland, for having consented to something prejudicial to him, and expressly contrary to his instructions. However he desired to gain farther time, and agreed to another treaty to be held at Newcastle; which, though he knew it would be governed by Lambert, was like not to be without some benefit to himself, because it would keep up the opinion in the committee of safety, that he was inclined to an accommodation of peace.

It was towards the end of November, that Lambert with his army arrived at Newcastle, where he found the officers and soldiers whom Monk had cashiered; and who, he persuaded the people, had deserted Monk, for his infidelity to the commonwealth, and that most of those, who yet stayed with him, would do so too, as soon as he should be within distance to receive them. But he now found his confidence had carried him too far, and that he was at too great a distance to give that relief to his committee of safety, which it was like to stand in need of. Haslerig and Morley were now looked upon, as the persons invested with the authority of parliament, whose interest was supported by them; and the officer, who was sent by the committee of safety to restrain them in Portsmouth, or rather to restrain persons from resorting to them, found himself deserted by more than half his soldiers; who declared, "that they would serve the parliament," and so went into Portsmouth; and another officer, who was sent with a stronger party to second them, discovering or fomenting the same affections in his soldiers, very frankly carried them to the same place: so that they were now grown too numerous to be contained within that garrison, but were quartered to be in readiness to march whither their generals, Haslerig and Morley, would conduct them.

The city took new courage from hence; and what the masters durst not publicly own, the ap-

prentices did, their dislike of the present government; and flocking together in great multitudes, declared, "that they would have a free parliament." And though colonel Hewson, a bold fellow, who had been an ill shoemaker, and afterwards clerk to a brewer of small beer,) who was left to guard the committee of safety, suppressed that commotion by marching into the city, and killing some of the apprentices, yet the loss of that blood inflamed the city the more against the army; which, they said, "was only kept on foot to murder the citizens." And it was said, they caused a bill of indictment to be prepared against Hewson for those murders. The common council appeared every day more refractory, and refused to concur in any thing that was proposed to them by the committee of safety; which begun to be universally abhorred, as like to be the original of such another tyranny as Cromwell had erected, since it wholly depended upon the power and spirit of the army: though, on the other hand, the committee protested and declared to them, "that there should be a parliament called to meet together in February next, under such qualifications and restrictions, as might be sure to exclude such persons who would destroy them." But this gave no satisfaction, every man remembering the parliament that had been packed by Cromwell.

But that which broke the heart of the committee of safety, was the revolt of their favourite vice-admiral Lawson, a man at that time appearing at least as much republican, as any amongst them; as much an independent, as much an enemy to the presbyterians and to the covenant, as sir Harry Vane himself; and a great dependent upon sir Harry Vane; and one whom they had raised to that command in the fleet, that they might be sure to have the seamen still at their devotion. This man, with his whole squadron, came into the river, and declared for the parliament; which was so unexpected, that they would not believe it; but sent sir Harry Vane, and two others of great intimacy with Lawson, to confer with him; who, when they came to the fleet, found sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and two others, members of the parliament, who had so fully prepossessed him, that he was deaf to all their charms; and told them, "that he would submit to no authority but that of the parliament."

Upon the fame of this, Haslerig and Morley resolved with their troops to leave Portsmouth, and to march towards London, where their friends now prevailed so much. And the news of this march raised new thoughts in those soldiers who had been left by Lambert to execute any orders which they should receive from the committee of safety. The officers of these regiments had been cashiered by the council of officers, or the committee of safety, for adhering to the parliament; and their commands having been given to other men, who had been discountenanced by the parliament, the regiments for a time appeared as much confirmed in the interest of the army, as could be wished. But these cashiered officers, upon so great revolutions in the city and the navy, and the news of the advance of Haslerig and Morley, resolved to confer with their old soldiers, and try whether they had as much credit with them as their new officers; and found so much encouragement, that, at a time appointed,

they put themselves into the heads of their regiments, and marched with them into the field; whence, after a short conference together, and renewing vows to each other never more to desert the parliament, they all marched into Chancery-lane to the house of the speaker; and professed their resolution to live and die with the parliament, and never more to swerve from their fidelity to it.

Lambert, upon the first news of the froward spirit in the city, had sent back Desborough's regiment; which was now marched as near London as St. Alban's; where, hearing what their fellows at Westminster, with whom they were to join, had done, they resolved not to be the last in their submission; but declared that they likewise were for the parliament; and gave the speaker notice of their obedience. In all these several tergiversations of the soldiers, general Fleetwood remained still in consultations with the committee of safety; and when any intelligence was brought of any murmur amongst the soldiers, by which a revolt might ensue, and he was desired to go amongst them to confirm them, he would fall upon his knees to his prayers, and could hardly be prevailed with to go to them. And when he was amongst them, and in the middle of any discourse, he would invite them all to prayers, and put himself upon his knees before them: and when some of his friends importuned him to appear more vigorous in the charge he had, without which they must be all destroyed, they could get no other answer from him, than "that God had spit in his face, and would not hear him:" so that men ceased to wonder why Lambert had preferred him to the office of general, and been content with the second command for himself.

Lenthall the speaker, upon this new declaration of the soldiers, recovered his spirit, and went into the city, conferred with the lord mayor and aldermen, and declared to them, "that the parliament would meet (though not immediately) within very few days." For, as the members were not many, who were alive, and suffered to meet as the parliament, so they were now dispersed into several places. Then he went to the Tower, and, by his own authority, removed the lieutenant, who had been confirmed there by the committee of safety; and put sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and other members of the parliament, into the government and command of the Tower.

All things being in this good order, he and the members met again together at Westminster, on December the 26th, and assumed the government of the three kingdoms, out of which they had been twice before cast, with so much reproach and infamy. As soon as they came together, they repealed their act against the payment of excise and customs; and put those collections into the state they had been formerly in, that they might be sure not to be without money to pay their proselyte forces, and to carry on their other expences. Then they appointed commissioners to direct the quarters into which the army should be put; and made an order, that all the troops under the command of Lambert, without sending any direction to him, should repair to those quarters to which they were assigned.

This man was now in a disconsolate condition:

as Monk approached nearer to him, very many of his soldiers deserted him, and went to the other. The lord Fairfax had raised forces, and possessed himself of York, without declaring any thing of his purpose. And this last order of the parliament so entirely stripped Lambert of his army, that there remained not with him above one hundred horse; all the rest returned to their quarters with all quietness and resignation; and himself was some time after committed to the Tower. The rest of the officers of the army, who had been formerly cashiered by the parliament, and had resumed their commands that they might break it, were again dismissed from their charges, and committed prisoners to their own houses. Sir Harry Vane, and divers other members of the house who had concurred with the committee of safety, were likewise confined to their own houses: so that the parliament seemed now again possessed of a more absolute authority than ever it had been, and to be without any danger of opposition or contradiction.

The other changes and fluctuations had still administered some hopes to the king, and the daily breaking out of new animosities amongst the chief ministers of the former mischiefs, disposed men to believe that the government might at last rest upon the old foundation. Men expected, that a very sharp engagement between Lambert and Monk might make their parts of the army for ever after irreconcilable, and that all parties would be at last obliged to consent to a new parliament; in the election whereof there was a reasonable belief, that the general temper of the people would choose sober and wise men, who would rather bind up the wounds which had been already made, than endeavour to widen them. The committee of safety had neither received the reverence, nor inculcated the fear, which any government must do, that was to last any time. But this surprising resurrection of the parliament, that had been so often exploded, so often dead and buried, and was the only image of power that was most formidable to the king and his party, seemed to pull up all their hopes by the roots, and looked like an act of Providence to establish their monstrous murders and usurpation. And it may be justly said, and transmitted as a truth to posterity, that there was no one man, who bore a part in these changes and giddy revolutions, who had the least purpose or thought to contribute towards the king's restoration, or who wished well to his interest; they who did so, being so totally suppressed and dispirited, that they were only at gaze, what light might break out of this darkness, and what order Providence might produce out of this confusion. This was the true state of affairs when the king returned from Fuentarabia to Brussels, or within few days after; and therefore it is no wonder, that there was that dejection of spirit upon his majesty and those about him; and that the duke of York, who saw so little hope of returning into England, was well pleased with the condition that was offered him in Spain, and that his servants were impatient to find him in possession of it.

Whilst the divisions had continued in the army, and the parliament seemed entirely deposed and laid aside, and nobody imagined a possibility of any composition without blood, the cardinal himself, as is said before, and the Spanish ministers,

seemed ready and prepared to advance any design of the king's. But when they saw all those contentions and raging animosities composed, or suppressed, without one broken head, and those very men again in possession of the government and the army, who had been so scornfully rejected and trampled upon, and who had it now in their power, as well as their purpose, to level all those preeminences which had overlooked them, they looked upon the government as more securely settled against domestic disturbances, and much more formidably, with reference to their neighbours, than it had been under Cromwell himself; and thought of nothing more, than how to make advantageous and firm alliances with it.

There remained only within the king's own breast some faint hope (and God knows it was very faint) that Monk's march into England might yet produce some alteration. His majesty had a secret correspondence with some principal officers in his army, who were much trusted by him, and had promised great services; and it was presumed that they would undertake no such perilous engagement without his privy and connivance. Besides, it might be expected from his judgment, that, whatever present conditions the governing party might give him, for the service he had done, he could not but conclude, that they would be always jealous of the power they saw he was possessed of, and that an army that had marched so far barely upon his word, would be as ready to march to any place, or for any purpose, he would conduct them. And it was evident enough that the parliament resolved to new model their army, and to have no man in any such extent of command, as to be able to control their counsels. Then his majesty knew they were jealous of his fidelity, how much soever they courted him at that time; and therefore Monk would think himself obliged to provide for his own safety and security.

But, I say, these were but faint hopes grounded upon such probabilities as despairing men are willing to entertain. The truth is, those officers had honest inclinations; and, as wise men, had concluded, that, from those frequent shuffles, some game at last might fall out, that might prove to the king's advantage, and so were willing to bespeak their own welcome by an early application; which, in regard of the persons trusted by them, they concluded would be attended with no danger. But it never appeared they ever gave the general the least cause to imagine they had any such affection; and if they had, it is likely they had paid dearly for it. And for the second presumption upon his understanding and ratiocination, alas! it was not equal to the enterprise. He could not bear so many and so different contrivances in his head together, as were necessary to that work. And it was the king's great happiness that he never had it in his purpose to serve him, till it fell to be in his power; and indeed till he had nothing else to do. If he had resolved it sooner, he had been destroyed himself; the whole machine being so infinitely above his strength, that it could be only moved by a divine hand; and it is glory enough to his memory, that he was instrumental in bringing those mighty things to pass, which he had neither wisdom to foresee, nor courage to attempt, nor understanding to contrive.

When the parliament found themselves at so

much ease, and so much without apprehension of farther insecurity, they heartily wished that general Monk was again in his old quarters in Scotland. But as he continued his march towards London, without expecting their orders, so they knew not how to command him to return, whom they had sent for to assist them, without seeing him, and giving him thanks and reward for his great service: yet they sent to him their desire, "that all his forces might be sent back to Scotland; and that he would not come to London with above five hundred horse;" but he, having sent back as many as he knew would be sufficient for any work they could have to do in those northern parts, continued his march with an army of about five thousand foot and horse, consisting of such persons in whose affections to him he had full confidence. When he came to York, he found that city in the possession of the lord Fairfax; who received him with open arms, as if he had drawn those forces together, and seized upon that place, to prevent the army's possessing it, and to make Monk's advance into England the less interrupted.

The truth is, that, upon a letter from the king, delivered to Fairfax by sir Horatio Townsend, and with his sole privacy, and upon a presumption that general Monk brought good affections with him for his majesty's service, that lord had called together some of his old disbanded officers and soldiers, and marched in the head of them into York, as soon as Lambert was passed towards Newcastle, with a full resolution to declare for the king; but when he could not afterwards discover, upon conference with Monk, that he had any such thought, he satisfied himself with the testimony of his own conscience, and presently dismissed his troops, being well contented with having, in the head of the principal gentlemen of that large county, presented their desires to the general in writing, "that he would be instrumental to restore the nation to peace and security, and to the enjoying those rights and liberties, which by the law were due to them, and of which they had been robbed and deprived by so many years' distractions; and that, in order thereunto, he would prevail, either for the restoring those members which had been excluded in the year 1648 by force and violence, that they might exercise that trust the kingdom had reposed in them; or that a free and full parliament might be called by the votes of the people; to which all subjects had a right by their birth."

The principal persons of all counties through which the general passed, flocked to him in a body with addresses to the same purpose. The city of London sent a letter to him by their sword-bearer, to offer their service; and all concluded for a free parliament, legally chosen by the free votes of the people. He received all with much civility, and few words; took all occasions publicly to declare "that nothing should shake his fidelity to the present parliament," yet privately assured those, who he thought it necessary should hope well, "that he would procure a free parliament:" so that every body promised himself that which he most wished.

The parliament was far from being confident that Monk was above temptation: the manner of his march with such a body, contrary to their desires, his receiving so many addresses from the

people, and his treating malignants so civilly, startled them much; and though his professions of fidelity to the parliament, and referring all determinations to their wisdom, had a good aspect towards them, yet they feared that he might observe too much how generally odious they were grown to the people, which might lessen his reverence towards them. To prevent this as much as might be, and to give some check to that license of addresses, and resort of malignants, they sent two of their members of most credit with them, Scot and Robinson, under pretence of giving their thanks to him for the service he had done, to continue and be present with him, and to discountenance and reprehend any boldness that should appear in any delinquents. But this served but to draw more affronts upon them; for those gentlemen who were civilly used by the general, would not bear any disrespect from those of whose persons they had all contempt; and for the authority of those who sent them had no kind of reverence. As soon as the city knew of the deputing those two members, they likewise sent four of their principal citizens, to perform the same compliments, and to confirm him in his inclinations to a free parliament, as the remedy all men desired.

He continued his march with very few halts, till he came to St. Alban's. There he stopped for some days; and sent to the parliament, "that he had some apprehension that those regiments and troops of the army who had formerly deserted them, though for the present they were returned to their obedience, would not live peaceably with his men," and therefore desired that all the soldiers "who were then quartered in the Strand, Westminster, or other suburbs of the city, might be presently removed, and sent to more distant quarters, that there might be room for his army." This message was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed them, and made them see their fate would still be under the force and awe of an army. However they found it necessary to comply; and sent their orders to all soldiers to depart; which, with the reason and ground of their resolution, was so disdainfully received, that a mutiny did arise amongst the soldiers; and the regiment that was quartered in Somerset-house expressly refused to obey those orders; so that there were like to be new uproars. But their officers, who would have been glad to inflame them upon such an occasion, were under restraint, or absent: and so at last all was well composed, and officers and soldiers removed to the quarters assigned them, with animosity enough against those who were to succeed them in their old ones. And in the beginning of February, general Monk with his army marched through the city into the Strand, and Westminster, where it was quartered; his own lodgings being provided for him in Whitehall.

He was shortly after conducted to the parliament, which had before, when they saw there was no remedy, conferred the office and power of general of all the forces in the three kingdoms upon him, as absolutely as ever they had given it to Cromwell. There he had a chair appointed for him to sit in; and the speaker made a speech to him, in which he extolled the great service he had done to the parliament, and therein to the kingdom, which was in danger to have lost all the liberty they had gotten with so vast an expense of



blood and treasure, and to have been made slaves again, if he had not magnanimously declared himself in their defence; the reputation whereof was enough to blast all their enemies' designs, and to reduce all to their obedience. He told him his memory should flourish to all ages, and the parliament (whose thanks he presented to him) would take all occasions to manifest their kindness and gratitude for the service he had done.

The general was not a man of eloquence, or of any volubility of speech; he assured them of his constant fidelity, which should never be shaken, and that he would live and die in their service; and then informed them of the several addresses which he had received in his march, and of the observation he had made of the general temper of the people, and their impatient desire of a free parliament, which he mentioned with more than his natural warmth, as a thing they would expect to be satisfied in; (which they observed and disliked;) yet concluded, that having done his duty in this representation, and thereby complied with his promise which he had made to those who had made the addresses, he entirely left the consideration and determination of the whole to their wisdom; which gave them some ease, and hope that he would be faithful, though inwardly they heartily wished that he was again in Scotland, and that they had been left to contend with the malignity of their old army; and they longed for some occasion that he might manifest his fidelity and resignation to them, or give them just occasion to suspect and question it.

The late confusions and interruptions of all public receipts had wholly emptied their coffers, out of which the army, and all other expenses, were to be supplied. And though the parliament had, upon their coming together again, renewed their ordinances for all collections and payments, yet money came in very slowly; and the people generally had so little reverence for their legislators, that they gave very slow obedience to their directions: so that they found it necessary, for their present supply, till they might by degrees make themselves more universally obeyed, to raise a present great sum of money on the city; which could not be done but by the advice and with the consent of the common council; that is, it could not be levied and collected orderly and peaceably, without their distribution.

The common council was constituted of such persons as were weary of the parliament, and would in no degree submit to, or comply with, any of their commands. They did not only utterly refuse to consent to this new imposition, but, in the debate of it, excepted against the authority, and, upon the matter, declared, "that they would never submit to any imposition that was not granted by a free and lawful parliament." And it was generally believed, that they had assumed this courage upon some confidence they had in the general; and the apprehension of this made the parliament to be in the greater perplexity and distraction. This refusal would immediately have put an end to their empire; they therefore resolved upon this occasion to make a full experiment of their own power, and of their general's obedience.

The parliament having received a full information from those aldermen, and others, whose interest was bound up with theirs, of all that had

passed at the common council, and of the seditious discourses and expressions made by several of the citizens, referred it to the consideration of the council of state, what was fit to be done towards the rebellious city, to reduce them to that submission which they ought to pay to the parliament. The privy council deliberated upon the matter, and returned their advice to the parliament, "that some part of the army might be sent into the city, and remain there, to preserve the peace thereof, and of the commonwealth, and to reduce it to the obedience of the parliament. In order thereunto, and for their better humiliation, they thought it convenient that the posts and chains should be removed from and out of the several streets of the city; and that the portcullises and gates of the city should be taken down and broken." Over and above this, they named ten or eleven persons, who had been the principal conductors in the common council, all citizens of great reputation; and advised "that they should be apprehended and committed to prison, and that thereupon a new common council might be elected, that would be more at their devotion."

This round advice was embraced by the parliament; and they had now a fit occasion to make experiment of the courage and fidelity of their general, and commanded him to march into the city with his army; and to execute all those particulars which they thought so necessary to their service; and he as readily executed their commands; led his army into the town [on Feb. the 9th], neglected the entreaties and prayers of all who applied to him, (whereof there were many who believed he meant better towards them,) caused as many as he could of those who were so proscribed to be apprehended, and sent them to the Tower; and, with all the circumstances of contempt, pulled down and broke the gates and portcullises, to the confusion and consternation of the whole city; and having thus exposed it to the scorn and laughter of all who hated it, which was the whole kingdom, he returned himself to Whitehall, and his army to their former quarters; and by this last act of outrage convinced those who expected somewhat from him how vain their hopes were, and how incapable he was of embracing any opportunity to do a noble action, and confirmed his masters, that they could not be too confident of his obedience to their most extravagant injunctions. And without doubt if the parliament had cultivated this tame resignation of his, with any temper and discretion, by preparing his consent and approbation to their proceedings, they might have found a full condescension from him, at least no opposition to all their other counsels. But they were so infatuated with pride and insolence, that they could not discern the ways to their own preservation.

Whilst he was executing this their tyranny upon the city, they were contriving how to lessen his power and authority, and resolved to join others with him in the command of the army; and, upon that very day, they received a petition, which they had fomented, presented to the parliament by a man notorious in those times, and who hath been formerly mentioned, Praise-God Barebone, in the head of a crowd of sectaries. The petition begun with all the imaginable bitterness and reproaches upon the memory of the late king, and against

the person of the present king, and all the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the kingdom, which adhered to him; the utter extirpation of all which it pressed with great acrimony. It took notice of many discourses of calling a new parliament, at least of admitting those members to sit in the present parliament, who had been excluded in the year 1648; "either of which," the petitioners said, "would prove the inevitable destruction of 'all the godly in the land:'" and therefore they besought them with all earnestness, "that no person whatsoever might be admitted to the exercise of any office or function in the state, or in the church, no not so much as to teach a school, who did not first take the oath of abjuration of the king, and of all his family, and that he would never submit to the government of any one single person whatsoever; and that whosoever should presume so much as to propose or mention the restoration of the king in parliament, or any other place, should be adjudged guilty of, and condemned for, high treason."

This petition was received with great approbation by the house, their affection much applauded, and the thanks of the parliament very solemnly returned by the speaker: all which information the general received at Whitehall, when he returned out of the city; and was presently attended by his chief officers; who, with open mouths, inveighed against the proceedings of the parliament, "their manifest ingratitude to him, and the indignity offered to him, in giving such countenance to a rabble of infamous varlets, who desired to set the whole kingdom in a flame, to comply with their fantastic and mad enthusiasms; and that the parliament would never have admitted such an infamous address with approbation, except they had first resolved upon his ruin and destruction; which he was assuredly to look for, if he did not prevent it by his wisdom and sagacity;" and thereupon told him of the underhand endeavours which were used to work upon the affections of the soldiers.

The general had been prepared, by the conferences of Scot and Robinson in the march, to expect, that, as soon as he came to the parliament, he must take the oath of abjuration of the king and his family. And therefore they had advised him "to offer the taking it himself, before it should be proposed to him, as a matter that would confirm all men in an entire confidence in him;" and he discovered not the least aversion from it. When he came to the parliament, they forbore, that day, to mention it, being a day dedicated only to caress him, and to give him thanks, in which it could not be seasonable to mingle any thing of distrust. But they meant roundly to have pressed him to it, if this last opportunity, which they looked upon as a better earnest of his fidelity, had not fallen out; and without doubt he had not then taken any such resolution, as would have made him pause in the giving them that satisfaction. But being now awakened by this alarm from his officers, and the temper they were in, and his phlegm a little curdled, he begun to think himself in danger; and that this body of men, that was called the parliament, had not reputation enough to preserve themselves, and those who adhered to them. He had observed throughout the kingdom, as he

marched, how opprobrious they were in the estimation of all men, who gave them no other term or appellation but the rump, as the fag end of a carcass long since expired. All that night was spent in consultation with his officers; nor did he then form any other design than so to unite his army to him, that they might not leave him in any resolution he should think fit to take.

In the morning, the very next morning after he had broken the gates and the hearts of the city, he called his army again together, and marched with it into London, taking up his own quarters at an alderman's house where he dined. At the same time he left Whitehall, he sent a letter to the parliament, in which he roundly took notice of "their unreasonable, unjust, and unpolicy proceedings; of their abetting and countenancing wicked and unchristian tenets in reference to religion, and such as would root out the practice of any religion; of their underhand corresponding with those very persons whom they had declared to be enemies, and who had been principally instrumental in all the affronts and indignities they had undergone, in and after their dissolution." Thereupon he advised them in such terms as they could not but understand for the most peremptory command, "that, in such a time," (a time prescribed in his letter,) "they would issue out writs for a new parliament, that so their own sitting might be determined; which was the only expedient that could return peace and happiness to the kingdom, and which both the army and kingdom expected at their hands." This letter was no sooner delivered to the house, than it was printed, and carefully published and dispersed throughout the city, to the end that they who had been so lately and so wofully disappointed, might see how thoroughly he was embarked, and so entertain no new jealousies of him.

After he had dined, and disposed his army in such a manner and order as he thought fit, he desired the lord mayor and aldermen to meet him at the guildhall; where, after many excuses for the work of yesterday, they plighted their troth each to other in such a manner, for the perfect union and adhering to each other for the future, that, as soon as they came from thence, the lord mayor attended the general to his lodgings, and all the bells of the city proclaimed, and testified to the town and kingdom, that the army and the city were of one mind. And, as soon as the evening came, there was a continued light of bonfires throughout the city and suburbs, with such an universal exclamation of joy, as had never been known, and cannot be expressed, with such ridiculous expressions of scorn and contempt of the parliament, as testified the no-regard, or rather the notable detestation they had of it; there being scarce a bonfire at which they did not roast a rump, and pieces of flesh made like one; "which," they said, "was for the celebration of the funeral of the parliament;" and there can be no invention of fancy, wit, or ribaldry, that was not that night exercised to defame the parliament, and to magnify the general.

In such a huddle and mixture of loose people of all conditions, and such a transport of affections, it could not be otherwise but that some men would drink the king's health; which was taken no notice of; nor did one person of condition once presume

to mention him. All this, how much soever it amazed and distracted the parliament, did not so dishearten them, but that they continued still to sit, and proceeded in all things with their usual confidence. They were not willing to despair of recovering their general again to them; and, to that purpose, they sent a committee to treat with him, and to make all such proffers to him as they conceived were most like to comply with his ambition, or to satisfy his insatiable avarice. The entertainment he gave this committee, was the engaging them in a conference with another committee of the excluded members, to the end that he might be satisfied by hearing both, how one could have right to sit there as a parliament, and the other be excluded: and when he had heard them all, he made no scruple to declare, "that in justice the secluded members ought to be admitted, but that matter was now over, by his having required the calling another parliament, and the dissolution of this."

After he had put the city into the posture they desired, and found no danger threatened him from any place, he returned again to his quarters in Whitehall, and disposed his army to those posts which he judged most convenient. He then sent for the members of the parliament to come to him, and many others who had been excluded, and lamented "the sad condition the kingdom was in, which he principally imputed to the disunion and divisions which had arisen in parliament among those who were faithful to the commonwealth: that he had had many conferences with them together, and was satisfied by those gentlemen, who had been excluded, of their integrity; and therefore he had desired this conference between them, that he might communicate his own thoughts to them; in doing whereof, that he might not be mistaken in his delivery, or misapprehended in his expressions, as he had lately been, he had put what he had a mind to say in writing;" which he commanded his secretary to read to them. The writing imported, that the settlement of the nation lay now in their hands, and that he was assured they would become makers-up of its woful breaches, in pursuit whereof they would be sure of all his service, and he should think all his pains well spent; that he would impose nothing upon them, but took leave to put them in mind, that the old foundations upon which the government had heretofore stood were so totally broken down and demolished, that in the eye of human reason they could never be reedified and restored but in the ruin of the nation; that the interest of the city of London would be best preserved by the government of a commonwealth, which was the only means to make that city to be the bank for the whole trade of Christendom; that he thought a moderate, not a rigid presbyterian government would be most acceptable, and the best way of settlement in the affairs of the church; that their care would be necessary to settle the conduct of the army, and to provide maintenance for the forces by sea and land; and concluded with a desire that they would put a period to the present parliament, and give order for the calling another that might make a perfect settlement, to which all men might submit. There was no dissimulation in this, in order to cover and conceal his good intentions for the king: for,

without doubt, he had not to this hour entertained any purpose or thought to serve him, but was really of the opinion he expressed in his paper, that it was a work impossible; and desired nothing, but that he might see a commonwealth established in such a model as Holland was, where he had been bred; and that himself might enjoy the authority and place which the prince of Orange possessed in that government. He had not, from his marching out of Scotland to this time, had any conversation with any persons who had served the king, nor indeed had he acquaintance with any such; nor had he hitherto, or, for some time after, did he set one of the king's friends at liberty, though all the prisons were full of them; but, on the contrary, they were every day committed; and it was guilt enough to be suspected but to wish for the king's restoration.

As soon as the conference above mentioned was ended with the members of the parliament, they who had been excluded from the year 1648, repaired to the house [on Feb. the 21st], and without any interruption, which they had hitherto found, took their places; and being superior in number to the rest, they first repealed and abolished all the orders by which they had been excluded; then they provided for him who had so well provided for them, by renewing and enlarging the general's commission, and revoking all other commissions which had been granted to any to meddle with, or assign quarters to any part of the forces.

They who had sat before, had put the whole militia of the kingdom into the hands of sectaries, persons of no degree or quality, and notorious only for some new tenet in religion, and for some barbarity exercised upon the king's party. All these commissions were revoked, and the militia put under the government of the nobility and principal gentry throughout the kingdom; yet with this care and exception, that no person should be capable of being trusted in that province, who did not first declare under his hand, "that he did confess, and acknowledge, that the war raised by the two houses of parliament against the late king was just, and lawful, until such time as force and violence was used upon the parliament in the year 1648."

In the last place, they raised an assessment of one hundred thousand pounds by the month, for the payment of the army, and defraying the public expenses for six months, to which the whole kingdom willingly submitted; and the city of London, upon the credit and security of that act, advanced as much ready money as they were desired; and having thus far redressed what was past, and provided as well as they could for the future, they issued out writs to call a parliament, to meet upon the five and twentieth day of April next ensuing, (being April 1660,) and then, on the sixteenth or seventeenth day of March, after they had appointed a council of state, of which there were many sober and honest gentlemen, who did not wish the king ill, they dissolved that present parliament, against all the importunities used by the sectaries, (who in multitudes flocked together, and made addresses in the name of the city of London, that they would not dissolve themselves,) but to the unspeakable joy of all the rest of the kingdom; who, notwithstanding their very dif-

ferent affections, expectations, and designs, were unanimous in their weariness and detestation of the long parliament.

When the king, who had rather an imagination, than an expectation, that the march of general Monk to London with his army might produce some alteration that might be useful to him, heard of his entire submission to the parliament, and of his entering the city, and disarming it, the commitment of the principal citizens, and breaking their gates and portcullises, all the little remainder of his hopes was extinguished, and he had nothing left before his eyes but a perpetual exile, attended with all those discomforts, whereof he had too long experience, and which, he must now expect, would be improved with the worst circumstances of neglect, which use to wait upon that condition. A greater consternation and dejection of mind cannot be imagined than at that time covered the whole court of the king; but God did not suffer him long to be wrapped up in that melancholic cloud. As the general's second march into the city was the very next day after his first, and dispelled the mists and fogs which the other had raised, so the very evening of that day which had brought the news of the first in the morning, brought likewise an account to his majesty of the second, with all the circumstances of bells, and bonfires, and burning of rumps, and such other additions, as might reasonably be true, and which a willing relator would not omit.

When it begun to be dark, the lord marquis of Ormond brought a young man with him to the chancellor's lodging at Brussels; which was under the king's bedchamber, and to which his majesty every day vouchsafed to come for the despatch of any business. The marquis said no more but "that that man had formerly been an officer under him, and he believed he was an honest man; besides, that he brought a line or two of credit from a person they would both believe; but that his discourse was so strange and extravagant, that he knew not what to think of it; however, he would call the king to judge;" and so went out of the room, leaving the man there, and immediately returned with the king.

The man's name was Bailey; who had lived most in Ireland, and had served there as a foot-officer under the marquis. He looked as if he had drank much, or slept little: his relation was, "that in the afternoon of such a day, he was with sir John Stephens in Lambeth house, used then as a prison for many of the king's friends; where, whilst they were in conference together, news was brought into the house by several persons, that the general was marched with his whole army into the city, (it being the very next day after he had been there, and broke down their gates, and pulled down their posts,) and that he had a conference with the mayor and aldermen; which was no sooner ended, but that all the city bells rang out; and he heard the bells very plain at Lambeth: and that he stayed there so late, till they saw the bonfires burning and flaming in the city: upon which sir John Stephens had desired him, that he would immediately cross the river, and go into London, and inquire what the matter was; and if he found any thing extraordinary in it, that he

would take post, and make all possible haste to Brussels, that the king might be informed of it; and so gave him a short note in writing to the marquis of Ormond, that he might believe all that the messenger would inform him: that thereupon he went over the river, walked through Cheapside, saw the bonfires, and the king's health drank in several places, heard all that the general had done, and brought a copy of the letter which the general had sent to the parliament, at the time when he returned with his army into the city; and then told many things, which were," he said, "publicly spoken, concerning sending for the king: that then he took post for Dover, and hired a bark that brought him to Ostend."

The time was so short from the hour he left London, that the expedition of his journey was incredible; nor could any man undertake to come from thence in so short a time, upon the most important affair, and for the greatest reward. It was evident by many pauses and hesitations in his discourse, and some repetitions, that the man was not composed, and at best wanted sleep; yet his relation could not be a mere fiction and imagination. Sir John Stephens was a man well known to his majesty, and the other two; and had been sent over lately by the king, with some advice to his friends; and it was well known, that he had been apprehended at his landing, and was sent prisoner to Lambeth house. And though he had not mentioned in his note any particulars, yet he had given him credit, and nothing but the man's own devotion to the king could reasonably tempt him to undertake so hazardous and chargeable a journey. Then the general's letter to the parliament was of the highest moment, and not like to be feigned; and upon the whole matter, the king thought he had argument to raise his own spirits, and that he should do but justly in communicating his intelligence to his dispirited family and servants; who, upon the news thereof, were revived proportionably to the despair they had swallowed; and, according to the temper of men who had lain under long disconsolation, thought all their sufferings over; and laid in a stock of such unreasonable presumption, that no success could procure satisfaction for.

But the king, who thanked God for this new dawning of hope, and was much refreshed with this unexpected alteration, was yet restrained from any confidence that this would produce any such revolution as would be sufficient to do his work, towards which he saw cause enough to despair of assistance from any foreign power. The most that he could collect from the general's letter, besides the suppressing the present tyranny of the parliament, was, that the excluded members might be again admitted, and, it may be, able to govern that council. And even this administered no solid ground of comfort or confidence to his majesty. Several of those excluded members had not been true members of parliament, but elected, after the end of the war, into their places who had been expelled for adhering to the king; and so they had no title to sit there, but what the counterfeit great seal had given them, without and against the king's authority. It was thought these men, with others who had been lawfully chosen, were willing, and desirous, that the concessions made by the late king at the Isle of Wight might be

accepted; which in truth did, with the preservation of the name and life of the king, near as much establish a republican government, as was settled after his murder; and because they would insist upon that, they were, with those circumstances of force and violence, which are formerly mentioned, excluded from the house; without which that horrid villainy could never have been committed.

Now what could the king reasonably expect from these men's readmission into the government, but that they would resume their old conclusions, and press him to consent to his father's concessions? which his late majesty yielded to with much less cheerfulness, than he walked to the scaffold; though it was upon the promise of many powerful men then in the parliament, "that he should not be obliged to accomplish that agreement." These revolvings wrought much upon his majesty, though he thought it necessary to appear pleased with what he had heard, and to expect much greater things from it; which yet he knew not how to contribute to, till he should receive a farther account from London of the revolutions there.

Indeed, when all his majesty had heard before was confirmed by several expresses, who passed with much freedom, and were every day sent by his friends, who had recovered their courage to the full, and discerned that these excluded members were principally admitted to prepare for the calling a new parliament, and to be sure to make the dissolution of this unquestionable and certain, the king recovered his hopes again; which were every day increased by the addresses of many men, who had never before applied themselves to him; and many sent to him for his majesty's approbation and leave to serve and sit in the next parliament. And from the time that the parliament was dissolved, the council of state behaved themselves very civilly towards his majesty's friends, and released many of them out of prison: particularly Annealey, when president of the council, was very well contented that the king should receive particular information of his devotion, and of his resolution to do him service; which he manifested in many particulars of importance, and had the courage to receive a letter from his majesty, and returned a dutiful answer to it: all which had a very good aspect, and seemed to promise much good. Yet the king knew not what to think of the general's paper, which he had delivered at his conference with the members; for which he could have no temptation, but his violent affection to a commonwealth. Few or none of his majesty's friends could find any means of address to him; yet they did believe, and were much the better for believing it, that the king had some secret correspondence with him. And some of them sent to the king, "of what importance it would be, that he gave them some credit, or means of access to the general, by which they might receive his order and direction in such things as occurred on the sudden, and that they might be sure to do nothing that might cross any purpose of his." To which the king returned no other answer, "but that they should have patience, and make no attempt whatsoever; and that in due time they should receive all advices necessary;" it being not thought fit to disclaim having intelligence with, or hopes of, the

general; since it was very evident, that the received opinion, that he did design to serve the king, or that he would be at last obliged to do it, whether he designed to do it or no, did really as much contribute to the advancement of his majesty's service, as if he had dedicated himself to it. And the assurance, that other men had, that he had no such intention, hindered those obstructions, jealousies, and interruptions, which very probably might have lessened his credit with his own army, or united all the rest of the forces against him.

There happened likewise at this time an accident that very much troubled the king, and might very probably have destroyed all the hopes that began to flatter him. Upon the dissolution of the parliament, which put an end to all the power and authority of those who had been the chief instruments of all the monstrous things which had been done, the highest despair seized upon all who had been the late king's judges; who were sure to find as hard measure from the secluded members, as they were to expect if the king himself had been restored. And all they who had afterwards concurred with them, and exercised the same power, who were called the rump, believed their ruin and destruction to be certain, and at hand. And therefore they contrived all the ways they could to preserve themselves, and to prevent the assembling a new parliament; which if they could interrupt, they made no doubt but the rump members would again resume the government, notwithstanding their dissolution by the power of the secluded members; who would then pay dear for their presumption and intrusion.

To this purpose, they employed their agents amongst the officers and soldiers of the army, who had been disgracefully removed from their quarters in the Strand, and Westminster, and the parts adjacent to London, to make room for general Monk's army; which was now looked upon as the sole confiding part of the army. And they inflamed these men with the sense of their own desperate condition; who, having served throughout the war, should, besides the loss of all the arrears of pay due to them, be now offered as a sacrifice to the cavaliers, whom they had conquered, and who were implacably incensed against them. Nor did they omit to make the same infusions into the soldiers of general Monk's army, who had all the same title to the same fears and apprehensions. And when their minds were thus prepared, and ready to declare upon the first opportunity, Lambert made his escape out of the Tower; his party having in all places so many of their combination, that they could compass their designs of that kind whenever they thought fit; though the general had as great a jealousy of this man's escape, as of any thing that could fall out to supplant him. And therefore, it may be presumed, he took all possible care to prevent it: and they who then had command of the place were notoriously known neither to love Lambert's person, nor to favour his designs.

This escape of Lambert in such a conjuncture, the most perilous that it could fall out in, put the general, and the council of state, into a great agony. They knew well what poison had been scattered about the army, and what impression it had made in the soldiers. Lambert was the most popular man, and had the greatest influence upon

them. And though they had lately deserted him, they had sufficiently published their remorse, and their detestation of those who had seduced and cozened them. So that there was little doubt to be made, now he was at liberty, but that they would flock and resort to him, as soon as they should know where to find him. On the other hand, no small danger was threatened from the very drawing the army together to a rendezvous in order to prosecute and oppose him, no man being able to make a judgment what they would choose to do in such a conjuncture, when they were so full of jealousy and dissatisfaction. And it may very reasonably be believed, that if he had, after he found himself at liberty, lain concealed, till he had digested the method he meant to proceed in, and procured some place to which the troops might resort to declare with him, when he should appear, (which had been very easy then for him to have done,) he would have gone near to have shaken and dissolved the model the general had made.

But either through the fear of his security, and being betrayed into the hands of his enemies, (as all kind of treachery was at that time very active; of which he had experience,) or the presumption, that the army would obey him upon his first call, and that, if he could draw a small part to him, the rest would never appear against him; he precipitated himself to make an attempt, before he was ready for it, or it for him; and so put it into his enemy's power to disappoint and control all his designs. He stayed not at all in London, as he ought to have done, but hastened into the country; and trusting a gentleman in Buckinghamshire, whom he thought himself sure of, the general had quickly notice in what quarter he was: yet, with great expedition, Lambert drew four troops of the army to him, with which he had the courage to appear near Daventry in Northamptonshire, a country infamously famous for disaffection to the king, and for adhering to the parliament; where he presumed he should be attended by other parts of the army, before it should be known at Whitehall where he was, and that any forces could be sent from thence against him: of which, he doubted not, from his many friends, he should have seasonable notice.

But the general, upon his first secret intimation of his being in Buckinghamshire, and of the course he meant to take, had committed it to the charge and care of colonel Ingoldsby, (who was well known to be very willing and desirous to take revenge upon Lambert, for his malice to Oliver and Richard, and the affront he had himself received from him,) to attend and watch all his motions with his own regiment of horse; which was the more faithful to him for having been before seduced by Lambert to desert him. Ingoldsby used so much diligence in waiting upon Lambert's motion, before he was suspected to be so near, that one of Lambert's four captains fell into the hands of his forlorn hope; who made him prisoner, and brought him to their colonel. The captain was very well known to Ingoldsby; who, after some conference with him, gave him his liberty, upon his promise, "that he would himself retire to his house, and send his troop to obey his commands;" which promise he observed; and the next day his troop, under his cornet and quartermaster, came to Ingoldsby, and informed

him were Lambert was. He thereupon made haste, and was in his view, before the other had notice that he was pursued by him.

Lambert, surprised with this discovery, and finding that one of his troops had forsaken him, saw his enemy much superior to him in number; and therefore sent to desire that they might treat together; which the other was content to do. Lambert proposed to him, "that they might restore Richard to be protector;" and promised to unite all his credit to the support of that interest. But Ingoldsby (besides that he well understood the folly and impossibility of that undertaking) had devoted himself to a better interest; and adhered to the general, because he presumed that he did intend to serve the king, and so rejected this overture. Whereupon both parties prepared to fight, when another of Lambert's troops forsaking him, and putting themselves under his enemy, he concluded, that his safety would depend upon his flight; which he thought to secure by the swiftness of his horse. But Ingoldsby keeping his eye still upon him, and being as well horsed, overtook him, and made him his prisoner, after he had in vain used great and much importunity to him, that he would permit him to escape.

With him were taken Oakes, Axtell, Cobbet, Creed, and some other officers of the greatest interest with the fanatic part of the army, and who were most apprehended by the general, in a time when all the ways were full of soldiers endeavouring to repair to them: so that, if they had not been crushed in that instant, they would, in very few days, have appeared very formidable. Ingoldsby returned to London, and brought his prisoners to the privy council; who committed Lambert again to the Tower with a stricter charge, with some other of the officers; and sent the rest to other prisons. This very seasonable victory looked to all men as a happy omen to the succeeding parliament; which was to assemble the next day after the prisoners were brought before the council; and would not have appeared with the same cheerfulness, if Lambert had remained still in arms, or, in truth, if he had been still at liberty.

In this interval between the dissolution of the last and convention of the new parliament, the council of state did many prudent actions, which were good presages that the future counsels would proceed with moderation. They released sir George Booth from his imprisonment, that he might be elected to sit in the ensuing parliament, as he shortly after was; and they set at liberty all those who had been committed for adhering to him. Those of the king's party who had sheltered themselves in obscurity, appeared now abroad, and conversed without control; and Mr. Mordaunt, who was known to be entirely trusted by the king, walked into all places with freedom; and many of the council, and some officers of the army, as Ingoldsby and Huntington, &c. made, through him, tender of their services to the king.

But that which seemed of most importance, was the reformation they made in the navy; which was full of sectaries, and under the government of those who of all men were declared the most republican. The present fleet prepared for the summer service was under the command of vice-admiral Lawson; an excellent seaman, but then a

notorious anabaptist; who had filled the fleet with officers and mariners of the same principles. And they well remembered, how he had lately besieged the city; and, by the power of his fleet, given that turn which helped to ruin the committee of safety, and restore the rump parliament to the exercise of their jurisdiction; for which he stood high in reputation with all that party. The parliament resolved, though they thought it not fit or safe to remove Lawson, yet so far to eclipse him, that he should not have it so absolutely in his power to control them. In order to this they concluded, that they would call Mountague, who had lain privately in his own house, under a cloud, and jealousy of being inclined too much to the king, and made him and the general (who was not to be left out in any thing) joint admirals of the fleet; whereby Mountague only would go to sea, and have the ships under his command; by which he might take care for good officers, and seamen, for such other ships as they meant to add to the fleet, and would be able to observe, if not reform the rest. Mountague sent privately over to the king for his approbation, before he would accept the charge; which being speedily sent to him, he came to London, and entered into that joint command with the general; and immediately applied himself to put the fleet into so good order, that he might comfortably serve in it. Since there was no man who betook himself to his majesty's service with more generosity than this gentleman, it is fit in this place to enlarge concerning him, and the correspondence which he held with the king.

Mountague was of a noble family, of which some were too much addicted to innovations in religion, and, in the beginning of the troubles, appeared against the king; though his father, who had been long a servant to the crown, never could be prevailed upon to swerve from his allegiance, and took all the care he could to restrain this his only son within those limits: but being young, and more out of his father's control by being married into a family, which, at that time, also trod awry, he was so far wrought upon by the caresses of Cromwell, that, out of pure affection to him, he was persuaded to take command in the army, when it was new modelled under Fairfax, and when he was little more than twenty years of age. He served in that army in the condition of a colonel to the end of the war, with the reputation of a very stout and sober young man. And from that time Cromwell, to whom he passionately adhered, took him into his nearest confidence, and sent him, first, joined in commission with Blake; and then, in the sole command of several expeditions by sea; in which he was discreet and successful. And though men looked upon him as devoted to Cromwell's interest, in all other respects he behaved himself with civility to all men, and without the least show of acrimony towards any who had served the king; and was so much in love with monarchy, that he was one of those who most desired and advised Cromwell to accept and assume that title, when it was offered to him by his parliament. He was designed by him to command the fleet that was to mediate, as was pretended, in the Sound, between the two kings of Sweden and Denmark; but was, in truth, to hinder the Dutch from assisting the Dane against the Swede; with whom Oliver was engaged in an inseparable alliance. He was upon this expedition, when

Richard was scornfully thrown out of the protectorship; and was afterwards joined (for they knew not how to leave him out, whilst he had that command) with Algernon Sidney, and the other plenipotentiaries which the rump parliament sent to reconcile those crowns. As soon as Richard was so cast down, the king thought Mountague's relations and obligations were at an end, and was advised by those who knew him, to invite him to his service.

There accompanied him at that time Edward Mountague, the eldest son of the lord Mountague of Boughton, and his near kinsman; with whom he had a particular friendship. This gentleman was not unknown to the king, and very well known to the chancellor, to have good affections and resolutions; and one who, by the correspondence that was between them, he knew, had undertaken that unpleasant voyage, only to dispose his cousin to lay hold of the first opportunity to serve his majesty. At this time sir George Booth appeared, and all those designs were laid, which, it was reasonably hoped, would engage the whole kingdom against that odious part of the parliament which was then possessed of the government. And it was now thought a very seasonable conjuncture to make an experiment, whether Mountague with his fleet would declare for the king.

The chancellor thereupon prepared such a letter in his own name, as his majesty thought proper, to invite him to that resolution, from the distraction of the times, and the determination of all those motives which had in his youth first provoked him to the engagements he had been in. He informed him of "sir George Booth's being "possessed of Chester, and in the head of an "army; and that his majesty was assured of many "other places; and of a general combination between persons of the greatest interest, to declare "for the king; and that, if he would bring his "fleet upon the coast, his majesty, or the duke of "York, would immediately be on board with him." This letter was enclosed in another to Edward Mountague, to be by him delivered, or not delivered, as he thought fit; and committed to the care of an express, who was then thought not to be without some credit with the admiral himself; which did not prove true. However, the messenger was diligent in prosecuting his voyage, and arrived safely at Copenhagen, (where the fleet lay; and where all the plenipotentiaries from the parliament then were,) and without difficulty found opportunity to deliver his letter to the person to whom it was directed; who, the same night, delivered the other to his cousin. He received it cheerfully, and was well pleased with the hopes of sudden revolutions in England.

They were both of them puzzled how to behave themselves towards the messenger, who was not acceptable to them, being very well known to the fleet, where though he had had good command, he had no credit; and had appeared so publicly, by the folly of good fellowship, that the admiral, and many others, had seen him and taken notice of him, before he knew that he brought any letter for him. The conclusion was, that he should without delay be sent away, without speaking with the admiral, or knowing that he knew any thing of his errand. But Edward Mountague writ such a letter to the chancellor, as was evidence enough that his majesty would not be disappointed in his



expectation of any service that the admiral could perform for him. With this answer the messenger returned to Brussels, where there was a great alteration from the time he had left it.

Within few days after this messenger's withdrawing from Copenhagen, of whose being there the plenipotentiaries were so jealous, that they had resolved to require of the king of Denmark, that he might be committed to prison, admiral Mountague declared, "that he should not be able to stay longer there for the want of victual; of which he had not more than would serve to carry him home; and therefore desired, that they would press both kings, and the Dutch plenipotentiaries, to finish the negociation." By this time the news of the revolutions in England made a great noise, and were reported, according to the affections of the persons who sent letters thither, more to the king's advantage than there was reason for; and the other plenipotentiaries came to know, that the man, of whom they were so jealous, had privately spoken with Edward Mountague; who was very well known, and very ill thought of by them. And from thence they concluded, that the admiral, who had never pleased them, was no stranger to that negociation; in which jealousy they were quickly confirmed, when they saw him with his fleet under sail, making his course for England, without giving them any notice, or taking his leave of them; which if he had done, they had secret authority from their coming thither (upon the general apprehension of his inclination) to have secured his person on board his own ship, and to have disposed of the government of the fleet; of which being thus prevented, they could do no more than send expresses overland, to acquaint the parliament of his departure, with all the aggravation of his pride, presumption, and infidelity, which the bitterness of their nature and wit could suggest to them.

When the fleet arrived near the coast of England, they found sir George Booth defeated, and all persons who pretended any affection for the king so totally crushed, and the rump parliament in so full exercise of its tyrannical power, that the admiral had nothing to do but to justify his return "by his scarcity of victual, which must have failed, if he had stayed till the winter had shut him up in the Sound;" and his return was resolved upon the joint advice of the flag-officers of the fleet; there being not a man but his cousin, who knew any other reason of his return, or was privy to his purposes. So that, as soon as he had presented himself to the parliament, and laid down his command, they deferred the examination of the whole matter, upon the complaints which they had received from their commissioners, till they could be at more leisure. For it was then about the time that they grew jealous of Lambert; so that Mountague went quietly into the country, and remained neglected and forgotten, till those revolutions were over which were produced by Lambert's invasion upon the parliament, and general Monk's march into England, and till near the time that the name and title of that parliament was totally abolished and extinguished; and then the council of state called him to resume the command of the fleet; which he accepted in the manner aforesaid.

This, together with the other good symptoms in the state, raised his majesty's hopes and expecta-

tion higher than ever, if it had not been an unpleasant allay, that in so great an alteration, and application of many who had been eminently averse from his majesty, of the general, who only could put an end to all his doubts, there was *altum silentium*; no persons trusted by his majesty could approach him, nor did any word fall from him that could encourage them to go to him, though they still presumed that he meant well.

The general was weary and perplexed with his unwieldy burden, yet knew not how to make it lighter by communication. He spent much time in consultation with persons of every interest, the king's party only excepted; with whom he held no conference; though he found, in his every day's discourses in the city, with those who were thought to be presbyterians, and with other persons of quality and consideration, that the people did generally wish for the king, and that they did believe, there could be no firm and settled peace in the nation, that did not comprehend his interest, and compose the prejudice that was against his party. But then there must be strict conditions to which he must be bound, which it should not be in his majesty's power to break; and which might not only secure all who had borne arms against him, but such who had purchased the lands of the crown, or of bishops, or of delinquents; and nobody spoke more moderately, than for the confirming all that had been offered by his father in the Isle of Wight.

Whether by invitation, or upon his own desire, he was present at Northumberland-house in a conference with that earl, the earl of Manchester, and other lords, and likewise with Hollis, sir William Waller, Lewis, and other eminent persons, who had a trust and confidence in each other, and who were looked upon as the heads and governors of the moderate presbyterian party; who, most of them, would have been very glad, their own security being provided for, that the king should be restored to his full rights, and the church to its possessions. In this conference, the king's restoration was proposed in direct terms, as absolutely necessary to the peace of the kingdom, and for the satisfaction of the people; and the question seemed only to be, upon what terms they should admit him: some proposing more moderate, others more severe conditions. In this whole debate, the general insisted upon the most rigid propositions; which he pressed in such a manner, that the lords grew jealous that he had such an aversion from restoring the king, that it would not be safe for them then to prosecute that advice; and therefore it were best to acquiesce till the parliament met, and that they could make some judgment of the temper of it. And the general, though he consulted with those of every faction with much freedom, yet was then thought to have most familiarity, and to converse most freely, with sir Arthur Haslerig, who was irreconcilable to monarchy, and looked upon as the chief of that republican party, which desired not to preserve any face of government in the church, or uniformity in the public exercise of religion. This made the lords, and all others, who were of different affections, very wary in their discourses with the general, and jealous of his inclinations.

There was, at this time, in much conversation and trust with the general, a gentleman of Devon-



shire, of a fair estate and reputation, one Mr. William Morrice, a person of a retired life, which he spent in study, being learned and of good parts; and he had been always looked upon as a man far from any malice towards the king, if he had not good affections for him; which they who knew him best, believed him to have in a good measure. This gentleman was allied to the general, and entirely trusted by him in the management of his estate in that country, where, by the death of his elder brother without heirs male, he inherited a fair fortune. And Morrice, being chosen to serve in the next ensuing parliament, had made haste to London, the better to observe how things were like to go. With him the general consulted freely touching all his perplexities and observations; how "he found most men of quality and interest inclined to call in the king, but upon such conditions as must be very ungrateful, if possible to be received;" and the London ministers talked already so loudly of them, that they had caused the covenant to be new printed, and, by order, to be secretly fixed up in all churches, they, in their sermons, discoursed of the several obligations in it, that, without exposing themselves to the danger of naming the king, which yet they did not long forbear, every body understood, they thought it necessary the people should return to their allegiance.

That which wrought most upon the general, was the choice which was generally made in all counties for members to serve in parliament; very many of them being known to be of singular affection to the king, and very few who did not heartily abhor the murder of his father, and detest the government that succeeded; so that it was reasonably apprehended, that, when they should once meet, there would be warmth among them, that could not be restrained or controlled; and they might take the business so much into their own hands, as to leave no part to him to merit of the king; from whom he had yet deserved nothing.

Mr. Morrice was not wanting to cultivate those conceptions with his information of the affections of the west, "where the king's restoration was," he said, "so impatiently longed for, that they had made choice of few or no members to serve for Cornwall, or Devonshire, but such, who, they were confident, would contribute all they could to invite the king to return. And when that subject was once upon the stage, they who concurred with most frankness would find most credit; and they who opposed it would be overborne with lasting reproach." When the general had reflected upon the whole matter, he resolved to advance what he plainly saw he should not be able to hinder; and so consulted with his friend, how he might manage it in that manner, before the parliament should assemble, that what followed might be imputed to his counsels and contrivance.

There was then in the town a gentleman well known to be a servant of eminent trust to the king, sir John Greenvil, who, from the time of the surrender of Scilly, had enjoyed his estate, and sometimes his liberty, though, under the jealousy of a disaffected person, often restrained. He had been privy to the sending to the general into Scotland the clergyman, his brother; and was conversant with those who were most trusted by his majesty, and at this time were taken notice of

to have all intimacy with Mr. Mordaunt; who most immediately corresponded with Brussels. This gentleman was of a family to which the general was allied; and he had been obliged to his father, sir Bevil Greenvil; who lost his life at the battle of Lansdown for the king, and by his will had recommended his much impaired fortune, and his wife and children, to the care and counsel of his neighbour and friend, Mr. Morrice; who had executed the trust with the utmost fidelity and friendship.

The general was content, that sir John Greenvil should be trusted in this great affair, and that Mr. Morrice should bring him secretly to him in a private lodging he had in St. James's. When he came to him, after he had solemnly conjured him to secrecy, upon the peril of his life; he told him, "he meant to send him to the king; with whom, he presumed, he had credit enough to be believed without any testimony; for he was resolved not to write to the king, nor to give him any thing in writing; but wished him to confer with Mr. Morrice, and to take short memorials in his own hand of those particulars he should offer to him in discourse; which when he had done, he would himself confer with him again at an hour he should appoint." And so he retired hastily out of the room, as if he were jealous that other men would wonder at his absence.

That which Mr. Morrice communicated to Greenvil, was, after he had enlarged upon the "perplexity the general was in, by the several humours and factions which prevailed, and that he durst not trust any officer of his own army, or any friend but himself, with his own secret purposes;" he advised, "that the king should write a letter to the general; in which, after kind and gracious expressions, he should desire him to deliver the enclosed letter and declaration to the parliament;" the particular heads and materials for which letter and declaration, Morrice discoursed to him; the end of which was to satisfy all interests, and to comply with every man's humour, and indeed to suffer every man to enjoy what he would.

After sir John Greenvil had enough discoursed all particulars with him, and taken such short memorials for his memory as he thought necessary, within a day or two he was brought with the same wariness, and in another place, to the general; to whom he read the short notes he had taken; to which little was added: and the general said, that if the "king writ to that purpose, when he brought the letter to him, he would keep it in his hands, till he found a fit time to deliver it, or should think of another way to serve his majesty." Only he added another particular, as an advice absolutely necessary for the king to consent to, which was, his majesty's present remove out of Flanders. He undertook to know, that the Spaniard had no purpose to do any thing for him, and that all his friends were jealous, that it would not be in his power to remove from thence, if he deferred it till they discovered that he was like to have no need of them. And therefore he desired, "that his majesty would make haste to Breda, and that, for the public satisfaction, and that it might be evident he had left Flanders, whatsoever he should send in writing should bear date as from Breda;" and he enjoined sir John Greenvil "not to return, till he

"had himself seen the king out of the dominions of Flanders." Thus instructed, he left him, who, taking Mr. Mordaunt with him for the companion of his journey, set out for Flanders about the beginning of April 1660, and in few days arrived safely at Brussels.

It was no unpleasant prospect to the king, nor of small advantage to him, that the Spaniard looked upon all these revolutions in England as the effects of the several animosities and emulations of the different factions among themselves; a contention only between the presbyterian-republicans on one side, and the independent and levelling party on the other, for superiority, and who should steer the government of the state, without the least reference to the king's interest: which, they thought, would in no degree be advanced which side soever prevailed. And therefore don Alonzo, by his Irish agents, (who made him believe any thing,) continued firm to the levellers, who, if they got the better of their enemies, he was assured, would make a good peace with Spain; which above all things they desired: and if they were oppressed, he made as little doubt they would unite themselves to the king, upon such conditions as he should arbitrate between them. And in this confidence he embraced all the ways he could to correspond with them, receiving such agents with all possible secrecy who repaired to him to Brussels; and when instruments of most credit and importance would not adventure thither, he was contented to send some person, who was intrusted by him, into Zealand to confer and treat with them. And in this kind of negotiation, which was very expensive, they cared not what money they disbursed, whilst they neglected the king, and suffered him to be without that small supply, which they had assigned to him.

In this temper were the Spanish ministers, when Mr. Mordaunt and sir John Greenvil came to Brussels. And they had so fully possessed the court at Madrid with the same spirit, that when the chancellor, in his letters to sir Harry Bennet, his majesty's resident there, intimated the hopes they had of a revolution in England to the advantage of the king, he answered plainly, "that he durst not communicate any of those letters to the ministers there; who would laugh at him for abusing them, since they looked upon all those hopes of the king as imaginary, and without foundation of sense, and upon his condition as most deplorable, and absolutely desperate."

When sir John Greenvil had at large informed his majesty of the affairs of England, of the manner of the general's conference with him, and the good affection of Mr. Morrice, and had communicated the instructions and advices he had received, as his majesty was very glad that the general had thus far discovered himself, and that he had opened a door for correspondence, so he was not without great perplexity upon many particulars which were recommended to be done; some of which he believed impossible and unpracticable, as the leaving every body in the state they were in, and confirming their possession in all the lands which they held in England, Scotland, or Ireland, by purchase or donation, whether of lands belonging to the crown and church, or such who, for adhering to his father and himself, were declared delinquents, and had their lands confiscated and disposed of as their enemies had thought fit. Then, the com-

plying with all humours in religion, and the granting a general liberty of conscience, was a violation of all the laws in force, and could not be comprehended to consist with the peace of the kingdom. No man was more disposed to a general act of indemnity and oblivion than his majesty was, which he knew, in so long and universal a guilt, was absolutely necessary. But he thought it neither consistent with his honour, nor his conscience, that those who had sat as judges, and condemned his father to be murdered, should be comprehended in that act of pardon: yet it was advised, "that there might be no exception; or that above four might not be excepted; because," it was alleged, "that some of them had facilitated the general's march by falling from Lambert, and others had barefaced advanced the king's service very much."

After great deliberation upon all the particulars, and weighing the importance of complying with the general's advice in all things which his conscience and honour would permit, his majesty directed such letters and declarations to be prepared, as should be, in a good degree, suitable to the wishes and counsel of the general, and yet make the transaction of those things which he did not like, the effect of the power of the parliament, rather than of his majesty's approbation. And the confidence he had upon the general election of honest and prudent men, and in some particular persons, who, he heard, were already chosen, disposed him to make a general reference of all things which he could not reserve to himself, to the wisdom of the parliament, upon presumption that they would not exact more from him than he was willing to consent to; since he well knew, that whatever title they assumed, or he gave them, they must have another kind of parliament to confirm all that was done by them; without which they could not be safe and contented, nor his majesty obliged.

The advice for his majesty's remove out of Flanders presently, was not ungrateful; for he had reasons abundant to be weary of it: yet he was without any great inclination to Holland; where he had been as barbarously used as it was possible for any gentleman to be. But besides the authority which the general's advice deserved to have, the truth is, his majesty could remove no whither else. France was equally excepted against, and equally disagreeable to the king; and the way thither must be through all the Spanish dominions: Dunkirk was a place in many respects desirable, because it was in the possession of the English, from whence he might embark for England upon the shortest warning. And upon the first alterations in England, after the peace between the two crowns, the king had sent to Lockhart, the governor, and general of the English there, by a person of honour, well known and respected by him, to invite him to his service by the prospect he had of the revolutions like to ensue, (which probably could not but be advantageous to the king,) and by the uncertainty of Lockhart's own condition upon any such alterations. The arguments were urged to him with clearness and force enough, and all necessary offers made to persuade him to declare for the king, and to receive his majesty into that garrison; which might be facilitated by his majesty's troops, if he did not think his own soldiers enough

at his devotion: yet he could not be prevailed with, urging "the trust he had received, and the indecency of breaking it; though," he confessed, "there was such a jealousy of him in the council of state, for his relation and alliance to Cromwell, that he expected every day to be removed from that command;" as shortly after he was. Whether this refusal proceeded from the punctuality of his nature, (for he was a man of parts, and of honour,) or from his jealousy of the garrison, that they would not be disposed by him, (for though he was exceedingly beloved and obeyed by them, yet they were all Englishmen, and he had none of his own nation, but in his own family,) certain it is, that, at the same time he refused to treat with the king, he refused to accept the great offers made to him by the cardinal; who had a high esteem of him, and offered to make him marshal of France, with great appointments of pensions and other emoluments, if he would deliver Dunkirk and Mardike into the hands of France; all which overtures he rejected: so that his majesty had no place to resort to preferable to Breda.

The king was resolved rather to make no mention of the murderers of his father, than to pardon any of them, and except four, as was proposed: but chose rather to refer the whole consideration of that affair, without any restriction, to the conscience of the parliament; yet with such expressions and descriptions, that they could not but discern that he trusted them in confidence that they would do themselves and the nation right, in declaring their detestation of, and preparing vengeance for, that paricide. And from the time that the secluded members sat again with the rump, there was good evidence given that they would not leave that odious murder unexamined and unpunished; which the more disposed the king to depend upon their virtue and justice.

When the summons were sent out to call the parliament, there was no mention or thought of a house of peers; nor had the general intimated any such thing to sir John Grenvil; nor did sir John himself, or Mr. Mordaunt, conceive that any of the lords had a purpose to meet at first, but that all must depend upon the commons. However, the king thought not fit to pass them by, but to have a letter prepared as well for them as for the house of commons; and another to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London; who, by adhering to the general, were like to add very much to his authority.

When all those things were prepared, and perused, and approved by the king, which he resolved to send by sir John Grenvil to the general, (Grenvil's and Mordaunt's being in Brussels being unknown; they, attending his majesty only in the night at the chancellor's lodging, concealing themselves from being taken notice of by any,) his majesty visited the marquis of Carracena, and told him, "that he intended the next day to go to Antwerp, and from thence to Breda, to spend two or three days with his sister the princess of Orange;" to whom the dukes of York and Gloucester were already gone, to acquaint her with the king's purpose; and his majesty likewise, in confidence, informed him, "that there were some persons come from England, who would not venture to come to Brussels, from whom he expected some propositions and informations,

"which might prove beneficial to him; which obliged him to make that journey to confer with them."

The marquis seemed to think that of little moment; and said, "that don Alonzo expected every day to receive assurance, that the levellers would unite themselves to the king's interest, upon more moderate conditions than they had hitherto made;" but desired his majesty, "that the duke of York might hasten his journey into Spain, to receive the command that was there reserved for him;" and the king desired him, "that the forces he had promised for his service might be ready against his return to be embarked upon the first appearance of a hopeful occasion." So they parted; and his majesty went the next day to Antwerp, with that small retinue he used to travel with.

His departure was some hours earlier than the marquis imagined; and the reason of it was this: in that night, one Mr. William Galloway, an Irish young man, page at that time to don Alonzo de Cardinas, came to the lord chancellor's lodgings, and finding his secretary in his own room, told him, "he must needs speak presently with his lord; for he had something to impart to him that concerned the king's life." The chancellor, though at that time in bed, ordered him to be admitted; and the poor man trembling told him, "that his lord don Alonzo and the marquis of Carracena had been long together that evening; and, that himself had overheard them saying something of sending a guard to attend the king: that, about an hour after, they parted; and the marquis sent a paper to don Alonzo; who, when he went to bed, laid it on his table: that himself, who lay in his master's antechamber, looked into the paper, when his master was in bed; and, seeing what it was, had brought it to the chancellor." It imported an order to an officer to attend the king with a party of horse, for a guard wherever he went, (a respect that never had been paid him before,) but not to suffer him, on any terms, to go out of the town. As soon as the chancellor had read the order, he sent his secretary with it to the king; who was in bed likewise; and his majesty having read it, the secretary returned it to Galloway; who went home, and laid it in its place upon his master's table. The king commanded the chancellor's secretary to call up his majesty's querry, sir William Armorer; and to him his majesty gave his orders, charging him with secrecy, "that he would be gone at three of the clock that morning:" and accordingly he went, attended by the marquis of Ormond, sir William Armorer, and two or three servants more. Between eight and nine that morning, an officer did come and inquire for the king; but it happened, by this seasonable discovery, that his majesty had made his escape some hours before, to the no small mortification, no doubt, of the Spanish governor.

As soon as his majesty came into the States' dominions, which was about the midway between Antwerp and Breda, he delivered to sir John Grenvil (who attended there *incognito*, that he might warrantably aver to the general, "that he had seen his majesty out of Flanders") all those despatches, which were prepared, and dated, as from Breda, upon the same day in which he received them, and where his majesty was to be that

night. The copies of all were likewise delivered to him, that the general, upon perusal thereof, might choose whether to deliver the originals, if any thing was contained therein which he disliked; and his majesty referred it to him to proceed any other way, if, upon any alterations which should happen, he thought fit to vary from his former advice.

Sir John Greenvil, before his departure, told the king, "that though he had no order to propose it directly to his majesty; yet he could assure him, it would be the most grateful and obliging thing his majesty could do towards the general, if he would give him leave to assure him, that, as soon as he came into England, he would bestow the office of one of the secretaries of state upon Mr. Morrice; who was as well qualified for it, as any man who had not been versed in the knowledge of foreign affairs." One of those places was then void by the earl of Bristol's becoming Roman catholic, and thereupon resigning the signet; and his majesty was very glad to lay that obligation upon the general, and to gratify a person who had so much credit with him, and had already given such manifestation of his good affection to his majesty, and directed him to give that assurance to the general. With these despatches sir John Greenvil, and Mr. Mordaunt, who privately expected his return at Antwerp, made what haste they could towards England; and the king went that night to Breda. The letters which the king writ to the general, and to the house of commons, and the other letters, with the declaration, are here inserted in the terms they were sent.

*To our trusty and well-beloved general Monk, to be by him communicated to the president, and council of state, and to the officers of the armies under his command.*

*" Charles R.*

" Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well :  
" It cannot be believed, but that we have been,  
" are, and ever must be, as solicitous as we can,  
" by all endeavours to improve the affections of  
" our good subjects at home, and to procure the  
" assistance of our friends and allies abroad, for  
" the recovery of that right, which, by the laws of  
" God and man, is unquestionable; and of which  
" we have been so long dispossessed by such force,  
" and with those circumstances, as we do not  
" desire to aggravate by any sharp expressions;  
" but rather wish, that the memory of what is past  
" may be buried to the world. That we have  
" more endeavoured to prepare and to improve  
" the affections of our subjects at home for our  
" restoration, than to procure assistance from  
" abroad to invade either of our kingdoms, is as  
" manifest to the world. And we cannot give a  
" better evidence that we are still of the same  
" mind, than in this conjuncture; when common  
" reason must satisfy all men, that we cannot be  
" without assistance from abroad, we choose rather  
" to send to you, who have it in your power to  
" prevent that ruin and desolation which a war  
" would bring upon the nation, and to make the  
" whole kingdom owe the peace, happiness, secu-  
" rity, and glory it shall enjoy, to your virtue;  
" and to acknowledge that your armies have com-  
" plied with their obligations, for which they were

" first raised, for the preservation of the protestant  
" religion, the honour and dignity of the king,  
" the privileges of parliament, the liberty and  
" property of the subject, and the fundamental  
" laws of the land; and that you have vindicated  
" that trust, which others most perfidiously abused  
" and betrayed. How much we desire and resolve  
" to contribute to those good ends, will appear to  
" you by our enclosed declaration; which we de-  
" sire you to cause to be published for the informa-  
" tion and satisfaction of all good subjects, who  
" do not desire a farther effusion of precious  
" Christian blood, but to have their peace and  
" security founded upon that which can only sup-  
" port it, an unity of affections amongst ourselves,  
" an equal administration of justice to men, re-  
" storing parliaments to a full capacity of provid-  
" ing for all that is amiss, and the laws of the  
" land to their due veneration.

" You have been yourselves witnesses of so  
" many revolutions, and have had so much expe-  
" rience, how far any power and authority that is  
" only assumed by passion and appetite, and not  
" supported by justice, is from providing for the  
" happiness and peace of the people, or from re-  
" ceiving any obedience from them, (without which  
" no government can provide for them,) that you  
" may very reasonably believe, that God hath not  
" been so well pleased with the attempts that have  
" been made, since he hath usually increased the  
" confusion, by giving all the success that hath  
" been desired, and brought that to pass without  
" effect, which the designers have proposed as the  
" best means to settle and compose the nation:  
" and therefore we cannot but hope and believe,  
" that you will concur with us in the remedy we  
" have applied; which, to human understanding,  
" is only proper for the illa we all groan under;  
" and that you will make yourselves the blessed  
" instruments to bring this blessing of peace and  
" reconciliation upon king and people; it being  
" the usual method in which divine providence  
" delighteth itself, to use and sanctify those very  
" means, which ill men design for the satisfaction  
" of private and particular ends and ambition, and  
" other wicked purposes, to wholesome and public  
" ends, and to establish that good which is most  
" contrary to the designers; which is the greatest  
" manifestation of God's peculiar kindness to a  
" nation that can be given in this world. How  
" far we resolve to preserve your interests, and  
" reward your services, we refer to our declara-  
" tion; and we hope God will inspire you to per-  
" form your duty to us, and to your native coun-  
" try; whose happiness cannot be separated from  
" each other.

" We have intrusted our well-beloved servant  
" sir John Greenvil, one of the gentlemen of our  
" bedchamber, to deliver this unto you, and to give  
" us an account of your reception of it, and to  
" desire you, in our name, that it may be published.  
" And so we bid you farewell."

*Given at our court at Breda, this 4<sup>th</sup> of April,  
1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

*To our trusty and well-beloved, the speaker of the  
house of commons.*

*" Charles R.*

" Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well :  
" In these great and insupportable afflictions and

"calamities, under which the poor nation hath been so long exercised, and by which it is so near exhausted, we cannot think of a more natural and proper remedy, than to resort to those for counsel and advice, who have seen and observed the first beginning of our miseries, the progress from bad to worse, and the mistakes and misunderstandings, which have been produced, and contributed to inconveniences which were not intended; and after so many revolutions, and the observation of what hath attended them, are now trusted by our good subjects to repair the breaches which are made, and to provide proper remedies for those evils, and for the lasting peace, happiness, and security of the kingdom.

"We do assure you upon our royal word, that none of our predecessors have had a greater esteem of parliaments, than we have in our judgment, as well as from our obligation; we do believe them to be so vital a part of the constitution of the kingdom, and so necessary for the government of it, that we well know neither prince nor people can be in any tolerable degree happy without them; and therefore you may be confident, that we shall always look upon their counsels, as the best we can receive; and shall be as tender of their privileges, and as careful to preserve and protect them, as of that which is most near to ourself, and most necessary for our own preservation.

"And as this is our opinion of parliaments, that their authority is most necessary for the government of the kingdom; so we are most confident, that you believe, and find, that the preservation of the king's authority is as necessary for the preservation of parliaments; and that it is not the name, but the right constitution of them, which can prepare and apply proper remedies for those evils which are grievous to the people, and which can thereby establish their peace and security. And therefore we have not the least doubt, but that you will be as tender in, and as jealous of, any thing that may infringe our honour, or impair our authority, as of your own liberty and property; which is best preserved by preserving the other.

"How far we have trusted you in this great affair, and how much it is in your power to restore the nation to all that it hath lost, and to redeem it from any infamy it hath undergone, and to make the king and people as happy as they ought to be; you will find by our enclosed declaration; a copy of which we have likewise sent to the house of peers: and you will easily believe, that we would not voluntarily, and of ourself, have reposed so great a trust in you, but upon an entire confidence that you will not abuse it, and that you will proceed in such a manner, and with such due consideration of us who have trusted you, that we shall not be ashamed of declining other assistance, (which we have assurance of,) and repairing to you for more natural and proper remedies for the evils we would be freed from; nor sorry, that we have bound up our own interests so entirely with that of our subjects, as that we refer it to the same persons to take care of us, who are trusted to provide for them. We look upon you as wise and dispassionate men, and good patriots, who will raise up those banks and fences which have been cast down, and who

"will most reasonably hope, that the same prosperity will again spring from those roots, from which it hath heretofore and always grown; nor can we apprehend that you will propose any thing to us, or expect any thing from us, but what we are as ready to give, as you to receive.

"If you desire the advancement and propagation of the protestant religion, we have, by our constant profession, and practice of it, given sufficient testimony to the world, that neither the unkindness of those of the same faith towards us, nor the civilities and obligations from those of a contrary profession, (of both which we have had an abundant evidence,) could in the least degree startle us, or make us swerve from it; and nothing can be proposed to manifest our zeal and affection for it, to which we will not readily consent. And we hope, in due time, ourself to propose somewhat to you for the propagation of it, that will satisfy the world, that we have always made it both our care and our study, and have enough observed what is most like to bring disadvantage to it.

"If you desire security for those who, in these calamitous times, either wilfully or weakly have transgressed those bounds which were prescribed, and have invaded each other's rights, we have left to you to provide for their security and indemnity, and in such a way as you shall think just and reasonable; and by a just computation of what men have done and suffered, as near as is possible, to take care that all men be satisfied; which is the surest way to suppress and extirpate all such uncharitableness and animosity, as might hereafter shake and threaten that peace, which for the present might seem established. If there be a crying sin, for which the nation may be involved in the infamy that attends it, we cannot doubt but that you will be as solicitous to redeem it, and vindicate the nation from that guilt and infamy, as we can be.

"If you desire that reverence and obedience may be paid to the fundamental laws of the land, and that justice may be equally and impartially administered to all men, it is that which we desire to be sworn to ourself, and that all persons in power and authority should be so too.

"In a word, there is nothing that you can propose that may make the kingdom happy, which we will not contend with you to compass; and upon this confidence and assurance, we have thought fit to send you this declaration, that you may, as much as is possible, at this distance, see our heart; which, when God shall bring us nearer together, (as we hope he will do shortly,) will appear to you very agreeable to what we have professed; and we hope, that we have made that right Christian use of our affliction, and that the observation and experience we have had in other countries, have been such, as that we, and, we hope, all our subjects, shall be the better for what we have seen and suffered.

"We shall add no more, but our prayers to Almighty God, that he will so bless your counsels, and direct your endeavours, that his glory and worship may be provided for; and the peace, honour, and happiness of the nation may be established upon those foundations.

"which can best support it. And so we bid you  
"farewell."

*Given at our court at Breda, this 1<sup>st</sup> day of  
April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

*His majesty's declaration.*

"Charles R.

"Charles, by the grace of God, king of Eng-  
"land, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of  
"the faith, &c. To all our loving subjects of what  
"degree or quality soever, greeting. If the gene-  
"ral distraction and confusion, which is spread  
"over the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all  
"men to a desire, and longing, that those wounds,  
"which have so many years together been kept  
"bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will  
"be to no purpose. However, after this long si-  
"lence, we have thought it our duty to declare,  
"how much we desire to contribute thereunto :  
"and that, as we can never give over the hope, in  
"good time, to obtain the possession of that right,  
"which God and nature hath made our due ; so  
"we do make it our daily suit to the divine Pro-  
"vidence, that he will, in compassion to us and  
"our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings,  
"remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable  
"possession of that our right, with as little blood  
"and damage to our people as is possible ; nor  
"do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than  
"that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is  
"theirs, by a full and entire administration of  
"justice throughout the land, and by extending  
"our mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

"And to the end that fear of punishment may  
"not engage any conscious to themselves of what  
"is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future,  
"by opposing the quiet and happiness of their  
"country, in the restoration both of king, and  
"peers, and people, to their just, ancient, and fun-  
"damental rights ; we do by these presents de-  
"clare, that we do grant a free and general pardon,  
"which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under  
"our great seal of England, to all our subjects of  
"what degree or quality soever, who, within forty  
"days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold  
"upon this our grace and favour, and shall by  
"any public act declare their doing so, and that  
"they return to the loyalty and obedience of good  
"subjects ; excepting only such persons as shall  
"hereafter be excepted by parliament. Those  
"only excepted, let all our subjects, how faulty  
"soever, rely upon the word of a king, solemnly  
"given by this present declaration, that no crime  
"whatsoever committed against us, or our royal  
"father, before the publication of this, shall ever  
"rise in judgment, or be brought in question,  
"against any of them, to the least indamagement  
"of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates,  
"or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much  
"as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any  
"reproach, or terms of distinction from the rest  
"of our best subjects ; we desiring, and ordaining,  
"that henceforward all notes of discord, separa-  
"tion, and difference of parties, be utterly abo-  
"lished among all our subjects ; whom we invite  
"and conjure to a perfect union among themselves,  
"under our protection, for the resettlement of our  
"just rights, and theirs, in a free parliament ; by  
"which, upon the word of a king, we will be  
"advised.

"And because the passion and uncharitableness  
"of the times have produced several opinions in  
"religion, by which men are engaged in parties  
"and animosities against each other ; which, when  
"they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of con-  
"versation, will be composed, or better under-  
"stood ; we do declare a liberty to tender consci-  
"ences ; and that no man shall be disquieted, or  
"called in question, for differences of opinion in  
"matters of religion which do not disturb the  
"peace of the kingdom ; and that we shall be  
"ready to consent to such an act of parliament,  
"as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to  
"us, for the full granting that indulgence.

"And because in the continued distractions of  
"so many years, and so many and great revolu-  
"tions, many grants and purchases of estates have  
"been made to and by many officers, soldiers,  
"and others, who are now possessed of the same,  
"and who may be liable to actions at law, upon  
"several titles ; we are likewise willing that all  
"such differences, and all things relating to such  
"grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined  
"in parliament ; which can best provide for the  
"just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

"And we do farther declare, that we will be  
"ready to consent to any act or acts of parliament  
"to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satis-  
"faction of all arrears due to the officers and  
"soldiers of the army under the command of  
"general Monk ; and that they shall be received  
"into our service upon as good pay and conditions  
"as they now enjoy."

*Given under our sign manual, and privy signet,  
at our court at Breda, the 1<sup>st</sup> day of April,  
1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

"Charles R.

"Right trusty and right well-beloved cousins,  
"and right trusty and well-beloved cousins, and  
"trusty and right well-beloved ; we greet you  
"well. We cannot have a better reason to pro-  
"mise ourself an end of our common sufferings  
"and calamities, and that our own just power and  
"authority will, with God's blessing, be restored  
"to us, than that you are again acknowledged to  
"have that authority and jurisdiction which hath  
"always belonged to you by your birth, and the  
"fundamental laws of the land : and we have  
"thought it very fit and safe for us to call to you  
"for your help, in the composing the confound-  
"ing distempers and distractions of the kingdom ;  
"in which your sufferings are next to those we  
"have undergone ourself ; and therefore you can-  
"not but be the most proper counsellors for re-  
"moving those mischiefs, and for preventing the  
"like for the future. How great a trust we re-  
"pose in you, for the procuring and establishing  
"a blessed peace and security for the kingdom,  
"will appear to you by our enclosed declaration ;  
"which trust we are most confident you will dis-  
"charge with that justice and wisdom that becomes  
"you, and must always be expected from you ;  
"and that, upon your experience how one viola-  
"tion succeeds another, when the known relations  
"and rules of justice are once transgressed, you  
"will be as jealous for the rights of the crown,  
"and for the honour of your king, as for your-  
"selves : and then you cannot but discharge your

"trust with good success, and provide for and establish the peace, happiness, and honour of king, lords, and commons, upon that foundation which can only support it; and we shall be all happy in each other; and as the whole kingdom will bless God for you all, so we shall hold ourself obliged in an especial manner to thank you in particular, according to the affection you shall express towards us. We need the less enlarge to you upon this subject, because we have likewise writ to the house of commons; which we suppose they will communicate to you. And we pray God to bless your joint endeavours for the good of us all. And so we bid you very heartily farewell."

*Given at our court at Breda, this 4<sup>th</sup> day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

*To our trusty and well-beloved general Monk and general Mountague, generals at sea, to be communicated to the fleet.*

"Charles R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. It is no small comfort to us, after so long and great troubles and miseries, which the whole nation hath groaned under; and after so great revolutions, which have still increased those miseries, to hear that the fleet and ships, which are the walls of the kingdom, are put under the command of two persons so well disposed to, and concerned in, the peace and happiness of the kingdom, as we believe you to be; and that the officers and seamen under your command are more inclined to return to their duty to us, and put a period to these distempers and distractions, which have so impoverished and dishonoured the nation, than to widen the breach, and to raise their fortunes by rapine and violence; which gives us great encouragement and hope, that God Almighty will heal the wounds by the same plaister that made the flesh raw; that he will proceed in the same method in pouring his blessings upon us, which he was pleased to use, when he began to afflict us; and that the manifestation of the good affection of the fleet and seamen towards us, and the peace of the nation, may be the prologue to that peace, which was first interrupted by the mistake and misunderstanding of their predecessors; which would be such a blessing upon us all, that we should not be less delighted with the manner, than the matter of it.

"In this hope and confidence, we have sent the enclosed declaration to you; by which you may discern, how much we are willing to contribute towards the obtaining the general and public peace: in which, as no man can be more, or so much, concerned, so no man can be more solicitous for it. And we do earnestly desire you, that you will cause the said declaration to be published to all the officers and seamen of the fleet; to the end, that they may plainly discern, how much we have put it into their power to provide for the peace and happiness of the nation, who have been always understood by them to be the best and most proper counsellors for those good ends: and you are likewise farther to declare to them, that we have the same gra-

cious purpose towards them, which we have expressed towards the army at land; and will be as ready to provide for the payment of all arrears due to them, and for rewarding them according to their several merits, as we have expressed to the other; and we will always take so particular a care of them and their condition, as shall manifest our kindness towards them. And so depending upon God's blessing, for infusing those good resolutions into your and their hearts which are best for us all; we bid you farewell."

*Given at our court at Breda, this 4<sup>th</sup> day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

*To our trusty and well-beloved the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, of our city of London.*

"Charles R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. In these great revolutions of late, happened in that our kingdom, to the wonder and amazement of all the world, there is none that we have looked upon with more comfort, than the so frequent and public manifestations of their affections to us in the city of London; which hath exceedingly raised our spirits, and which, no doubt, hath proceeded from the Spirit of God, and his extraordinary mercy to the nation; which hath been encouraged by you, and your good example, to assert that government under which it hath, so many hundred years, enjoyed as great felicity as any nation in Europe; and to discountenance the imaginations of those who would subject our subjects to a government they have not yet devised, and, to satisfy the pride and ambition of a few ill men, would introduce the most arbitrary and tyrannical power that was ever yet heard of. How long we have all suffered under those and the like devices, all the world takes notice, to the no small reproach of the English nation; which we hope is now providing for its own security and redemption, and will be no longer bewitched by those inventions.

"How desirous we are to contribute to the obtaining the peace and happiness of our subjects without effusion of blood; and how far we are from desiring to recover what belongs to us by a war, if it can be otherwise done, will appear to you by the enclosed declaration; which, together with this our letter, we have intrusted our right trusty and well-beloved cousin, the lord viscount Mordaunt, and our trusty and well-beloved servant, sir John Greenvil, knight, one of the gentlemen of our bedchamber, to deliver to you; to the end, that you, and all the rest of our good subjects of that our city of London, (to whom we desire it should be published,) may know, how far we are from the desire of revenge, or that the peace, happiness, and security of the kingdom, should be raised upon any other foundation than the affections and hearts of our subjects, and their own consents.

"We have not the least doubt of your just sense of these our condescensions, or of your zeal to advance and promote the same good end, by disposing all men to meet us with the same



"affection and tenderness, in restoring the fundamental laws to that reverence that is due to them, and upon the preservation whereof all our happiness depends. And you will have no reason to doubt of enjoying your full share in that happiness, and of the improving it by our particular affection to you. It is very natural for all men to do all the good they can for their native country, and to advance the honour of it; and as we have that full affection for the kingdom in general, so we would not be thought to be without some extraordinary kindness for our native city in that particular; which we shall manifest on all occasions, not only by renewing their charter, and confirming all those privileges which they have received from our predecessors, but by adding and granting any new favours, which may advance the trade, wealth, and honour of that our native city; for which we will be so solicitous, that we doubt not but that it will, in due time, receive some benefit and advantage in all those respects, even from our own observation and experience abroad. And we are most confident, we shall never be disappointed in our expectation of all possible service from your affections: and so we bid you farewell."

*Given at our court at Breda, the 4<sup>th</sup> day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

The [two] gentlemen lately mentioned to have been with the king returned to London before the defeat of Lambert, and a full week before the parliament was to begin. The general, upon the perusal of the copies of the several despatches, liked all very well. And it ought to be remembered for his honour, that from this time he behaved himself with great affection towards the king; and though he was offered all the authority that Cromwell had enjoyed, and the title of king, he used all his endeavours to promote and advance the interest of his majesty: yet he as carefully retained the secret, and did not communicate to any person living, (Mr Morrice only excepted,) that he had received any letter from the king, till the very minute that he presented it to the house of commons.

There happened at the same time a concurrence which much facilitated the great work in hand. For since a great obstruction, that hindered the universal consent to call in the king, was the conscience of the personal injuries, incivilities, reproaches, which all the royal party had sustained, and the apprehension that their animosities were so great, that, notwithstanding all acts of pardon and indemnity granted by the king, all opportunities would be embraced for secret revenge, and that they, who had been kept under and oppressed for near twenty years, would for the future use the power they could not be without upon the king's restoration, with extreme license and insolence; to obviate this too reasonable imagination, some discreet persons of the king's party caused a profession and protestation to be prepared, in which they declared that they looked upon their late sufferings as the effect of God's judgments upon their own particular sins, which had as much contributed to the miseries of the nation, as any other cause had done; and they did therefore protest, and call God to witness of such their protes-

tation, that if it should please God to restore the king, they would be so far from remembering any injuries or discourtesies which they had sustained, in order to return the like to any who had obliged them, that they resolved on nothing more than to live with the same affection and good neighbourhood towards them, as towards each other, and never to make the least reflection upon any thing that was past.

These professions, or to the same purpose, under the title of a declaration of all those that had served the late king, or his present majesty, or adhered to the royal party in such a city or county, which was named, were signed by all the considerable persons therein; and then all printed with their names, and published to the view of the world; which were received with great joy, and did much allay those jealousies, which obstructed the confidence that was necessary to establish a good understanding between them.

Nothing hath been of late said of Ireland; which waited upon the dictates of the governing party in England with the same giddiness. The Irish, who would now have been glad to have redeemed their past miscarriages and madness by doing service for the king, were under as severe a captivity, and complete misery, as the worst of their actions had deserved, and indeed as they were capable of undergoing. After near one hundred thousand of them transported into foreign parts, for the service of the two kings of France and Spain, few of whom were alive after seven years, and after double that number consumed by the plague and famine, and inhuman barbarities exercised upon them in their own country; the remainder of them had been by Cromwell (who could not find a better way of extirpation) transplanted into the most inland, barren, desolate, and mountainous part of the province of Connaught; and it was lawful for any man to kill any of the Irish, who were found in any place out of those precincts which were assigned to them within that circuit. Such a proportion of land was allotted to every man as the protector thought competent for them; upon which they were to give formal releases of all their pretences and titles to any lands in any other provinces, of which they had been deprived; and if they refused to give such releases, they were still deprived of what they would not release, without any reasonable hope of ever being restored to it; and left to starve within the limits prescribed to them; out of which they durst not withdraw; and they who did adventure were without all remorse killed by the English, as soon as they were discovered: so that very few refused to sign those releases, or other acts which were demanded; upon which the lords and gentlemen had such assignments of land made to them, as in some degree were proportionable to their qualities; which fell out less mischievously to those who were of that province, who came to enjoy some part of what had been their own; but to those who were driven thither out of other provinces, it was little less destructive than if they had nothing; it was so long before they could settle themselves, and by husbandry raise any thing out of their lands to support their lives: yet necessity obliged them to acquiescence, and to be in some sort industrious; so that at the time to which we are now arrived, they were settled, within the limits prescribed, in a condition of living; though even the hard articles



which had been granted were not punctually observed to them; but their proportions restrained, and lessened by some pretences of the English, under some former grants, or other titles; to all which they found it necessary to submit, and were compelled to enjoy what was left, under all the marks and brands which ever accompanied a conquered nation; which reproach the Irish had taken so heavily from the earl of Strafford, when they were equally free with the English, who had subdued them, that they made it part of that charge upon which he lost his life.

Upon the recalling and tame submission of Harry Cromwell to the rump parliament, as soon as his brother Richard was deposed, the factions increased in Ireland to a very great height, as well amongst the soldiers and officers of the army, as in the council of state, and amongst the civil magistrates. The lord Broghill, who was president of Munster, and of a very great interest and influence upon that whole province, though he had great wariness in discovering his inclinations, as he had great guilt to restrain them, yet hated Lambert so much, that he less feared the king; and so wished for a safe opportunity to do his majesty service; and he had a good post, and a good party to concur with him, when he should call upon them, and think fit to declare.

Sir Charles Coot, who was president of Connaught, and had a good command, and interest in the army, was a man of less wit and less guilt, and more courage, and impatience to serve the king. He sent over sir Arthur Forbes, a Scottish gentleman of good affection to the king, and good interest in the province of Ulster, where he was an officer of horse. This gentleman sir Charles Coot sent to Brussels to the marquis of Ormond, "that he might assure his majesty of his affection and duty; and that, if his majesty would vouchsafe himself to come into Ireland, he was confident the whole kingdom would declare for him: that though the present power in England had removed all the sober men from the government of the state, in Ireland, under the character of presbyterians; and had put Ludlow, Corbet, and others of the king's judges, in their places; yet they were so generally odious to the army as well as to the people, that they could seize upon their persons, and the very castle of Dublin, when they should judge it convenient."

Sir Arthur Forbes arrived at Brussels, before the king had any assurance or confident hope of the general, and when few men thought his fortune better than desperate: so that, if what sir Arthur proposed (which was kept very secret) had been published, most men about the court would have been very solicitous for his majesty's going into Ireland. But his majesty well knew that that unhappy kingdom must infallibly wait upon the fate of England; and therefore he resolved to attend the vicissitudes there; which, in his own thoughts, he still believed would produce somewhat in the end, of which he should have the benefit; and dismissed sir Arthur Forbes with such letters and commissions as he desired; who thereupon returned for Ireland; where he found the state of affairs very much altered since his departure. For upon the defeat of Lambert, and general Monk's marching towards London, the lord Broghill and sir Charles Coot, notwithstanding the jealousy that was between them, joined

with such other persons who were presbyterians, and though they had been always against the king, yet they all concurred in seizing upon the persons who had been put in by Lambert, or the rump parliament, and submitted to the orders of general Monk, the rather, because they did imagine that he intended to serve the king; and so, by the time that the parliament was to meet at Westminster, all things were so well disposed in Ireland, that it was evident they would do whatsoever the general and the parliament (who they presumed would be of one mind) should order them to do.

The parliament met upon the five and twentieth day of April; of which the general was returned a member, to serve as knight of the shire for the county of Devon, together with Mr. Maurice; sir Harbottle Grimstone was chosen speaker, who had been a member of the long parliament, and continued, rather than concurred, with them, till after the treaty of the Isle of Wight; where he was one of the commissioners sent to treat with that king, and behaved himself so well, that his majesty was well satisfied with him; and after his return from thence, he pressed the acceptance of the king's concessions; and was thereupon in the number of those who were by force excluded the house. His election to be speaker at this time was contrived by those who meant well to the king; and he submitted to it out of a hope and confidence that the designs it was laid for would succeed. They begun chiefly with bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, as an odious and perjured tyrant, with execrations upon the unchristian murder of the late king. And in these generals they spent the first five days of sitting; no man having the courage, how loyal soever their wishes were, to mention his majesty, till they could make a discovery what mind the general was of; who could only protect such a proposition from being penal to the person that made it, by the former ordinances of the rump parliament.

After the general had well surveyed the temper of the house, upon the first of May he came into the house, and told them, "one sir John Greenvil, who was a servant of the king's, had brought him a letter from his majesty; which he had in his hand, but would not presume to open it without their direction; and that the same gentleman was at the door, and had a letter to the house;" which was no sooner said, than with a general acclamation he was called for; and being brought to the bar, he said, "that he was commanded by the king his master, having been lately with him at Breda, to deliver that letter to the house:" which he was ready to do; and so, giving it by the sergeant to be delivered to the speaker, he withdrew.

The house immediately called to have both letters read, that to the general, and that to the speaker; which being done, the declaration was as greedily called for, and read. And from this time Charles Stuart was no more heard of: and so universal a joy was never seen within those walls; and though there were some members there, who were nothing delighted with the temper of the house, nor with the argument of it, and probably had malice enough to make within themselves the most execrable wishes, yet they had not the hardness to appear less transported than the rest: who, not deferring it one moment, and without one contradicting voice, appointed a

committee to prepare an answer to his majesty's letter, expressing the great and joyful sense the house had of his gracious offers, and their humble and hearty thanks for the same, and with professions of their loyalty and duty to his majesty; and that the house would give a speedy answer to his majesty's gracious proposals. They likewise ordered, at the same time, that both his majesty's letters, that to the house, and that to the general, with his majesty's declaration therein enclosed, and the resolution of the house thereupon, should be forthwith printed and published.

This kind of reception was beyond what the best affected, nay, even the king, could expect or hope; and all that followed went in the same pace. The lords, when they saw what spirit the house of commons was possessed of, would not lose their share of thanks, but made haste into their house without excluding any who had been sequestered from sitting there for their delinquency; and then they received likewise the letter from sir John Greenvil which his majesty had directed to them; and they received it with the same duty and acknowledgment. The lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, were likewise transported with the king's goodness towards them, and with the expressions of his royal clemency; and entered into close deliberation, what return they should make to him to manifest their duty and gratitude. And the officers of the army, upon the sight of the letters to their generals, and his majesty's declaration, thought themselves highly honoured, in that they were looked upon as good instruments of his majesty's restoration; and made those vows, and published such declarations of their loyalty and duty, as their generals caused to be provided for them; which they signed with the loudest alacrity. And the truth is, the general managed the business, which he had now undertaken, with wonderful prudence and dexterity. And as the nature and humour of his officers was well known to him, so he removed such from their commands whose affections he suspected, and conferred their places upon others, of whom he was most assured. In a word, there was either real joy in the hearts of all men, or at least their countenance appeared such as if they were glad at the heart.

The committee, who were appointed by the house of commons to prepare an answer to the king's letter, found it hard to satisfy all men, who were well contented that the king should be invited to return: but some thought that the guilt of the nation did require less precipitation than was like to be used; and that the treaty ought first to be made with the king, and conditions of security agreed on, before his majesty should be received. Many of those, who had conferred together before the meeting of the parliament, had designed some articles to be prepared, according to the model of those at Killingworth, in the time of king Harry the Third, to which the king should be sworn before he came home. Then the presbyterian party, of which there were many members in parliament, though they were rather troublesome than powerful, seemed very solicitous that somewhat should be concluded in veneration of the covenant; and, at least, that somewhat should be inserted in their answer to the discountenance of the bishops. But the warmer zeal of the house threw away all those

formalities and affectations: they said, "they had proceeded too far already in their vote upon the receipt of the letter, to fall back again, and to offend the king with colder expressions of their duty." In the end, after some days' debate, finding an equal impatience without the walls to that within the house, they were contented to gratify the presbyterians in the length of the answer, and in using some expressions which would please them, and could do the king no prejudice; and all agreed, that this answer should be returned to his majesty, which is here inserted in the very words:

*Most royal sovereign,*

"We your majesty's most loyal subjects, the commons of England assembled in parliament, do, with all humbleness, present unto your majesty the unfeigned thankfulness of our hearts, for those gracious expressions of piety, and goodness, and love to us, and the nations under your dominion, which your majesty's letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> of April, dated from Breda, together with the declaration enclosed in it of the same date, do so evidently contain. For which we do, in the first place, look up to the great King of kings, and bless his name, who hath put these thoughts into the heart of our king, to make him glorious in the eyes of his people; as those great deliverances, which that divine Majesty hath afforded unto your royal person, from many dangers, and the support which he hath given to your heroic and princely mind under various trials, make it appear to all the world that you are precious in his sight. And give us leave to say, that as your majesty is pleased to declare your confidence in parliaments, your esteem of them, and this your judgment, and character of them, that they are so necessary for the government of the kingdom, that neither prince nor people can be in any tolerable degree happy without them, and therefore say, that you will hearken unto their counsels, be tender of their privileges, and careful to preserve and protect them; so we trust, and will, with all humility, be bold to affirm, that your majesty will not be deceived in us, and that we will never depart from that fidelity which we owe unto your majesty, that zeal which we bear unto your service, and a constant endeavour to advance your honour and greatness.

"And we beseech your majesty, we may add this farther for the vindication of parliaments, and even of the last parliament, convened under your royal father of happy memory, when, as your majesty well observes, through mistakes, and misunderstandings, many inconveniences were produced, which were not intended, that those very inconveniences could not have been brought upon us by those persons who had designed them, without violating the parliament itself. For they well knew it was not possible to do a violence to that sacred person, whilst the parliament, which had vowed and covenanted for the defence and safety of that person, remained entire. Surely, sir, as the persons of our kings have ever been dear unto parliaments, so we cannot think of that horrid act committed against the precious life of our late sovereign, but with such a detestation and abhorrency, as

"we want words to express it; and, next to wishing it had never been, we wish it may never be remembered by your majesty, to be unto you an occasion of sorrow, as it will never be remembered by us, but with that grief and trouble of mind which it deserves; being the greatest reproach that ever was incurred by any of the English nation, an offence to all the protestant churches abroad, and a scandal to the profession of the truth of religion here at home; though both profession, and true professors, and the nation itself, as well as the parliament, were most innocent of it; it having been only the contrivance and act of some few ambitious and bloody persons, and such others, as by their influence were misled. And as we hope and pray, that God will not impute the guilt of it, nor of all the evil consequences thereof, unto the land, whose divine justice never involves the guiltless with the guilty, so we cannot but give due praise to your majesty's goodness, who are pleased to entertain such reconciled and reconciling thoughts, and with them not only meet, but as it were prevent your parliament and people, proposing yourself in a great measure, and inviting the parliament to consider farther, and advise your majesty, what may be necessary to restore the nation to what it hath lost, raise up again the banks and fences of it, and make the kingdom happy by the advancement of religion, the security of our laws, liberties, and estates, and the removing all jealousies and animosities, which may render our peace less certain and durable. Wherein your majesty gives a large evidence of your great wisdom; judging aright, that, after so high a distemper, and such an universal shaking of the very foundations, great care must be had to repair the breaches, and much circumspection and industry used to provide things necessary for the strengthening of those repairs, and preventing whatsoever may disturb or weaken them.

"We shall immediately apply ourselves to the preparing of these things; and, in a very short time, we hope to be able to present them to your majesty; and for the present do, with all humble thankfulness, acknowledge your grace and favour in assuring us of your royal concurrence with us, and saying, that we shall not expect any thing from you, but what you will be as ready to give, as we to receive. And we cannot doubt of your majesty's effectual performance, since your own princely judgment hath prompted unto you the necessity of doing such things; and your piety and goodness hath carried you to a free tender of them to your faithful parliament. You speak as a gracious king, and we will do what befits dutiful, loving, and loyal subjects; who are yet more engaged to honour and highly esteem your majesty, for your declining, as you were pleased to say, all foreign assistance, and rather trusting to your people; who, we do assure your majesty, will and do open their arms and their hearts to receive you, and will spare neither their estates, nor their lives, when your service shall require it of them.

"And we have yet more cause to enlarge our praise and our prayers to God for your majesty, that you have continued unshaken in your faith; that neither the temptation of allurements, persuasions, and promises from seducing papists

"on the one hand, nor the persecution and hard usage from some seduced and misguided professors of the protestant religion on the other hand, could at all prevail on your majesty, to make you forsake the Rock of Israel, the God of your fathers, and the true protestant religion, in which your majesty hath been bred; but you have still been as a rock yourself, firm to your covenant with your and our God, even now expressing your zeal and affection for the protestant religion, and your care and study for the propagation thereof. This hath been a rejoicing of heart to all the faithful of the land, and an assurance to them that God would not forsake you; but after many trials, which should but make you more precious, as gold out of the fire, would restore your majesty unto your patri-mony, and people, with more splendour and dignity, and make you the glory of kings, and the joy of your subjects; which is, and shall ever be, the prayer of your majesty's most loyal subjects, the commons of England assembled in parliament."

*Which letter was signed by sir Harbottle Grimstone, speaker.*

As soon as this letter was engrossed and signed, sir John Greenvil was appointed to attend again; and he being brought to the bar, the speaker stood up, and told him, "that they need not acquaint him with what grateful hearts they had received his majesty's gracious letter; he himself was an ear and eye-witness of it: their bells and their bonfires had already begun the proclamation of his majesty's goodness, and of their joys; that they had now prepared an answer to his majesty, which should be delivered to him; and that they did not think fit he should return to their royal sovereign without some testimony of their respects to himself; and therefore that they had ordered five hundred pounds to be delivered to him, to buy a jewel to wear, as an honour for being the messenger of so gracious a message;" and in the name of the house he gave him their most hearty thanks. So great and sudden a change was this, that a servant of the king's, who, for near ten years together, had been in prisons, and under confinements, only for being the king's servant, and would, but three months before, have been put to have undergone a shameful death, if he had been known to have seen the king, should be now rewarded for bringing a message from him. From this time there was such an emulation and impatience in lords, and commons, and city, and generally over the kingdom, who should make the most lively expressions of their duty and of their joy, that a man could not but wonder where those people dwelt who had done all the mischief, and kept the king so many years from enjoying the comfort and support of such excellent subjects.

The lords and the commons now conferred together, how they might with more lustre perform those respects that might be preparatory to his majesty's return. They remembered, that, upon the murder of the late king, there was a declaration, that no man, upon peril of his life, and forfeiture of his estate, should presume to proclaim his successor; which so terrified the people, that they dared not so much as to pray for him. Wherefore, though this parliament had now, by all the

ways they could think of, published their return to their obedience, yet they thought it necessary, for the better information and conviction of the people, to make some solemn proclamation of his majesty's undoubted right to the crown, and to oblige all men to pay that reverence and duty to him, which they ought to do by the laws of God and of the land. Whereupon they gave order to prepare such a proclamation; which being done, the lords and commons, the general having concerted all things with the city, met in Westminster-hall upon the 8th of May, within seven days after the receipt of the king's letter; and walked into the palace-yard; where they all stood bare, whilst the heralds proclaimed the king. Then they went to Whitehall, and did the same; and afterwards at Temple-bar; where the lord mayor, and aldermen, and all the companies of the city received them, when the like proclamation was made in like manner there; and then in the usual places of the city; which done, the remainder of the day, and the night, was spent in those acclamations, festivals, bells, and bonfires, as are the natural attendants upon such solemnities. And then nothing was thought of, but to make such preparations as should be necessary for his majesty's invitation and reception. The proclamation made was in these words:

"Although it can no way be doubted, but that his majesty's right and title to his crown and kingdoms is and was every way completed by the death of his most royal father of glorious memory, without the ceremony or solemnity of a proclamation; yet, since proclamations in such cases have been always used, to the end that all good subjects might, upon this occasion, testify their duty and respect, and since the armed violence, and other the calamities of many years last past, have hitherto deprived us of any such opportunity, whereby we might express our loyalty and allegiance to his majesty, we therefore, the lords and commons now assembled in parliament, together with the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, and other freemen of this kingdom now present, do, according to our duty and allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously acknowledge and proclaim, that immediately upon the decease of our late sovereign lord king Charles, the imperial crown of the realm of England, and of all the kingdoms, dominions, and rights belonging to the same, did, by inherent birthright and lawful undoubted succession, descend and come to his most excellent majesty Charles the Second, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully next heir of the blood royal of this realm; and that, by the goodness and providence of Almighty God, he is of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the most potent, mighty, and undoubted king; and thereunto we most humbly and faithfully do submit and oblige ourselves, our heirs, and posterity for ever."

From the time that the king came to Breda, very few days passed without some express from London, upon the observations of his friends, and the applications made to them by many who had been very active against the king, and were now as solicitous his majesty should know, that they wholly dedicated themselves to his service. Even before the general had declared himself, or the parliament was assembled, some, who had sat

judges upon his father, sent many excuses, that they were forced to it, and offered to perform signal services, if they might obtain their pardon. But his majesty would admit no address from them, nor hearken to any propositions made on their behalf.

There was one instance that perplexed him; which was the case of colonel Ingoldsby; who was in the number of the late king's judges, and whose name was in the warrant for his murder. He, from the deposal of Richard, had declared, that he would serve the king, and told Mr. Mordaunt, "that he would perform all services he could, without making any conditions; and would be well content, that his majesty, when he came home, should take his head off, if he thought fit; only he desired that the king might know the truth of his case;" which was this:

He was a gentleman of a good extraction, and near allied to Cromwell, who had drawn him into the army before or about the time when he came first to age, where he grew to be a colonel of horse, and to have the reputation of great courage against the enemy, and of equal civility to all men. It is very true, he was named amongst those who were appointed to be judges of the king; and it is as true, that he was never once present with them, always abhorring the action in his heart, and having no other passion in any part of the quarrel, but his personal kindness to Cromwell. The next day after the horrid sentence was pronounced, he had an occasion to speak with an officer, who, he was told, was in the painted chamber; where, when he came thither, he saw Cromwell, and the rest of those who had sat upon the king, and were then, as he found afterwards, assembled to sign the warrant for the king's death. As soon as Cromwell's eyes were upon him, he run to him, and taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the table; and said, "though he had escaped him all the while before, he should now sign that paper as well as they;" which he, seeing what it was, refused with great passion, saying, "he knew nothing of the business;" and offered to go away. But Cromwell and others held him by violence; and Cromwell, with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers, with his own hand writ *Richard Ingoldsby*, he making all the resistance he could; and he said, "if his name there were compared with what he had ever writ himself, it could never be looked upon as his own hand."

Though his majesty had within himself compassion for him, he would never send him any assurance of his pardon; presuming that, if all these allegations were true, there would be a season when a distinction would be made, without his majesty's declaring himself, between him and those other of those classes, which he resolved never to pardon. Nor was Ingoldsby at all disheartened with this, but pursued his former resolutions, and first surprised the castle of Windsor, (where there was a great magazine of arms and ammunition,) and put out that governor whom the rump had put in; and afterwards took Lambert prisoner, as is before remembered.

Whilst the fleet was preparing, admiral Mountague sent his cousin Edward Mountague to the king, to let him know that, as soon as it should be ready, (which he hoped might be within so many days,) he would be himself on board, and would

then be ready to receive and obey his majesty's orders: this was before the parliament assembled. He sent word what officers he was confident of, and of whom he was not assured, and who he concluded would not concur with him, and who must be reduced by force. He desired to know whether the king had any assurance of the general, who, however, he wished might know nothing of his resolutions. And it was no small inconvenience to his majesty, that he was restrained from communicating to either, the confidence he had in the other; which might have facilitated both their designs. But the mutual jealousies between them, and indeed of all men, would not permit that liberty to his majesty.

The frequent resort of persons to Brussels, before they knew of the king's being gone to Breda, and their communication of the good news they brought to his majesty's servants, and the other English who remained there, and who published what they wished as come to pass, as well as what they heard, made the Spanish ministers begin to think, that the king's affairs were not altogether so hopeless as they imagined them to be, and that there was more in the king's remove to Breda than at first appeared. They had every day expected to hear that the States had sent to forbid his majesty to remain in their dominions, as they had done when his presence had been less notorious. But when they could hear of no such thing, but of greater resort thither to the king, and that he had stayed longer there than he had seemed to intend to do, the marquis of Carracena sent a person of prime quality to Breda, "to invite his majesty to return to Brussels; the rather, because he had received some very hopeful propositions from England, to which he was not willing to make any answer, without receiving his majesty's approbation and command."

The king sent him word, "that he was obliged, with reference to his business in England, to stay where he was; and that he was not without hope that his affairs might succeed so well, that he should not be necessitated to return to Brussels at all." Which answer the marquis no sooner received, than he returned the same messenger with a kind of expostulation "for the indignity that would be offered to his catholic majesty, if he should leave his dominions in such a manner; and therefore besought him, either to return himself thither, or that the duke of York, and the duke of Gloucester, or at least one of them, might come to Brussels, that the world might not believe, that his majesty was offended with the catholic king; who had treated him so well." When he found that he was to receive no satisfaction in either of those particulars, though the king and both the dukes made their excuses with all possible acknowledgment of the favours they had received from his catholic majesty, and of the civilities shewed to them by the marquis himself, he revenged himself upon don Alonzo with a million of reproaches, "for his stupidity and ignorance in the affairs of England, and of every thing relating thereunto, after having resided sixteen years ambassador in that kingdom."

Cardinal Mazarine had better intelligence from the French ambassador in London; who gave him diligent accounts of every day's alteration, and of the general imagination that Monk had other in-

tentions than he yet discovered. And when he heard that the king was removed from Brussels to Breda, he presently persuaded the queen mother of England to send the lord Jermyn (whom the king had lately, upon his mother's desire, created earl of St. Alban's) to invite the king "to come into France; and to make that treaty, which, probably, would be between the ensuing parliament and his majesty, in that kingdom; which might prove of great use and advantage to her majesty's interest and honour; in which the power of the cardinal might be of great importance in diverting or allaying any insolent demands which might be made." And the cardinal himself made the same invitation by that lord, with professions of wonderful kindness; and "that the most Christian king was infinitely desirous to perform all those offices and respects to his majesty, which he had always desired, but was never able to accomplish till now;" with this addition, "that if his majesty found that the expedition of his affairs would not permit him to come to Paris, order and preparations should be made for his reception at Calais, or any other place he would appoint; where the queen his mother would attend him;" with all other expressions of the highest esteem; which the sagacity of that great minister was plentifully supplied with.

The earl of St. Alban's found the king in too good a posture of hope and expectation, to suffer himself to be much importuned upon the instances he brought; and was contented to return with the king's acknowledgments and excuse, "that he could not decently pass through Flanders, after he had refused to return to Brussels; and without going through those provinces, he could not well make a journey into France." In the mean time it was no small pleasure to his majesty, to find himself so solemnly invited, by the ministers of these two great kings, to enter into their dominions, out of one of which he had been rejected with so many disobligations and indignities; and with so much caution and apprehension had been suffered to pass through the other, that he might not reside a day there, or spend more time than was absolutely necessary for his journey.

Several persons now came to Breda, not, as heretofore to Cologne and to Brussels, under disguises, and in fear to be discovered, but with bare faces, and the pride and vanity to be taken notice of, to present their duty to the king; some being employed to procure pardons for those who thought themselves in danger, and to stand in need of them; others brought good presents in English gold to the king, that their names, and the names of their friends, who sent them, might be remembered amongst the first of those who made demonstrations of their affections that way to his majesty, by supplying his necessities; which had been discontinued for many years to a degree that cannot be believed, and ought not to be remembered. By these supplies his majesty was enabled, besides the payment of his other debts, not only to pay all his servants the arrears of their board-wages, but to give them all some testimony of his bounty, to raise their spirits after so many years of patient waiting for deliverance: and all this was before the delivery of the king's letter by the general to the parliament.

The king had not been many days in Breda,

before the States General sent deputies of their own body to congratulate his majesty's arrival in their dominions, and to acknowledge the great honour he had vouchsafed to do them. And shortly after, other deputies came from the States of Holland, beseeching his majesty, "that he would grace that province with his royal presence at the Hague, where preparations should be made for his reception, in such a manner as would testify the great joy of their hearts for the blessings which divine Providence was pouring upon his head." His majesty accepting their invitation, they returned in order to make his journey thither, and his entertainment there, equal to their professions.

In the mean time Breda swarmed with English, a multitude repairing thither from all other places, as well as London, with presents, and protestations, "how much they had longed and prayed for this blessed change; and magnifying their sufferings under the late tyrannical government;" when some of them had been zealous instruments and promoters of it. The magistrates of the town took all imaginable care to express their devotion to the king, by using all civilities towards, and providing for the accommodation of the multitude of his subjects, who resorted thither to express their duty to him. So that no man would have imagined by the treatment he now received, that he had been so lately forbid to come into that place; which indeed had not proceeded from the disaffection of the inhabitants of that good town, who had always passion for his prosperity, and even then publicly detested the rudeness of their superiors, whom they were bound to obey.

All things being in readiness, and the States having sent their yachts and other vessels, for the accommodation of his majesty and his train, as near to Breda as the river would permit, the king, with his royal sister and brothers, left that place in the beginning of May, and, within an hour, embarked themselves on board the yachts, which carried him to Rotterdam; Dort, and the other places near which they passed, making all those expressions of joy, by the conflux of the people to the banks of the river, and all other ways, which the situation of those places would suffer. At Rotterdam they entered into their coaches; from whence to the Hague they seemed to pass through one continued street, by the wonderful and orderly appearance of the people on both sides, with such acclamations of joy, as if themselves were now restored to peace and security.

The entrance into the Hague, and the reception there, and the conducting his majesty to the house provided for his entertainment, was very magnificent, and in all respects answerable to the pomp, wealth, and greatness of that state. The treatment of his majesty, and all who had relation to his service, at the States' charge, during the time of his abode there, which continued many days, was incredibly noble and splendid; and the universal joy so visible and real, that it could only be exceeded by that of his own subjects. The States General, in a body, and the States of Holland, in a body apart, performed their compliments with all solemnity; and then several persons, according to their faculties, made their professions; and a set number of them was appointed always to wait in the court, to receive his majesty's commands. All the ambassadors and public ministers

of kings, princes, and states, repaired to his majesty, and professed the joy of their masters on his behalf: so that a man would have thought this revolution had been brought to pass by the general combination and activity of Christendom, that appeared now to take so much pleasure in it.

The king had been very few days at the Hague, when he heard that the English fleet was in sight of Scheveling; and shortly after, an officer from admiral Mountague was sent to the king, to present his duty to him, and to the duke of York, their high admiral, to receive orders. As soon as Mountague came on board the fleet in the Downs, and found those officers more frank in declaring their duty to the king, and resolution to serve him, than he expected, that he might not seem to be sent by the parliament to his majesty, but to be carried by his own affection and duty, without expecting any command from them, the wind coming fair, he set up his sails, and stood for the coast of Holland, leaving only two or three of the lesser ships to receive their orders, and to bring over those persons, who, he knew, were designed to wait upon his majesty; which expedition was never forgiven him by some men, who took all occasions afterwards to revenge themselves upon him.

The duke of York went the next day on board the fleet, to take possession of his command; where he was received by all the officers and seamen, with all possible duty and submission, and with those acclamations which are peculiar to that people, and in which they excel. After he had spent the day there, in receiving information of the state of the fleet, and a catalogue of the names of the several ships, his highness returned with it that night to the king, that his majesty might make alterations, and new christen those ships which too much preserved the memory of the late governors, and of the republic.

Shortly after, the committee of lords and commons arrived at the Hague; where the States took care for their decent accommodation. And the next day they desired admission to his majesty, who immediately received them very graciously. From the house of peers were deputed six of their body, and, according to custom, twelve from the commons. The peers were, the earls of Oxford, Warwick, and Middlesex, the lord viscount Hereford, the lord Berkley of Berkley-castle, and the lord Brook. From the commons were sent, the lord Fairfax, the lord Bruce, the lord Falkland, the lord Castleton, the lord Herbert, the lord Mandevil, Denzil Hollis, sir Horatio Townsend, sir sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, sir George Booth, John Holland, and sir Henry Cholmeley. These persons presented the humble invitation and supplication of the parliament, "that his majesty would be pleased to return, and take the government of the kingdom into his hands; where he should find all possible affection, duty, and obedience, from all his subjects." And lest his return so much longed for might be retarded by the want of money, to discharge those debts, which he could not but have contracted, they presented from the parliament the sum of fifty thousand pounds to his majesty; having likewise order to pay the sum of ten thousand pounds to the duke of York, and five thousand to the duke of Gloucester; which was a very good supply to their several necessities. The king treated all the









Engraved by W. Pinzon.

## KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

OB. 1685.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF  
THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.



committee very graciously together, and every one of them severally and particularly very obligingly. So that some of them, who were conscious to themselves of their former demerit, were very glad to find that they were not to fear any bitterness from so princely and so generous a nature.

The city of London had had too great a hand in driving the father of the king from thence, not to appear equally zealous for his son's return thither. And therefore they did, at the same time, send fourteen of the most substantial citizens "to assure his majesty of their fidelity, and most cheerful submission; and that they placed all their felicity, and hope of future prosperity, in the assurance of his majesty's grace and protection; for the meriting whereof, their lives and fortunes should be always at his majesty's disposal;" and they presented to him from the city the sum of ten thousand pounds. The king told them, "he had always had a particular affection for the city of London, the place of his birth; and was very glad, that they had now so good a part in his restoration; of which he was informed; and how much he was beholding to every one of them;" for which he thanked them very graciously, and knighted them all; an honour no man in the city had received in near twenty years, and with which they were much delighted.

It will hardly be believed, that this money presented to the king by the parliament and the city, and charged by bills of exchange upon the richest merchants in Amsterdam, who had vast estates, could not be received in many days, though some of the principal citizens of London, who came to the king, went themselves to solicit it, and had credit enough themselves for much greater sums, if they had brought over no bills of exchange. But this was not the first time (of which somewhat hath been said before) that it was evident to the king, that it is not easy in that most opulent city, with the help of all the rich towns adjacent, and upon the greatest credit, to draw together a great sum of ready money; the custom of that country, which flourishes so much in trade, being to make their payments in paper by assignments; they having very rarely occasion for a great sum in any one particular place. And so at this time his majesty was compelled, that he might not defer the voyage he so impatiently longed to make, to take bills of exchange from Amsterdam upon their correspondents in London, for above thirty thousand pounds of the money that was assigned; all which was paid in London as soon as demanded.

With these committees from the parliament and from the city, there came a company of their clergymen, to the number of eight or ten; who would not be looked upon as chaplains to the rest, but being the popular preachers of the city, (Reynolds, Calamy, Case, Manton; and others, the most eminent of the presbyterians,) desired to be thought to represent that party. They entreated to be admitted all together to have a formal audience of his majesty; where they presented their duties, and magnified the affections of themselves and their friends; who, they said, "had always, according to the obligation of their covenant, wished his majesty very well; and had lately, upon the opportunity that God had put into their hands, informed the people of their duty;

which, they presumed, his majesty had heard had proved effectual, and been of great use to him." They thanked God "for his constancy to the protestant religion;" and professed, "that they were no enemies to moderate episcopacy; only desired that such things might not be pressed upon them in God's worship, which in their judgment who used them were acknowledged to be matters indifferent, and by others were held unlawful."

The king spoke very kindly to them; and said, "that he had heard of their good behaviour towards him; and that he had no purpose to impose hard conditions upon them, with reference to their consciences: that they well knew, he had referred the settling all differences of that nature to the wisdom of the parliament; which best knew what indulgence and toleration was necessary for the peace and quiet of the kingdom." But his majesty could not be so rid of them; they desired several private audiences of him; which he never denied; wherein they told him, "the Book of Common Prayer had been long discontinued in England, and the people having been disused to it, and many of them having never heard it in their lives, it would be much wondered at, if his majesty should, at his first landing in the kingdom, revive the use of it in his own chapel; whither all persons would resort; and therefore they besought him, that he would not use it entirely and formally, but have only some parts of it read, with mixture of other good prayers, which his chaplains might use."

The king told them with some warmth, "that whilst he gave them liberty, he would not have his own taken from him: that he had always used that form of service, which he thought the best in the world, and had never discontinued it in places where it was more disliked than he hoped it was by them: that, when he came into England, he would not severely inquire how it was used in other churches, though he doubted not, he should find it used in many; but he was sure he would have no other used in his own chapel." Then they besought him with more importunity, "that the use of the surplice might be discontinued by his chaplains, because the sight of it would give great offence and scandal to the people." They found the king as inexorable in that point as in the other; he told them plainly, "that he would not be restrained himself, when he gave others so much liberty; that it had been always held a decent habit in the church, constantly practised in England till these late ill times; that it had been still retained by him; and though he was bound for the present to tolerate much disorder and indecency in the exercise of God's worship, he would never, in the least degree, by his own practice, discountenance the good old order of the church, in which he had been bred." Though they were very much unsatisfied with him, whom they thought to have found more flexible, yet they ceased further troubling him, in hope, and presumption, that they should find their importunity in England more effectual.

After eight or ten days spent at the Hague in triumphs and festivals, which could not have been more splendid if all the monarchs of Europe had met there, and which were concluded with several rich presents made to his majesty, the king took

his leave of the States, with all the professions of amity their civilities deserved; and embarked himself on the Prince; which had been before called the Protector, but had been new christened the day before, as many others had been, in the presence, and by the order, of his royal highness the admiral. Upon the four and twentieth day of May, the fleet set sail; and, in one continued thunder of cannon, arrived near Dover so early on the six and twentieth, that his majesty disembarked; and being received by the general at the brink of the sea, he presently took coach, and came that night to Canterbury; where he stayed the next day, being Sunday; and went to his devotions to the cathedral, which he found very much dilapidated, and out of repair; yet the people seemed glad to hear the Common Prayer again. Thither came very many of the nobility, and other persons of quality, to present themselves to the king; and there his majesty assembled his council; and swore the general of the council, and Mr. Morrice, whom he there knighted, and gave him the signet, and swore him secretary of state. That day his majesty gave the garter to the general, and likewise to the marquis of Hertford, and the earl of Southampton, (who had been elected many years before), and sent it likewise by garter, herald and king at arms, to admiral Mountague, who remained in the Downs.

On Monday he went to Rochester; and the next day, being the nine and twentieth of May, and his birthday, he entered London; all the ways from Dover thither being so full of people, and acclamations, as if the whole kingdom had been gathered. About or above Greenwich the lord mayor and aldermen met him, with all such protestations of joy as can hardly be imagined. And the concourse was so great, that the king rode in a crowd from the bridge to Temple-bar;

all the companies of the city standing in order on both sides, and giving loud thanks to God for his majesty's presence. And he no sooner came to Whitehall, but the two houses of parliament solemnly cast themselves at his feet, with all vows of affection and fidelity to the world's end. In a word, the joy was so unexpressible, and so universal, that his majesty said smilingly to some about him, "he doubted it had been his own fault" he had been absent so long; for he saw nobody "that did not protest, he had ever wished for his" return."

In this wonderful manner, and with this miraculous expedition, did God put an end in one month (for it was the first of May that the king's letter was delivered to the parliament, and his majesty was at Whitehall upon the twenty-ninth of the same month) to a rebellion that had raged near twenty years, and been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of parricide, murder, and devastation, that fire and the sword, in the hands of the most wicked men in the world, could be ministers of; almost to the desolation of two kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming the third. Yet did the merciful hand of God in one month bind up all those wounds, and even made the scars as undiscernible, as, in respect of the deepness, was possible; which was a glorious addition to the deliverance; and if there wanted more glorious monuments of this deliverance, posterity would know the time of it, by the death of the two great favourites of the two crowns, cardinal Mazarine and don Lewis de Haro, who both died within three or four months, with the wonder if not the agony of this undreamed of prosperity; and as if they had taken it ill that God Almighty would bring such a work to pass in Europe without their concurrence, and against all their machinations.

END OF THE LAST BOOK.

# THE LIFE

OF

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND, AND CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD :

IN WHICH IS INCLUDED

A CONTINUATION OF HIS  
HISTORY OF THE GRAND REBELLION.

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WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

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*Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. CICERO.*

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A NEW EDITION, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

OXFORD; UNIVERSITY PRESS, MDCCCXLII.



## THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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**T**HE reader can desire no better recommendation of the History now published, than to be assured that it is the genuine Work of the great Earl of Clarendon. The Work itself bears plain characteristics of its Author. The same dignity of sentiment and style which distinguishes the History of the Rebellion, and all other the works of this noble Writer, breathes through the whole of this performance.

The reason why this History has lain so long concealed will appear from the <sup>a</sup> title of it, which shews that his lordship intended it only for the information of his children. But the late lord Hyde, judging that so faithful and authentic an account of this interesting period of our history would be an useful and acceptable present to the public, and bearing a grateful remembrance of this place of his education, left by his will this, and the other remains of his great grandfather, in the hands of trustees, to be printed at our press, and directed that the profits arising from the sale should be employed towards the establishing a Riding-school in the University. But lord Hyde dying before his father, the then earl of Clarendon, the property of these papers never became vested in him, and consequently this bequest was void. However, the noble heiresses of the earl of Clarendon, out of their regard to the public, and to this seat of learning, have been pleased to fulfil the kind intentions of lord Hyde, and adopt a scheme recommended both by him <sup>b</sup> and his great grandfather. To this end they have sent to the University this History, to be printed at our press, on condition that the profits arising from the publication or sale of this Work be applied as a beginning for a fund for supporting a Manège, or Academy for Riding, and other useful exercises, in Oxford.

The Work here offered to the public consists of two parts. The second, which is the most important and interesting part of the Work, is the History of the Earl of Clarendon's Life, from the year 1660 to 1667, from the restoration to the time of his banishment, and includes in it the most memorable transactions of those times. It may be therefore considered in two views. It is a second part of Lord Clarendon's Life; and is also a Continuation of his former History, entitled, The History of the Rebellion, from the year 1660, where that ends, to the year 1667. This is carefully printed, without any material variations, from a manuscript, all of lord Clarendon's own hand-writing, excepting some few pages in the hand of his amanuensis, which are only transcripts from two papers; the one, a letter from the Chancellor to the King on the subject of his Majesty's declared displeasure; the other, a paper containing his reasons for withdrawing himself, which he left behind him to be presented to the House of Peers.

To this our noble benefactress has thought fit to prefix, as a first part, the History of the Earl of Clarendon's Life, from his birth, to the year 1660, extracted from another manuscript of Lord Clarendon's own hand-writing. This other manuscript is entitled by his Lordship, The History of his own Life, and contains likewise the substance of the History of the Rebellion. However, it is not the manuscript from whence that History was printed, but appears rather to be the rough draught from whence that History, or, however, great part of it, was

<sup>a</sup> See Continuation, p. 1.

<sup>b</sup> See his Dialogue on Education, p. 325, &c.

afterwards compiled. For although he tells us, towards the close of this Work, that he wrote the first four books of the History of the Rebellion in the island of Jersey, (many years before the date of this History of his Life,) yet he likewise informs us, that he did not proceed to complete that History till after his banishment. It is therefore supposed by the family, (and the supposition seems to carry with it great probability,) that, seeing an unjust and cruel persecution prevail against him, he was induced at that time to extend the original plan of his Work, by introducing the particular History of his own Life, from his earliest days down to the time of his disgrace, as the most effectual means of vindicating his character, wickedly traduced by his enemies, and artfully misrepresented to a master, whom he had long and faithfully served, whose countenance and favour being transferred to the authors and abettors of his ruin, might probably, in the eyes of the world, give too much colour to their aspersions. But afterwards, on more mature thoughts, his great benevolence and public spirit prevailed on him to drop the defence of his own private character, and resume his original plan of the History of the Rebellion. However, his noble descendants, willing to do justice to the memory of their great grandfather, and thinking it might be also of service to the public to deliver his exemplary life as complete as they could authentically collect it, have caused such parts of this manuscript, as related to the Earl of Clarendon's private life, to be extracted; and according to their directions it is printed.

*The directions are as follows :*

“ The Life of Lord Chancellor Clarendon from his Birth to the Restoration of the Royal Family is extracted from a large manuscript in his own hand-writing, in which is contained what has already been printed in the History of the Rebellion; and therefore care has been taken to transcribe only what has never yet been published: but as those passages are often intermixed with the History already printed, it has been found necessary to preserve connection by giving abstracts<sup>c</sup> of some parts of the printed history, with references to the pages, where the reader may be satisfied more at large. And, as great pains have been taken to put this first part in the order it now stands, it is desired that in this first edition it may be printed exactly after the copy to be sent.

“ The original manuscript of the Continuation of Lord Chancellor Clarendon's Life from 1660 to 1667 inclusive is very incorrect, many words being omitted, that must necessarily be supplied: but it is desired that no other alterations may be made, except in the orthography, or where literal or grammatical errors require it, or where little inaccuracies may have escaped the attention of the author. The work must be printed entire, as it now stands, no part of it left out, not an abstract, nor a reference omitted.”

These directions have been punctually observed. The second part is printed from his lordship's manuscript entire, without any omission or variation, except as above; and with regard to the first part, the extract sent to us has been carefully compared with the original manuscript itself, and found to agree: so that the whole here offered to the public is the genuine work of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. And both these valuable original manuscripts are given to the University by our noble benefactresses, to be deposited in the public library.

<sup>c</sup> In the present edition all the passages here referred to are printed between brackets.



# THE LIFE

OF

## EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON;

FROM HIS BIRTH TO THE RESTORATION OF THE  
ROYAL FAMILY IN THE YEAR 1660.

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### PART I.

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*Montpelier, July 23, 1668.*

HE was born in Dinton in the county of Wilts, six miles from Salisbury, in the house of his father, who was Henry Hyde, the third son of Laurence Hyde, of West-Hatch, esquire; which Laurence was the younger son of Robert Hyde of Norbury in the county of Chester, esquire; which estate of Norbury had continued in that family, and descended from father to son from before the Conquest, and continues to this day in Edward Hyde, who is possessed thereof: the other estate of Hyde having some ages since fallen into that of Norbury, by a marriage, and continues still in that house.

Laurence, being, as was said, the younger son of Robert Hyde of Norbury, and the custom of that county of Chester being, to make small provisions for the younger sons of the best families, was, by the care and providence of his mother, well educated, and when his age was fit for it, was placed as a clerk in one of the auditor's offices of the exchequer, where he gained great experience, and was employed in the affairs and business of sir John Thynne, who, under the protection and service of the duke of Somerset, had in a short time raised a very great estate, and was the first of that name who was known, and left the house of Longleat to his heir, with other lands to a great value. Laurence Hyde continued not above a year (or very little more) in that relation, and never gained any thing by it; but shortly after married Anne, the relict and widow of Matthew Calthurst, esquire, of Claverton near Bath in the county of Somerset, by whom he had a fair fortune: and by her had four sons and four daughters, that is to say, Robert, Laurence, Henry, and Nicholas; Joanna, married to Edward Younge of Durnford near Salisbury, esquire; Alice, married to John St. Loe of Kingston in the county of Wilts, esquire; Anne, married to Thomas Baynard of Wanstraw in the county of Somerset, esquire; and Susanna, married to sir George Fuy of Kyneton in the county of Wilts, knight: and these four sons and four daughters lived all above forty years after the death of their father.

Laurence, shortly after his marriage with Anne, purchased the manor of West-Hatch, where he

died, and several other lands; and having taken care to breed his sons at the university of Oxford, and inns of court, leaving his wife, the mother of all his children, possessed of the greatest part of his estate, presuming that she would be careful and kind to all their children, upon that account left the bulk of his estate to Robert his eldest son, who married Anne the daughter of — Castilian of Benham in the county of Berks, esquire, who had many children, and lived to the age of eighty, and left his estate, a little impaired by the marriage of many daughters, to his son. To Laurence his second son (who was afterwards sir Laurence, and attorney general to queen Anne, and a lawyer of great name and practice) he left the impropriate rectory of Dinton, after the life of Anne his mother, charged with an annuity of forty pounds per annum to his third son Henry for his life; and he charged some other part of his estate with an annuity of thirty pounds per annum to his youngest son Nicholas, for his life, relying upon the goodness of his wife, who was left very rich, as well by his donation, as from her husband Calthurst, that she would provide for the better support of the younger children; two of which raised their fortunes by the law, Laurence, as was said before, being attorney general to the queen, and Nicholas, the youngest son, living to be lord chief justice of the king's bench, and dying in that office; both of them leaving behind them many sons and daughters.

Henry, the third son, being of the Middle Temple at his father's death, and being thought to be most in the favour of his mother, and being ready to be called to the bar, though he had studied the law very well, and was a very good scholar, having proceeded master of arts in Oxford, had yet no mind to the practice of the law, but had long had an inclination to travel beyond the seas, which in that strict time of queen Elizabeth was not usual, except to merchants, and such gentlemen who resolved to be soldiers; and at last prevailed with his mother to give him leave to go to the Spa for his health, from whence he followed his former inclinations, and passing through Germany, he went into Italy, and from Florence

he went to Syena, and thence to Rome: which was not only strictly inhibited to all the queen's subjects, but was very dangerous to all the English nation who did not profess themselves Roman catholics; to which profession he was very averse, in regard of the great animosity Sixtus Quintus (who was then pope) had to the person of queen Elizabeth: yet cardinal Allen, who was the last English Cardinal, being then in Rome, he received so much protection from him, that during the time he stayed there, which was some months, he received no trouble, though many English priests murmured very much, and said, "that my lord cardinal was much to be blamed for protecting such men, who came to Rome, and so seeing the ecclesiastical persons of that nation, discovered them afterwards when they came into England, and so they were put to death."

After he was returned into England his mother was very glad, and persuaded him very earnestly to marry, offering him in that case, that whereas she had the rectory of Dinton in jointure for her life, upon which he had only an annuity of forty pounds per annum, for his life, the remainder being to come to Laurence the second brother and his heirs for ever, she would immediately resign her term to him, for his better support, and would likewise purchase of Laurence the said rectory for the life of Henry, and such a wife as he should marry; upon which encouragement, and depending still upon his mother's future bounty, about the thirtieth year of his age, he married Mary, one of the daughters and heirs of Edward Langford of Trowbridge in the county of Wilts, esquire, by whom in present, and after her mother, he had a good fortune, in the account of that age. From that time, he lived a private life at Dinton aforesaid, with great cheerfulness and content, and with a general reputation throughout the whole country; being a person of great knowledge and reputation, and of so great esteem for integrity, that most persons near him referred all matters of contention and difference which did arise amongst them to his determination; by which, that part of the country lived in more peace and quietness than many of their neighbours. During the time of queen Elizabeth he served as a Burgess for some neighbour boroughs in many parliaments; but from the death of queen Elizabeth, he never was in London, though he lived above thirty years after; and his wife, who was married to him above forty years, never was in London in her life; the wisdom and frugality of that time being such, that few gentlemen made journeys to London, or any other expensive journeys, but upon important business, and their wives never; by which providence they enjoyed and improved their estates in the country, and kept good hospitality in their houses, brought up their children well, and were beloved by their neighbours; and in this rank, and with this reputation, this gentleman lived till he was seventy years of age; his younger brother the chief justice dying some years before him, and his two elder brothers outliving him. The great affection between the four brothers, and towards their sisters, of whom all enjoyed plenty and contentedness, was very notorious throughout the country, and of credit to them all.

Henry Hyde, the third son of Laurence, by his intermarriage with Mary Langford, had four sons and five daughters, and being by the kindness

and bounty of his mother, who lived long, and till he had seven or eight children, possessed of such an estate as made his condition easy to him, lived still in the country, as was said before. Laurence his eldest son died young; Henry his second son lived till he was twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age; Edward his third son was he who came afterwards to be earl of Clarendon, and lord high chancellor of England; Nicholas died young; Henry and Edward were both in the university of Oxford together; Henry being master of of arts the act before his younger brother Edward came to the university, who was then but thirteen years of age, and designed by his father to the clergy.

Edward Hyde, being the third son of his father, was born at Dinton upon the eighteenth day of February in the year 1608, being the fifth year of king James; and was always bred in his father's house under the care of a schoolmaster, to whom his father had given the vicarage of that parish, who, having been always a schoolmaster, (though but of very indifferent parts,) had bred many good scholars, and this person of whom we now speak, principally by the care and conversation of his father, (who was an excellent scholar, and took pleasure in conferring with him, and contributed much more to his education than the school did,) was thought fit to be sent to the university soon after he was thirteen years of age; and being a younger son of a younger brother, was to expect a small patrimony from his father, but to make his own fortune by his own industry; and in order to that, was sent by his father to Oxford at that time, being about Magdalen election time, in expectation that he should have been chosen demy of Magdalen college, the election being to be at that time, for which he was recommended by a special letter from king James to Dr. Langton then president of that college; but upon pretence that the letter came too late, though the election was not then begun, he was not chosen, and so remained in Magdalen hall (where he was before admitted) under the tuition of Mr. John Oliver, a fellow of that college, who had been junior of the act a month before, and a scholar of eminency, who was his tutor.

The year following, the president of the college having received reprehension from the lord Conway then secretary of state, for giving no more respect to the king's letter, he was chosen the next election in the first place, but that whole year passed without any avoidance of a demy's place, which was never known before in any man's memory, and that year king James died, and shortly after, Henry his elder brother, and thereupon his father having now no other son, changed his former inclination, and resolved to send his son Edward to the inns of court: he was then entered in the Middle Temple by his uncle Nicholas Hyde, who was then treasurer of that society, and afterwards lord chief justice of the king's bench; but by reason of the great plague then at London in the first year of king Charles, and the parliament being then adjourned to Oxford, whither the plague was likewise then brought by sir James Hussy, one of the masters of the chancery, who died in New college the first night after his arrival at Oxford, and shortly after Dr. Chaloner, principal of Alban hall, who had supped that night with sir James Hussy, he did not go to the Middle Temple till the Michaelmas term after

the term at Reading, but remained partly at his father's house, and partly at the university, where he took the degree of bachelor of arts, and then left it, rather with the opinion of a young man of parts and pregnancy of wit, than that he had improved it much by industry, the discipline of that time being not so strict as it hath been since, and as it ought to be; and the custom of drinking being too much introduced and practised, his elder brother having been too much corrupted in that kind, and so having at his first coming given him some liberty, at least some example towards that license, insomuch as he was often heard to say, "that it was a very good fortune to him that his father so soon removed him from the university," though he always reserved a high esteem of it.

Before the beginning of Michaelmas term (which was in the year 1625) the city being then clear from the plague, he went from Marlborough after the quarter sessions with his uncle Nicholas Hyde, who was afterwards chief justice, to London, and arrived there about ten of the clock in the morning the eve of the term, and dined that day in the Middle Temple hall, being then between sixteen and seventeen years of age. In the evening he went to prayers to the Temple church, and was there seized upon by a fit of an ague very violently, which proved a quartan, and brought him in a short time so weak, that his friends much feared a consumption, so that his uncle thought fit shortly after Alhollandtide to send him into the country to Pirton in North Wiltshire, whither his father had removed himself from Dinton; choosing rather to live upon his own land, the which he had purchased many years before, and to rent Dinton, which was but a lease for lives, to a tenant. He came home to his father's house very weak, his ague continuing so violently upon him (though it sometimes changed its course from a quartan to a tertian, and then to a quotidian, and on new year's day he had two hot fits and two cold fits) until Whitsunday following, that all men thought him to be in a consumption; it then left him, and he grew quickly strong again. In this time of his sickness his uncle was made chief justice: it was Michaelmas following before he returned to the Middle Temple, having by his want of health lost a full year of study; and when he returned, it was without great application to the study of the law for some years, it being then a time when the town was full of soldiers, the king having then a war both with Spain and France, and the business of the Isle of Ree shortly followed; and he had gotten into the acquaintance of many of those officers, which took up too much of his time for one year: but as the war was quickly ended, so he had the good fortune quickly to make a full retreat from that company, and from any conversation with any of them, and without any hurt or prejudice from their conversation; insomuch as he used often to say, "that since it pleased God to preserve him whilst he did keep that company, (in which he wonderfully escaped from being involved in many inconveniences,) and to withdraw him so soon from it, he was not sorry that he had some experience in the conversation of such men, and of the

"license of those times," which was very exorbitant: yet when he did indulge himself that liberty, it was without any signal debauchery, and not without some hours every day, at least every night, spent amongst his books; yet he would not deny that more than to be able to answer his uncle, who almost every night put a case to him in law, he could not bring himself to an industrious pursuit of the law study, but rather loved polite learning and history, in which, especially in the Roman, he had been always conversant.

In the year 1628 his father gave him leave to ride the circuit in the summer with his uncle the chief justice, who then rode the Norfolk circuit; and indeed desired it, both that he might see those counties, and especially that he might be out of London in that season when the small pox raged very furiously, and many persons, some whereof were very familiar with him, died of that disease in the Middle Temple itself. It was about the middle of July when that circuit began, and Cambridge was the first place the judges begun at; Mr. justice Harvey (one of the judges of the common pleas) was in commission with the chief justice: they both came into Cambridge on the Saturday night, and the next day Mr. Edward Hyde fell sick, which was imputed only to his journey the day before in very hot weather; but he continued so ill the day or two following, that it was apprehended that he might have the small pox; whereupon he was removed out of Trinity college, where the judges were lodged, and where he had a chamber, to the Sun inn, over against the college gate, the judges being to go out of town the next day; but before they went, the small pox appeared; whereupon his uncle put him under the care of Mr. Crane an eminent apothecary, who had been bred up under Dr. Butler, and was in much greater practice than any physician in the university; and left with him Laurence St. Loe one of his servants, who was likewise his nephew, to assist and comfort him. It pleased God to preserve him from that devouring disease, which was spread all over him very furiously, and had so far prevailed over him, that for some hours both his friends and physician consulted of nothing but of the place and manner of his burial; but as I said, by God's goodness he escaped that sickness, and within few days more than a month after his first indisposition, he passed in moderate journeys to his father's house at Pirton, where he arrived a day or two before Bartholomew day.

He was often wont to say, that he was reading to his father in Camden's Annals, and that particular place, in which it is said, "*Johannes Feltonus, qui bullam pontificiam valvis palatii episcopi Londinensis affixerat jam deprehensus, cum fugere nollit, factum confessus quod tamen crimen agnoscere noluit*," &c. when a person of the neighbourhood knocked at the door, and being called in, told his father that a post was then passed through the village to Charleton, the house of the earl of Berkshire, to inform the earl of Berkshire that the duke of Buckingham was killed the day before (being the 24th of August, Bartholomew day, in the year 1628) by one John Felton\*,

\* For the particulars of the duke of Buckingham's death, and of the alterations it produced at court, and in public affairs, vid. Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 12.

which dismal accident happening in the court, made a great change in the state, produced a sudden disbanding of all armies, and a due observation of, and obedience to the laws; so that there being no more mutations in view (which usually affect the spirits of young men, at least hold them some time at gaze) Mr. Hyde returned again to his studies at the Middle Temple, having it still in his resolution to dedicate himself to the profession of the law, without declining the politer learning, to which his humour and his conversation kept him always very indulgent; and to lay some obligation upon himself to be fixed to that course of life, he inclined to a proposition of marriage, which, having no other passion in it than an appetite to a convenient estate, succeeded not, yet produced new acquaintance, and continued the same inclinations.

About this time his uncle sir Nicholas Hyde, lord chief justice of the king's bench, died of a malignant fever, gotten from the infection of some gaol in his summer circuit. He was a man of excellent learning for that province he was to govern, of unsuspected and unblemished integrity, of an exemplar gravity and austerity, which was necessary for the manners of that time, corrupted by the marching of armies, and by the license after the disbanding them; and though upon his promotion some years before, from a private practiser of the law to the supreme judicatory in it, by the power and recommendation of the great favourite, of whose council he had been, he was exposed to much envy and some prejudice; yet his behaviour was so grateful to all the judges, who had an entire confidence in him, his service so useful to the king in his government, his justice and sincerity so conspicuous throughout the kingdom, that the death of no judge had in any time been more lamented.

The loss of so beneficial an encouragement and support in that profession did not at all discourage his nephew in his purpose; rather added new resolution to him; and to call home all straggling and wandering appetites, which naturally produce irresolution and inconstancy in the mind, with his father's consent and approbation he married a young lady very fair and beautiful, the daughter of sir George Ayliffe, a gentleman of a good name and fortune in the county of Wilts, where his own expectations lay, and by her mother (a St. John) nearly allied to many noble families in England. He enjoyed this comfort and composure of mind a very short time, for within less than six months after he was married, being upon the way from London towards his father's house, she fell sick at Reading, and being removed to a friend's house near that town, the small pox discovered themselves, and (she being with child) forced her to miscarry; and she died within two days. He bore her loss with so great passion and confusion of spirit, that it shook all the frame of his resolutions, and nothing but his entire duty and reverence to his father kept him from giving over all thoughts of books, and transporting himself beyond the seas to enjoy his own melancholy; nor could any persuasion or importunity from his friends prevail with him in some years to think of another marriage. There was an ill accident in the court befell a lady of a family nearly allied to his wife, whose memory was very dear to him, and there always continued a firm friendship in him to all

her alliance, which likewise ever manifested an equal affection to him; amongst those was William viscount Grandison, a young man of extraordinary hope, between whom and the other there was an entire confidence. The injury was of that nature, that the young lord thought of nothing but repairing it his own way; but those imaginations were quickly at an end, by the king's rigorous and just proceeding against the persons offending, in committing them both to the Tower, and declaring that "since he was satisfied that there was a promise of marriage in the case, the gentleman should make good his promise by marrying the lady; or be kept in prison, and for ever banished from all pretence or relation to the court," where he had a very great credit and interest. This declaration by the king made the nearest friends of the lady pursue the design of this reparation more sollicitously, in which they had all access to the king, who continued still in his declared judgment in the matter. In this pursuit Mr. Hyde's passionate affection to the family embarked him, and they were all as willing to be guided by his conduct; the business was to be followed by frequent instances at court, and conferences with those who had most power and opportunity to confirm the king in the sense he had entertained; and those conferences were wholly managed by him, who thereby had all admission to the persons of alliance to the lady, and so concerned in the dishonour, which was a great body of lords and ladies of principal relations in court, with whom in a short time he was of great credit and esteem; of which the marquis of Hamilton was one, who having married an excellent lady, cousin-german to the injured person, seemed the most concerned and most zealous for her vindication, and who had at that time the most credit of any man about the court, and who upon that occasion entered into a familiarity with him, and made as great professions of kindness to him as could pass to a person at that distance from him, which continued till the end and conclusion of that affair, when the marquis believed that Mr. Hyde had discovered some want of sincerity in him in that prosecution, which he pretended so much to assert.

The mention of this particular little story, in itself of no seeming consequence, is not inserted here only as it made some alterations, and accidentally introduced him into another way of conversation than he had formerly been accustomed to, and which in truth by the acquaintance, by the friends and enemies he then made, had an influence upon the whole course of his life afterwards; but that it made such impressions upon the whole court, by dividing the lords and ladies both in their wishes and appearances, that much of that faction grew out of it, which survived the memory of the original; and from this occasion (to shew us from how small springs great rivers may arise) the women, who till then had not appeared concerned in public affairs, began to have some part in all business; and having shewn themselves warm upon this amour, as their passions or affections carried them, and thereby entered into new affections, and formed new interests; the activity in their spirits remained still vigorous when the object which first inspired it was vanished and put in oblivion. Nor were the very ministers of state vacant upon this occasion; they who for their own sakes, or, as they pretended, for the king's

dignity, and honour of the court, desired the ruin of the gentleman, pressed the magnitude of the crime, in bringing so great a scandal upon the king's family, which would hinder persons of honour from sending their children to the court; and that there could be no reparation without the marriage, which they therefore only insisted upon, because they believed he would prefer banishment before it; others who had friendship for him and believed that he had an interest in the court, which might accommodate himself and them if this breach were closed any way, therefore if the king's severity could not be prevailed upon, wished it concluded by the marriage; which neither himself nor they upon whom he most depended would ever be brought to consent to; so that all the jealousies and animosities in the court or state came to play their own prizes in the widening or accommodating this contention. In the conclusion, on a sudden, contrary to the expectation of any man of either party, the gentleman was immediately sent out of the kingdom, under the formality of a temporary and short banishment, and the lady commended to her friends, to be taken care of till her delivery; and from that time never word more spoken of the business, nor shall their names ever come upon the stage by any record of mine. It was only observed, that at this time there was a great change in the friendships of the court, and in those of the marquis of Hamilton, who came now into the queen's confidence, towards whom he had always been in great jealousy; and another lady more appeared in view, who had for the most part before continued behind the curtain; and who in few years after came to a very unhappy and untimely end.

Now after a widowhood of near three years, Mr. Hyde was inclined again to marry, which he knew would be the most grateful thing to his father (for whom he had always an infinite reverence) he could do; and though he needed no other motive to it, he would often say, that though he was now called to the bar, and entered into the profession of the law, he was not so confident of himself that he should not start aside if his father should die, who was then near seventy years of age, having long entertained thoughts of travels, but that he thought it necessary to lay some obligation upon himself, which would suppress and restrain all those appetites; and thereupon resolved to marry, and so, being about the age of twenty-four years, in the year of our Lord 1632, he married the daughter of sir Thomas Aylesbury, baronet, master of requests to the king; by whom he had many children of both sexes, with whom he lived very comfortably in the most uncomfortable times, and very joyfully in those times when matter of joy was administered, for the space of five or six and thirty years; what befell him after her death will be recounted in its place. From the time of his marriage he laid aside all other thoughts but of his profession, to the which he betook himself very seriously; but in the very entrance into it, he met with a great mortification: some months after he was married, he went with his wife to wait upon his father and mother at his house at Pirton, to make them sharers in that satisfaction which they had so long desired to see, and in which they took great delight.

His father had long suffered under an indisposition (even before the time his son could remem-

ber) which gave him rather frequent pains than sickness; and gave him cause to be terrified with the expectation of the stone, without being exercised with the present sense of it: but from the time he was sixty years of age it increased very much, and four or five years before his death, with circumstances scarce heard of before, and the causes whereof are not yet understood by any physician: he was very often, both in the day and the night, forced to make water, seldom in any quantity, because he could not retain it long enough; and in the close of that work, without any sharp pain in those parts, he was still and constantly seized on by so sharp a pain in the left arm for half a quarter of an hour, or near so much, that the torment made him as pale (whereas he was otherwise of a very sanguine complexion) as if he were dead; and he used to say, "that he had passed the pangs of death, and he should die in one of those fits." As soon as it was over, which was quickly, he was the cheerfullest man living; eat well such things as he could fancy, walked, slept, digested, conversed with such a promptness and vivacity upon all arguments (for he was *omnifariam doctus*) as hath been seldom known in a man of his age: but he had the image of death so constantly before him in those continual torments, that for many years before his death he always parted with his son as to see him no more; and at parting still shewed him his will, discoursing very particularly and very cheerfully of all things he would have performed after his death.

He had for some time before resolved to leave the country, and to spend the remainder of his time in Salisbury, where he had caused a house to be provided for him, both for the neighbourhood of the cathedral church, where he could perform his devotions every day, and for the conversation of many of his family who lived there, and not far from it; and especially that he might be buried there, where many of his family and friends lay; and he obliged his son to accompany him thither before his return to London; and he came to Salisbury on the Friday before Michaelmas day in the year 1632, and lodged in his own house that night. The next day he was so wholly taken up in receiving visits from his many friends, being a person wonderfully revered in those parts, that he walked very little out of his house. The next morning, being Sunday, he rose very early, and went to two or three churches; and when he returned, which was by eight of the clock, he told his wife and his son, "that he had been to look out a place to be buried in, but found none against which he had not some exception, the cathedral only excepted: where he had made a choice of a place near a kinsman of his own name, and had shewed it to the sexton, whom he had sent for to that purpose; and wished them to see him buried there;" and this with as much composedness of mind as if it had made no impression upon him; then went to the cathedral to sermon, and spent the whole day in as cheerful conversation with his friends, (saving only the frequent interruptions his infirmity gave him once in two or three hours, sometimes more, sometimes less,) as the man in the most confirmed health could do. Monday was Michaelmas day, when in the morning he went to visit his brother sir Laurence Hyde, who was then making a jour-

ney in the service of the king, and from him went to the church to a sermon, where he found himself a little pressed as he used to be, and therefore thought fit to make what haste he could to his house, and was no sooner come thither into a lower room, than having made water, and the pain in his arm seizing upon him, he fell down dead, without the least motion of any limb. The suddenness of it made it apprehended to be an apoplexy; but there being nothing like convulsions, or the least distortion or alteration in the visage, it is not like to be from that cause; nor could the physicians make any reasonable guess from whence that mortal blow proceeded. He wanted about six weeks of attaining the age of seventy, and was the greatest instance of the felicity of a country life that was seen in that age; having enjoyed a competent, and to him a plentiful fortune, a very great reputation of piety and virtue, and his death being attended with universal lamentation. It cannot be expressed with what agony his son bore this loss, having, as he was used to say, "not only lost the best father, but the best friend and the best companion he ever had or could have;" and he was never so well pleased, as when he had fit occasions given him to mention his father, whom he did in truth believe to be the wisest man he had ever known; and he was often heard to say, in the time when his condition was at highest, "that though God Almighty had been very propitious to him, in raising him to great honours and preferments, he did not value any honour he had so much as the being the son of such a father and mother, for whose sakes principally he thought God had conferred those blessings upon him."

There fell out at this time, or thereabouts, a great alteration in the court and state, by the death of the earl of Portland, lord high treasurer of England, of whom enough hath been said before. The king from the death of the duke of Buckingham had not only been very reserved in his bounty, but so frugal in his own expense, that he had retrenched much of what had formerly issued out for his household, in so much as every year somewhat had been paid of his debts. He resolved now to govern his treasury by commission, and to take a constant account of it; and thereby to discover what had been of late done amiss. The commissioners he appointed were, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, (formerly bishop of London,) the lord keeper Coventry, and other principal officers of state, who, together with the lord Cottington, (who was chancellor of the exchequer, and by his office of the quorum in that commission,) were to supply the office of treasurer in all particulars. The archbishop of Canterbury, who till now had only intended the good government of the church, without intermeddling in secular affairs, otherwise than when the discipline of the church was concerned, in which he was very strict, both in the high commission, and in all other places, where he sat as a privy counsellor, well foreseeing, as he made manifest upon several occasions, the growth of the schismatics, and that if they were not with rigour suppressed, they would put the whole kingdom into a flame, which shortly after fell out to be too confessed a truth; though for the present his providence only served to increase the number of his enemies, who had from that his zeal contracted

all the malice against him that can be imagined, and which he, out of the conscience of his duty, and the purity of his intentions, and his knowledge of the king's full approbation of his vigilance and ardour, too much undervalued; I say, as soon as he was made commissioner of the treasury, he thought himself obliged to take all the pains he could to understand that employment, and the nature of the revenue, and to find out all possible ways for the improvement thereof, and for the present managery of the expense. Many were of opinion that he was the more solicitous in that disquisition, and the more inquisitive into what had been done, that he might make some discovery of past actions, which might reflect upon the memory of the late treasurer, the earl of Portland, and call his wisdom and integrity in question, who had been so far from being his friend, that he had always laboured to do him all the mischief he could; and it was no small grief of heart to him, and much occasion of his ill humour, to find that the archbishop had too much credit with the king, to be shaken by him: and the archbishop was not in his affections behind-hand with him, looking always upon him as a Roman catholic, though he dissembled it by going to church; and as the great countenancer and support of that religion; all his family being of that profession, and very few resorting to it, or having any credit with him but such. It is very true, the archbishop had no great regard for his memory, or for his friends, and was willing enough to make any discovery of his miscarriages, and to inform his majesty of them, who he believed had too good an opinion of him and his integrity.

The truth is, the archbishop had laid down one principle to himself, which he believed would much advance the king's service, and was without doubt very prudent; that the king's duties being provided for, and cheerfully paid, the merchants should receive all the countenance and protection from the king that they could expect, and not be liable to the vexation particular men gave them for their private advantage; being forward enough to receive propositions which tended to the king's profit, but careful that what accrued of burden to the subject should redound entirely to the benefit of the crown, and not enrich projectors at the charge of the people: and there is reason to believe that if this measure had been well observed, much of that murmur had been prevented, which contributed to that jealousy and discontent which soon after brake out. This vigilance and inclination in the archbishop opened a door to the admission of any merchants or others to him, who gave him information of this kind; and who being ready to pay any thing to the king, desired only to be protected from private oppressions. The archbishop used to spend as much time as he could get at his country house at Croydon; and then his mind being unbent from business, he delighted in the conversation of his neighbours, and treated them with great urbanity.

There was a merchant of the greatest reputation, (Daniel Harvey,) who, having a country house within a few miles from Croydon, and understanding the whole business of trade more exactly than most men, was always very welcome to the archbishop, who used to ask him many questions upon such matters as he desired to be informed in; and received much satisfaction from

him. Upon an accidental discourse between them, what encouragement merchants ought to receive, who brought a great trade into the kingdom, and paid thereupon great sums of money to the king, Mr. Harvey mentioned the discouragements they had received in the late times, by the rigour of the earl of Portland, in matters that related nothing to the king's service, but to the profit of private men; and thereupon remembered a particular, that, after the dissolution of the parliament in the fourth year of the king, and the combination amongst many merchants to pay no more customs or impositions to the king, because they had not been granted in parliament, which produced those suits and decrees in the exchequer, which are generally understood, and a general distraction in trade; many merchants of the greatest wealth and reputation resolved to continue the trade; and in a short time reduced it into so good order, and by their advice and example disposed others to make a punctual entry of their goods, and to pay their duties to the king, that the trade seemed to be restored to the nation, and the customs to rise above the value they had ever yielded to the crown: which was no sooner brought to pass, than the earl of Portland (who endeavoured to persuade the king that this great work was entirely compassed by his wisdom, interest, and dexterity) disobliged the merchants in a very sensible degree, in requiring them to unlade their ships at the custom-house quay, and at no other quay or wharf, upon pretence that thereby the king would have his customs well paid, of which otherwise he would be in danger to be cozened; and alleged an order that had been formerly made in the court of the exchequer, that fine goods which were portable, (as silks and fine linens,) and might easily be stolen, should always be landed at the custom-house quay. The merchants looked upon this constraint and restraint as a great oppression, and applied themselves to him for reparation and redress: they undertook to make it evident to him, that it was merely a matter which concerned the private benefit of the particular wharfingers, and in the least degree the king's profit; that the custom-house quay was of great value to the owner of it, who had a very great rent for it, but that it yielded the king nothing, nor would in fifty years or thereabouts, there being a lease yet to come for that term; that the mention of fine goods, and the order of the exchequer, was not applicable to the question; that they disputed not the landing of fine goods, but that the pretence was to compel them to bring their grossest, and their merchandise of the greatest bulk to that quay, whereas they had been always free to ship or unship such goods at what wharf they would choose for their conveniences; there being the sworn waiters of the custom-house attending in the one, as well as the other; that the restraining them to one wharf, and obliging all the ships to be brought thither, must prove much to their prejudice, and make them depend upon the good-will of the wharfinger for their despatch; who in truth, let his desire be never so good, could not be able to perform the service, without obliging them to wait very long, and thereby to lose their markets. All this discourse, how reasonable soever, made no impression upon the treasurer, but he dismissed them with his usual roughness, and reproached them that they desired

all occasions to cozen the king of his customs; which they looked upon as an ill reward for the service they had done, and a great discouragement to trade. The archbishop heard this discourse with great trouble and indignation, and being then interrupted by the coming of persons of quality, told him, he would some other time run over all these particulars again, and that he should recollect himself for other instances of that strange nature.

The next time the archbishop returned to Croydon, which he usually did once in the week during the summer, and stayed a day or two, impatient to understand more of the matter, he sent for Mr. Harvey, and told him, "that his last discourse had given him much cause of sorrow, in finding how the king had been used, and that he knew his nature so well, that he could confidently say, that he never knew of that kind of proceeding, and that he wondered that the merchants had not then petitioned the king to hear the matter himself." He answered, "that they had left no way unattempted for their ease, having no fear of displeasing the treasurer; that they had caused a petition to be drawn by their council, which was signed by all the principal merchants in the city, wherein (to obviate the calumny concerning refusing to pay, or stealing customs) they declared, that they were all very willing to pay all duties to his majesty, and would never refuse the same, (which was a declaration would have been much valued a year or two before, and ought to have been so then,) only desired to be left at liberty to ship and land their goods as they had been accustomed to; that they had given this petition to a secretary of state to present it to the king, who referred it to the consideration of the treasurer; and thereupon they pursued it no further, knowing how he stood resolved, and the cause of it, which troubled them most, viz. that that custom-house quay did, though not in his own name, in truth belong to sir Abraham Dawes, one of the farmers of the customs, and the only minion of the lord treasurer, all the other farmers being offended with the order, which they saw would offend the merchants." The archbishop asked "where that petition was; that he thought it still of that moment, that he would be glad to see it." He answered, "he knew not where it was; but he believed it to remain in the hands of Mr. Hyde, who had drawn it, and was of council with the merchants throughout the whole proceedings; and was so warm in it, that he had exceedingly provoked the lord treasurer, who would have ruined him if he could." He asked who that Mr. Hyde was, and where he was: the other said, "he was a young lawyer of the Middle Temple, who was not afraid of being of council with them, when all men of name durst not appear for them; and that he was confident that he, having been always present at all debates, remembered many circumstances in the business which the other had forgotten; that he was generally known; and had lately married the daughter of sir Thomas Aylesbury."

Within a few days after, the archbishop meeting sir Thomas Aylesbury at court, asked him whether he had married his daughter to one Mr. Hyde, a lawyer, and where he was: he answered, he had done so, and that he lived in his house, when he



was not at his chamber in the Middle Temple. The archbishop desired him to send him to him, for he heard well of him; and the next morning I attended him, and found him walking alone in his garden at Lambeth: he received me civilly according to his manner, without much ceremony; and presently asked me, whether I had not been of council with some merchants in such a business, and where that petition now was: I answered him, not knowing why he asked, "that I had been about two years past of council with some merchants about such an affair, in which the earl of Portland had been much incensed against me; that I remembered I had drawn such a petition, which was signed by all the considerable merchants of London, but that there was little progress made thereupon, by reason of the asperity of the treasurer." He asked still for the petition that was so signed; he told him, he thought he had it himself, if he had it not, he was confident he could find who had it: he desired him, that he would find it out, and bring it to him, and any other papers concerning that affair, or the business of the customs. He said, "the king had, contrary to his desire, made him one of the commissioners of the treasury; that he understood nothing of that province, but was willing to take any pains which might enable him to do his master service, which made him inquisitive into the customs, the principal branch of the revenue; that his neighbour Daniel Harvey had spoken much good of him to him; and informed him of that complaint of the merchants, which he thought had much reason in it, but it was like other acts of the earl of Portland; that he would be willing to receive any information from him, and that he should be welcome when he came to him." He told him, in short, (which he heard would please him best,) two or three passages that happened in that transaction; and some huffing expressions which fell from the treasurer, when upon his urging that the farmers would not hold their farm, if he did not strictly hold the merchants to custom-house quay, he told him, "that if the farmers were weary of their bargain, he would help the king to forty thousand pounds a year above the rent they paid, and that they should be paid all the money they had advanced within one week;" upon which the earl indeed had let himself out into an indecent rage, using many threats to him: which he found was not ingrateful to the archbishop, upon whom he attended within a day or two again, and delivered him the petition and many other useful papers, which pleased him abundantly; and he required him to see him often.

By this accident Mr. Hyde came first to be known to the archbishop, who ever afterwards used him very kindly, and spoke well of him upon all occasions, and took particular notice of him when he came of council in any causes depending at the council board, as he did frequently; and desired his service in many occasions, and particularly in the raising monies for the building St. Paul's church, in which he made a journey or two into Wiltshire with good success; which the archbishop still acknowledged in a more obliging way than he was accustomed to; insomuch as it was so much taken notice of, that Mr. Hyde (who well knew how to cultivate those advantages) was used with more countenance by all the judges in West-

minster hall, and the eminent practisers, than was usually given to men of his years; so that he grew every day in practice, of which he had as much as he desired; and having a competent estate of his own, he enjoyed a very pleasant and a plentiful life, living very generously, and much above the rank of those lawyers whose business was only to be rich; and was generally beloved and esteemed by most persons of condition and great reputation. Though he pursued his profession with great diligence and intentness of mind, and upon the matter wholly betook himself to business, yet he made not himself a slave to it, but kept both his friends at court and about the town, by his frequent application and constant conversation: in order to which, he always gave himself at dinner to those who used to meet together at that hour, and in such places as was mutually agreed between them; where they enjoyed themselves with wonderful delight and public reputation, for the innocence, and sharpness, and learning of their conversation. For he would never suffer himself to be deprived of some hours (which commonly he borrowed from the night) to refresh himself with polite learning, in which he still made some progress. The afternoons he entirely dedicated to the business of his profession, taking instructions and the like; and very rarely supped, except he was called out by some of his friends, who spared him the more, because he always complied with those summons; otherwise he never supped for many years, (before the troubles brought in that custom,) both for the gaining that time for himself, and that he might rise early in the morning according to his custom, and which he would say, he could never do when he supped. The vacations he gave wholly to his study and conversation, never going out of London in those seasons, except for two months in the summer, which he spent at his own house in the country, with great cheerfulness amongst his friends, who then resorted to him in good numbers.

He never did ride any country circuits with the judges, which he often repented afterwards, saying, that besides the knowing the gentry, and people, and manners of England, (which is best attained that way,) there is a very good and necessary part of the learning in the law, which is not so easily got any other way, as in riding those circuits; which as it seems to have much of drudgery, so is accompanied with much pleasure as well as profit; and it may be, the long lives of men of that profession (for the lawyers usually live to more years than any other profession) may very reasonably be imputed to the exercise they give themselves by their circuits, as well as to their other acts of temperance and sobriety. And as he had denied himself that satisfaction, purely to have that time to himself for other delight, so he did resolve, if the confusion of the time had not surprised him, for three or four years (longer he did not intend) to have improved himself by the experience of those journeys.

He was often heard to say, that, "next the immediate blessing and providence of God Almighty, which had preserved him throughout the whole course of his life, (less strict than it ought to have been,) from many dangers and disadvantages, in which many other young men were lost; he owed all the little he knew, and the little good that was in him, to the friend-



"ships and conversation he had still been used to, of the most excellent men in their several kinds that lived in that age; by whose learning, and information, and instruction, he formed his studies, and mended his understanding; and by whose gentleness and sweetness of behaviour, and justice, and virtue, and example, he formed his manners, subdued that pride, and suppressed that heat and passion he was naturally inclined to be transported with." And he never took more pleasure in any thing, than in frequently mentioning and naming those persons, who were then his friends, or of his most familiar conversation, and in remembering their particular virtues and faculties; and used often to say, "that he never was so proud, or thought himself so good a man, as when he was the worst man in the company;" all his friends and companions being in their quality, in their fortunes, at least in their faculties and endowments of mind, very much his superiors: and he always charged his children to follow his example in that point, in making their friendships and conversation; protesting, that in the whole course of his life he never knew one man, of what condition soever, arrive to any degree of reputation in the world, who made choice or delighted in the company or conversation of those, who in their qualities were inferior, or in their parts not much superior to them.

Whilst he was only a student of the law, and stood at gaze, and irresolute what course of life to take, his chief acquaintance were Ben Johnson, John Selden, Charles Cotton, John Vaughan, sir Kenelm Digby, Thomas May, and Thomas Carew, and some others of eminent faculties in their several ways. Ben Johnson's name can never be forgotten, having by his very good learning, and the severity of his nature and manners, very much reformed the stage; and indeed the English poetry itself. His natural advantages were, judgment to order and govern fancy, rather than excess of fancy, his productions being slow and upon deliberation, yet then abounding with great wit and fancy, and will live accordingly; and surely as he did exceedingly exalt the English language in eloquence, propriety, and masculine expressions, so he was the best judge of, and fittest to prescribe rules to poetry and poets, of any man, who had lived with, or before him, or since: if Mr. Cowley had not made a flight beyond all men, with that modesty yet, to ascribe much of this to the example and learning of Ben Johnson. His conversation was very good, and with the men of most note; and he had for many years an extraordinary kindness for Mr. Hyde, till he found he betook himself to business, which he believed ought never to be preferred before his company. He lived to be very old, and till the palsy made a deep impression upon his body and his mind.

Mr. Selden was a person whom no character can flatter, or transmit in any expressions equal to his merit and virtue. He was of so stupendous learning in all kinds and in all languages, (as may appear in his excellent and transcendent writings,) that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant amongst books, and had never spent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtesy, and affability was such, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his good nature, charity, and delight in doing good, and in communicating

all he knew, exceeded that breeding. His style in all his writings seems harsh and sometimes obscure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abstruse subjects of which he commonly treated, out of the paths trod by other men; but to a little undervaluing the beauty of a style, and too much propensity to the language of antiquity: but in his conversation he was the most clear discourser, and had the best faculty of making hard things easy, and presenting them to the understanding, of any man that hath been known. Mr. Hyde was wont to say, that he valued himself upon nothing more than upon having had Mr. Selden's acquaintance from the time he was very young; and held it with great delight as long as they were suffered to continue together in London; and he was very much troubled always when he heard him blamed, censured, and reproached, for staying in London, and in the parliament, after they were in rebellion, and in the worst times, which his age obliged him to do; and how wicked soever the actions were which were every day done, he was confident he had not given his consent to them; but would have hindered them if he could with his own safety, to which he was always enough indulgent. If he had some infirmities with other men, they were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious abilities and excellencies in the other scale.

Charles Cotton was a gentleman born to a competent fortune, and so qualified in his person and education, that for many years he continued the greatest ornament of the town, in the esteem of those who had been best bred. His natural parts were very great, his wit flowing in all the parts of conversation; the superstructure of learning not raised to a considerable height; but having passed some years in Cambridge, and then in France, and conversing always with learned men, his expressions were ever proper and significant, and gave great lustre to his discourse upon any argument; so that he was thought by those who were not intimate with him, to have been much better acquainted with books than he was. He had all those qualities which in youth raise men to the reputation of being fine gentlemen; such a pleasantness and gayety of humour, such a sweetness and gentleness of nature, and such a civility and delightfulness in conversation, that no man in the court, or out of it, appeared a more accomplished person; all these extraordinary qualifications being supported by as extraordinary a clearness of courage and fearlessness of spirit, of which he gave too often manifestation. Some unhappy suits in law, and waste of his fortune in those suits, made some impression upon his mind; which being improved by domestic afflictions, and those indulgences to himself which naturally attend those afflictions, rendered his age less revered than his youth had been; and gave his best friends cause to have wished that he had not lived so long.

John Vaughan was then a student of the law in the Inner Temple, but at that time indulged more to the politer learning; and was in truth a man of great parts of nature, and very well adorned by arts and books, and so much cherished by Mr. Selden, that he grew to be of entire trust and friendship with him, and to that owed the best part of his reputation: for he was of so magisterial and supercilious a humour, so proud and insolent a behaviour, that all Mr. Selden's instruc-

tions, and authority, and example, could not file off that roughness of his nature, so as to make him very grateful. He looked most into those parts of the law which disposed him to least reverence to the crown, and most to popular authority; yet without inclination to any change in government; and therefore, before the beginning of the civil war, and when he clearly discerned the approaches to it in parliament, (of which he was a member,) he withdrew himself into the fastnesses of his own country, North Wales, where he enjoyed a secure, and as near an innocent life, as the iniquity of that time would permit; and when the king [Charles the Second] returned, he appeared under the character of a man who had preserved his loyalty entire, and was esteemed accordingly by all that party.

His friend Mr. Hyde, who was then become lord high chancellor of England, renewed his old kindness and friendship towards him, and was desirous to gratify him all the ways he could, and earnestly pressed him to put on his gown again, and take upon him the office of a judge; but he excused himself upon his long discontinuance, (having not worn his gown, and wholly discontinued the profession from the year 1640, full twenty years,) and upon his age, and expressly refused to receive any promotion; but continued all the professions of respect and gratitude imaginable to the chancellor, till it was in his power to manifest the contrary, to his prejudice, which he did with circumstances very uncommendable.

Sir Kenelm Digby was a person very eminent and notorious throughout the whole course of his life, from his cradle to his grave; of an ancient family and noble extraction; and inherited a fair and plentiful fortune, notwithstanding the attainder of his father. He was a man of a very extraordinary person and presence, which drew the eyes of all men upon him, which were more fixed by a wonderful graceful behaviour, a flowing courtesy and civility, and such a volubility of language, as surprised and delighted; and though in another man it might have appeared to have somewhat of affectation, it was marvellous graceful in him, and seemed natural to his size, and mould of his person, to the gravity of his motion, and the tune of his voice and delivery. He had a fair reputation in arms, of which he gave an early testimony in his youth, in some encounters in Spain and Italy, and afterwards in an action in the Mediterranean sea, where he had the command of a squadron of ships of war, set out at his own charge under the king's commission; with which, upon an injury received, or apprehended from the Venetians, he encountered their whole fleet, killed many of their men, and sunk one of their galleasses; which in that drowsy and unactive time, was looked upon with a general estimation, though the crown disavowed it. In a word, he had all the advantages that nature, and art, and an excellent education could give him; which, with a great confidence and presentness of mind, buoyed him up against all those prejudices and disadvantages, ([as] the attainder and execution of his father, for a crime of the highest nature; his own marriage with a lady, though of an extraordinary beauty, of as extraordinary a fame; his changing and rechanging his religion; and some personal vices and licenses in his life,) which would have suppressed and sunk any other man, but never

clouded or eclipsed him, from appearing in the best places, and the best company, and with the best estimation and satisfaction.

Thomas May was the eldest son of his father, a knight, and born to a fortune, if his father had not spent it; so that he had only an annuity left him, not proportionable to a liberal education: yet since his fortune could not raise his mind, he brought his mind down to his fortune, by a great modesty and humility in his nature, which was not affected, but very well became an imperfection in his speech, which was a great mortification to him, and kept him from entering upon any discourse but in the company of his very friends. His parts of nature and art were very good, as appears by his translation of Lucan, (none of the easiest work of that kind,) and more by his supplement to Lucan, which being entirely his own, for the learning, the wit, and the language, may be well looked upon as one of the best dramatic poems in the English language. He writ some other commendable pieces, of the reign of some of our kings. He was cherished by many persons of honour, and very acceptable in all places; yet, (to shew that pride and envy have their influences upon the narrowest minds, and which have the greatest semblance of humility,) though he had received much countenance, and a very considerable donative from the king, upon his majesty's refusing to give him a small pension, which he had designed and promised to another very ingenious person, whose qualities he thought inferior to his own, he fell from his duty, and all his former friends, and prostituted himself to the vile office of celebrating the infamous acts of those who were in rebellion against the king; which he did so meanly, that he seemed to all men to have lost his wits, when he left his honesty; and so shortly after died miserable and neglected, and deserves to be forgotten.

Thomas Carew was a younger brother of a good family, and of excellent parts, and had spent many years of his youth in France and Italy; and returning from travel, followed the court; which the modesty of that time disposed men to do some time, before they pretended to be of it; and he was very much esteemed by the most eminent persons in the court, and well looked upon by the king himself, some years before he could obtain to be sewer to the king; and when the king conferred that honour upon him, it was not without the regret even of the whole Scotch nation, which united themselves in recommending another gentleman to the place: of so great value were those relations held in that age, when majesty was beheld with the reverence it ought to be. He was a person of a pleasant and facetious wit, and made many poems, (especially in the amorous way,) which for the sharpness of the fancy, and the elegancy of the language in which that fancy was spread, were at least equal, if not superior to any of that time: but his glory was, that after fifty years of his life, spent with less severity or exactness than it ought to have been, he died with the greatest remorse for that license, and with the greatest manifestation of Christianity, that his best friends could desire.

Among these persons Mr. Hyde's usual time of conversation was spent, till he grew more retired to his more serious studies, and never discontinued his acquaintance with any of them, though he

spent less time in their company; only upon Mr. Selden he looked with so much affection and reverence, that he always thought himself best when he was with him: but he had then another conjunction and communication that he took so much delight in, that he embraced it in the time of his greatest business and practice, and would suffer no other pretence or obligation to withdraw him from that familiarity and friendship; and took frequent occasions to mention their names with great pleasure; being often heard to say, "that if he had any thing good in him, in his humour, or in his manners, he owed it to the example, and the information he had received in, and from that company, with most of whom he had an entire friendship." And they were in truth, in their several qualifications, men of more than ordinary eminence, before they attained the great preferments many of them lived to enjoy. The persons were, sir Lucius Carey, eldest son to the lord viscount Falkland, lord deputy of Ireland; sir Francis Wenman of Oxfordshire; Sidney Godolphin of Godolphin in Cornwall; Edmund Waller of Beaconsfield; Dr. Gilbert Sheldon; Dr. George Morley; Dr. John Earles; Mr. John Hales of Eton; and Mr. William Chillingworth.

With sir Lucius Carey he had a most entire friendship without reserve, from his age of twenty years to the hour of his death, near twenty years after: upon which there will be occasion to enlarge when we come to speak of that time, and often before, and therefore we shall say no more of him in this place, than to shew his condition and qualifications, which were the first ingredients into that friendship, which was afterwards cultivated and improved by a constant conversation and familiarity, and by many accidents which contributed thereto. He had the advantage of a noble extraction, and of being born his father's eldest son, when there was a greater fortune in prospect to be inherited, (besides what he might reasonably expect by his mother,) than came afterwards to his possession. His education was equal to his birth, at least in the care, if not in the climate; for his father being deputy of Ireland, before he was of age fit to be sent abroad, his breeding was in the court, and in the university of Dublin; but under the care, vigilance, and direction of such governors and tutors, that he learned all those exercises and languages, better than most men do in more celebrated places; insomuch as when he came into England, which was when he was about the age of eighteen years, he was not only master of the Latin tongue, and had read all the poets, and other of the best authors with notable judgment for that age, but he understood, and spake, and writ French, as if he had spent many years in France.

He had another advantage, which was a great ornament to the rest, that was, a good, a plentiful estate, of which he had the early possession. His mother was the sole daughter and heir of the lord chief baron Tanfield, who having given a fair portion with his daughter in marriage, had kept himself free to dispose of his land, and his other estate, in such manner as he should think fit; and he settled it in such manner upon his grandson sir Lucius Carey, without taking notice of his father, or mother, that upon his grandmother's death, which fell out about the time that he was nineteen years of age, all the land, with two excel-

lent houses excellently furnished, (worth above 2000*l.* per annum,) in a most pleasant country, and the two most pleasant places in that country, with a very plentiful personal estate, fell into his hands and possession, and to his entire disposal.

With these advantages, he had one great disadvantage (which in the first entrance into the world is attended with too much prejudice) in his person and presence, which was in no degree attractive or promising. His stature was low, and smaller than most men; his motion not graceful; and his aspect so far from inviting, that it had somewhat in it of simplicity; and his voice the worst of the three, and so untuned, that instead of reconciling, it offended the ear, so that nobody would have expected music from that tongue; and sure no man was less beholden to nature for its recommendation into the world: but then no man sooner or more disappointed this general and customary prejudice; that little person and small stature was quickly found to contain a great heart, a courage so keen, and a nature so fearless, that no composition of the strongest limbs, and most harmonious and proportioned presence and strength, ever more disposed any man to the greatest enterprise; it being his greatest weakness to be too solicitous for such adventures: and that untuned tongue and voice easily discovered itself to be supplied and governed by a mind and understanding so excellent, that the wit and weight of all he said carried another kind of lustre and admiration in it, and even another kind of acceptance from the persons present, than any ornament of delivery could reasonably promise itself, or is usually attended with; and his disposition and nature was so gentle and obliging, so much delighted in courtesy, kindness, and generosity, that all mankind could not but admire and love him.

In a short time after he had possession of the estate his grandfather had left him, and before he was of age, he committed a fault against his father, in marrying a young lady, whom he passionately loved, without any considerable portion, which exceedingly offended him; and disappointed all his reasonable hopes and expectation of redeeming and repairing his own broken fortune, and desperate hopes in court, by some advantageous marriage of his son; about which he had then some probable treaty. Sir Lucius Carey was very conscious to himself of his offence and transgression, and the consequence of it, which though he could not repent, having married a lady of a most extraordinary wit and judgment, and of the most signal virtue and exemplary life, that the age produced, and who brought him many hopeful children, in which he took great delight; yet he confessed it, with the most sincere and dutiful applications to his father for his pardon that could be made; and in order to the prejudice he had brought upon his fortune, by bringing no portion to him, he offered to repair it, by resigning his whole estate to his disposal, and to rely wholly upon his kindness for his own maintenance and support; and to that purpose, he had caused conveyances to be drawn by council, which he brought ready engrossed to his father, and was willing to seal and execute them, that they might be valid: but his father's passion and indignation so far transported him, (though he was a gentleman of excellent parts,) that he refused any reconciliation, and rejected all the offers that were made him of

the estate; so that his son remained still in the possession of his estate against his will; for which he found great reason afterwards to rejoice: but he was for the present so much afflicted with his father's displeasure, that he transported himself and his wife into Holland, resolving to buy some military command, and to spend the remainder of his life in that profession: but being disappointed in the treaty he expected, and finding no opportunity to accommodate himself with such a command, he returned again into England; resolving to retire to a country life, and to his books; that since he was not like to improve himself in arms, he might advance in letters.

In this resolution he was so severe, (as he was always naturally very intent upon what he was inclined to,) that he declared, he would not see London in many years, which was the place he loved of all the world; and that in his studies, he would first apply himself to the Greek, and pursue it without intermission, till he should attain to the full understanding of that tongue: and it is hardly to be credited, what industry he used, and what success attended that industry: for though his father's death, by an unhappy accident, made his repair to London absolutely necessary, in fewer years, than he had proposed for his absence; yet he had first made himself master of the Greek tongue, (in the Latin he was very well versed before,) and had read not only all the Greek historians, but Homer likewise, and such of the poets as were worthy to be perused.

Though his father's death brought no other convenience to him, but a title to redeem an estate, mortgaged for as much as it was worth, and for which he was compelled to sell a finer seat of his own; yet it imposed a burden upon him, of the title of a viscount, and an increase of expense, in which he was not in his nature too provident or restrained; having naturally such a generosity and bounty in him, that he seemed to have his estate in trust, for all worthy persons, who stood in want of supplies and encouragement, as Ben Johnson, and many others of that time, whose fortunes required, and whose spirits made them superior to, ordinary obligations; which yet they were contented to receive from him, because his bounties were so generously distributed, and so much without vanity and ostentation, that, except from those few persons from whom he sometimes received the characters of fit objects for his benefits, or whom he intrusted, for the more secret deriving them to them, he did all he could, that the persons themselves who received them should not know from what fountain they flowed; and when that could not be concealed, he sustained any acknowledgment from the persons obliged with so much trouble and bashfulness, that they might well perceive, that he was even ashamed of the little he had given, and to receive so large a recompense for it.

As soon as he had finished all those transactions, which the death of his father had made necessary to be done, he retired again to his country life, and to his severe course of study, which was very delightful to him, as soon as he was engaged in it: but he was wont to say, that he never found reluctance in any thing he resolved to do, but in his quitting London, and departing from the conversation of those he enjoyed there; which was in some degree preserved and continued by

frequent letters, and often visits, which were made by his friends from thence, whilst he continued wedded to the country; and which were so grateful to him, that during their stay with him, he looked upon no book, except their very conversation made an appeal to some book; and truly his whole conversation was one continued *convivium philosophicum*, or *convivium theologicum*, enlivened and refreshed with all the facetiousness of wit, and good humour, and pleasantness of discourse, which made the gravity of the argument itself (whatever it was) very delectable. His house where he usually resided, (Tew, or Burford, in Oxfordshire,) being within ten or twelve miles of the university, looked like the university itself, by the company that was always found there. There were Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Earles, Mr. Chillingworth, and indeed all men of eminent parts and faculties in Oxford, besides those who resorted thither from London; who all found their lodgings there, as ready as in the colleges; nor did the lord of the house know of their coming or going, nor who were in his house, till he came to dinner, or supper, where all still met; otherwise, there was no troublesome ceremony or constraint, to forbid men to come to the house, or to make them weary of staying there; so that many came thither to study in a better air, finding all the books they could desire in his library, and all the persons together, whose company they could wish, and not find in any other society. Here Mr. Chillingworth wrote, and formed, and modelled, his excellent book against the learned Jesuit Mr. Nott, after frequent debates upon the most important particulars; in many of which, he suffered himself to be overruled by the judgment of his friends, though in others he still adhered to his own fancy, which was sceptical enough, even in the highest points.

In this happy and delightful conversation and restraint, he remained in the country many years; and until he had made so prodigious a progress in learning, that there were very few classic authors in the Greek or Latin tongue, that he had not read with great exactness. He had read all the Greek and Latin fathers; all the most allowed and authentic ecclesiastical writers; and all the councils, with wonderful care and observation; for in religion he thought too careful and too curious an inquiry could not be made, amongst those, whose purity was not questioned, and whose authority was constantly and confidently urged, by men who were furthest from being of one mind amongst themselves; and for the mutual support of their several opinions, in which they most contradicted each other; and in all those controversies, he had so dispassioned a consideration, such a candour in his nature, and so profound a charity in his conscience, that in those points, in which he was in his own judgment most clear, he never thought the worse, or in any degree declined the familiarity, of those who were of another mind; which, without question, is an excellent temper for the propagation and advancement of Christianity. With these great advantages of industry, he had a memory retentive of all that he had ever read, and an understanding and judgment to apply it seasonably and appositely, with the most dexterity and address, and the least pedantry and affectation, that ever man, who knew so much, was possessed with, of what quality soever. It is not a trivial

evidence of his learning, his wit, and his candour, that may be found in that discourse of his, against the infallibility of the church of Rome, published since his death, and from a copy under his own hand, though not prepared and digested by him for the press, and to which he would have given some castigations.

But all his parts, abilities, and faculties, by art and industry, were not to be valued, or mentioned, in comparison of his most accomplished mind and manners: his gentleness and affability was so transcendent and obliging, that it drew reverence, and some kind of compliance, from the roughest, and most unpolished, and stubborn constitutions; and made them of another temper in debate, in his presence, than they were in other places. He was in his nature so severe a lover of justice, and so precise a lover of truth, that he was superior to all possible temptations for the violation of either; indeed so rigid an exacter of perfection, in all those things which seemed but to border upon either of them, and by the common practice of men were not thought to border upon either, that many who knew him very well, and loved and admired his virtue, (as all who did know him must love and admire it,) did believe, that he was of a temper and composition fitter to live in *republica Platonis*, than in *face Romuli*: but this rigidity was only exercised towards himself; towards his friend's infirmities no man was more indulgent. In his conversation, which was the most cheerful and pleasant that can be imagined, though he was young, (for all I have yet spoken of him doth not exceed his age of twenty-five or twenty-six years, what progress he made afterwards will be mentioned in its proper season in this discourse,) and of great gayety in his humour, with a flowing delightfulness of language, he had so chaste a tongue and ear, that there was never known a profane or loose word to fall from him, nor in truth in his company; the integrity, and cleanliness of the wit of that time, not exercising itself in that license, before persons for whom they had any esteem.

Sir Francis Wenman would not look upon himself under any other character, than that of a country gentleman; though no man of his quality in England was more esteemed in court. He was of a noble extraction, and of an ancient family in Oxfordshire, where he was possessed of a competent estate; but his reputation of wisdom and integrity gave him an interest and credit in that country much above his fortune; and no man had more esteem in it, or power over it. He was a neighbour to the lord Falkland, and in so entire friendship and confidence with him, that he had great authority in the society of all his friends and acquaintance. He was a man of great sharpness of understanding, and of a piercing judgment; no man better understood the affections and temper of the kingdom, or indeed the nature of the nation, or discerned further the consequence of counsels, and with what success they were like to be attended. He was a very good Latin scholar, but his ratiocination was above his learning; and the sharpness of his wit incomparable. He was equal to the greatest trust and employment, if he had been ambitious of it, or solicitous for it; but his want of health produced a kind of laziness of mind, which disinclined him to business, and he died a little before the general troubles of the kingdom, which he foresaw with wonderful reluc-

tancy, and when many wise men were weary of living so long.

Sidney Godolphin was a younger brother of Godolphin, but by the provision left by his father, and by the death of a younger brother, liberally supplied for a very good education, and for a cheerful subsistence, in any course of life he proposed to himself. There was never so great a mind and spirit contained in so little room; so large an understanding and so unrestrained a fancy in so very small a body; so that the lord Falkland used to say merrily, that he thought it was a great ingredient into his friendship for Mr. Godolphin, that he was pleased to be found in his company, where he was the properer man; and it may be, the very remarkableness of his little person made the sharpness of his wit, and the composed quickness of his judgment and understanding, the more notorious and notable. He had spent some years in France, and in the Low Countries; and accompanied the earl of Leicester in his ambassage into Denmark, before he resolved to be quiet, and attend some promotion in the court; where his excellent disposition and manners, and extraordinary qualifications, made him very acceptable. Though every body loved his company very well, yet he loved very much to be alone, being in his constitution inclined somewhat to melancholy, and to retirement amongst his books; and was so far from being active, that he was contented to be reproached by his friends with laziness; and was of so nice and tender a composition, that a little rain or wind would disorder him, and divert him from any short journey he had most willingly proposed to himself; inso-much as, when he rid abroad with those in whose company he most delighted, if the wind chanced to be in his face, he would (after a little pleasant murmuring) suddenly turn his horse, and go home. Yet the civil war no sooner began, (the first approaches towards which he discovered as soon as any man, by the proceedings in parliament, where he was a member, and opposed with great indignation,) than he put himself into the first troops which were raised in the west for the king; and bore the uneasiness and fatigue of winter marches, with an exemplar courage and alacrity; until by too brave a pursuit of the enemy, into an obscure village in Devonshire, he was shot with a musket; with which (without saying any word more, than, Oh God! I am hurt) he fell dead from his horse; to the excessive grief of his friends, who were all that knew him; and the irreparable damage of the public.

Edmund Waller was born to a very fair estate, by the parsimony or frugality of a wise father and mother; and he thought it so commendable an advantage, that he resolved to improve it with his utmost care, upon which in his nature he was too much intent; and in order to that, he was so much reserved and retired, that he was scarce ever heard of, till by his address and dexterity he had gotten a very rich wife in the city, against all the recommendation, and countenance, and authority of the court, which was thoroughly engaged on the behalf of Mr. Crofts; and which used to be successful, in that age, against any opposition. He had the good fortune to have an alliance and friendship with Dr. Morley, who had assisted and instructed him in the reading many good books, to which his natural parts and promptitude in-

clined him; especially the poets: and at the age when other men used to give over writing verses, (for he was near thirty years of age when he first engaged himself in that exercise, at least that he was known to do so,) he surprised the town with two or three pieces of that kind; as if a tenth muse had been newly born, to cherish drooping poetry. The doctor at that time brought him into that company which was most celebrated for good conversation; where he was received, and esteemed, with great applause and respect. He was a very pleasant discourser, in earnest and in jest, and therefore very grateful to all kind of company, where he was not the less esteemed for being very rich.

✓ He had been even nursed in parliaments, where he sat in his infancy; and so when they were resumed again, (after a long intermission and interdiction,) he appeared in those assemblies with great advantage, having a graceful way of speaking; and by thinking much upon several arguments, (which his temper and complexion, that had much of melancholic, inclined him to,) he seemed often to speak upon the sudden, when the occasion had only administered the opportunity of saying what he had thoroughly considered, which gave a great lustre to all he said; which yet was rather of delight than weight. There needs no more be said to extol the excellence and power of his wit, and pleasantness of his conversation, than that it was of magnitude enough to cover a world of very great faults; that is, so to cover them, that they were not taken notice of to his reproach; viz. a narrowness in his nature to the lowest degree; an abjectness, and want of courage to support him in any virtuous undertaking; an insinuation and servile flattery to the height the vainest and most imperious nature could be contented with; that it preserved and won his life from those who were most resolved to take it, and in an occasion in which he ought to have been ambitious to have lost it; and then preserved him again, from the reproach and contempt that was due to him for so preserving it, and for vindicating it at such a price; that it had power to reconcile him to those whom he had most offended and provoked; and continued to his age with that rare felicity, that his company was acceptable, where his spirit was odious; and he was at least pitied, where he was most detested.

✓ Of Doctor Sheldon there needs no more be said in this place, there being frequent occasions to mention him hereafter in the prosecution of this discourse, than that his learning, and gravity, and prudence, had in that time raised him to such a reputation, when he was chaplain in the house to the lord keeper Coventry, (who exceedingly esteemed him, and used his service not only in all matters relating to the church, but in many other businesses of importance, and in which that great and good lord was nearly concerned,) and when he was afterwards warden of All Souls' college in Oxford, that he then was looked upon as very equal to any preferment the church could, or hath since yielded unto him; and sir Francis Wenman would often say, when the doctor resorted to the conversation at the lord Falkland's house, as he frequently did, that "Dr. Sheldon was born and bred to be archbishop of Canterbury."

Doctor Morley, of whom more must likewise be said in its place, was a gentleman of very eminent

parts in all polite learning; of great wit, and readiness, and subtilty in disputation; and of remarkable temper and prudence in conversation, which rendered him most grateful in all the best company. He was then chaplain in the house, and to the family, of the lord and lady Carnarvon, which needed a wise and a wary director. From some academic contests he had been engaged in, during his living in Christ Church in Oxford, where he was always of the first eminency, he had, by the natural faction and animosity of those disputes, fallen under the reproach of holding some opinions, which were not then grateful to those churchmen who had the greatest power in ecclesiastical promotions; and some sharp answers and replies he used to make in accidental discourses, and which in truth were made for mirth and pleasantness sake, (as he was of the highest facetiousness,) were reported, and spread abroad to his prejudice: as being once asked by a grave country gentleman, (who was desirous to be instructed what their tenets and opinions were,) "what the "Arminians held," he pleasantly answered, that *they held all the best bishoprics and deaneries in England*: which was quickly reported abroad, as Mr. Morley's definition of the Arminian tenets.

Such and the like harmless and jocular sayings, upon many accidental occasions, had wrought upon the archbishop of Canterbury, Laud, (who lived to change his mind, and to have a just esteem of him,) to entertain some prejudice towards him; and the respect which was paid him by many eminent persons, as John Hampden, Arthur Goodwin, and others, who were not thought friends to the prosperity the church was in, made others apprehend that he was not enough zealous for it. But that disaffection and virulency (which few men had then owned and discovered) no sooner appeared, in those and other men, but Dr. Morley made haste as publicly to oppose them, both in private and in public; which had the more effect to the benefit of the church, by his being a person above all possible reproach, and known and valued by more persons of honour than most of the clergy were, and being not only without the envy of any preferment, but under the advantage of a discountenanced person. And as he was afterwards the late king's chaplain, and much regarded by him, and as long about him as any of his chaplains were permitted to attend him; so presently after his murder he left the kingdom, and remained in banishment till his majesty's [king Charles the Second's] happy return.

Doctor Earles was at that time chaplain in the house to the earl of Pembroke, lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, and had a lodging in the court under that relation. He was a person very notable for his elegance in the Greek and Latin tongues; and being Fellow of Merton college in Oxford, and having been proctor of the university, and some very witty and sharp discourses being published in print without his consent, though known to be his, he grew suddenly into a very general esteem with all men; being a man of great piety and devotion; a most eloquent and powerful preacher; and of a conversation so pleasant and delightful, so very innocent, and so very facetious, that no man's company was more desired and more loved. No man was more negligent in his dress, and habit, and mien; no man more

wary and cultivated in his behaviour and discourse; insomuch as he had the greater advantage when he was known, by promising so little before he was known. He was an excellent poet, both in Latin, Greek, and English, as appears by many pieces yet abroad; though he suppressed many more himself, especially of English, incomparably good, out of an austerity to those sallies of his youth. He was very dear to the lord Falkland, with whom he spent as much time as he could make his own; and as that lord would impute the speedy progress he made in the Greek tongue, to the information and assistance he had from Mr. Earles, so Mr. Earles would frequently profess, that he had got more useful learning by his conversation at Tew, (the lord Falkland's house,) than he had at Oxford. In the first settling of the prince's family, he was made one of his chaplains; and attended on him when he was forced to leave the kingdom, and therefore we shall often have occasion to mention him hereafter. He was amongst the few excellent men who never had, nor ever could have an enemy, but such a one who was an enemy to all learning and virtue, and therefore would never make himself known.

Mr. John Hales had been Greek professor in the university of Oxford; and had borne all the labour of that excellent edition and impression of St. Chrysostom's Works, set out by sir Harry Savile; who was then warden of Merton college, when the other was fellow of that house. He was chaplain in the house with sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador at the Hague in Holland, at the time when the synod of Dort was held, and so had liberty to be present at the consultations in that assembly; and hath left the best memorial behind him, of the ignorance, and passion, and animosity, and injustice of that convention; of which he often made very pleasant relations; though at that time it received too much countenance from England. Being a person of the greatest eminency for learning, and other abilities, from which he might have promised himself any preferment in the church, he withdrew himself from all pursuits of that kind into a private fellowship in the college of Eton, where his friend sir Harry Savile was provost; where he lived amongst his books, and the most separated from the world of any man then living: though he was not in the least degree inclined to melancholy, but, on the contrary, of a very open and pleasant conversation; and therefore was very well pleased with the resort of his friends to him, who were such as he had chosen, and in whose company he delighted, and for whose sake he would sometimes, once in a year, resort to London, only to enjoy their cheerful conversation.

He would never take any cure of souls; and was so great a contemner of money, that he was wont to say, that his fellowship, and the bursar's place, (which, for the good of the college, he held many years,) was worth him fifty pounds a year more than he could spend; and yet, besides his being very charitable to all poor people, even to liberality, he had made a greater and better collection of books, than were to be found in any other private library that I have seen; as he had sure read more, and carried more about him in his excellent memory, than any man I ever knew, my lord Falkland only excepted, who I think sided him. He had, whether from his natural

temper and constitution, or from his long retirement from all crowds, or from his profound judgment and discerning spirit, contracted some opinions which were not received, nor by him published, except in private discourses; and then rather upon occasion of dispute, than of positive opinion: and he would often say, his opinions he was sure did him no harm, but he was far from being confident that they might not do others harm who entertained them, and might entertain other results from them than he did; and therefore he was very reserved in communicating what he thought himself in those points, in which he differed from what was received.

Nothing troubled him more than the brawls which were grown from religion; and he therefore exceedingly detested the tyranny of the church of Rome; more for their imposing uncharitably upon the consciences of other men, than for the errors in their own opinions: and would often say, that he would renounce the religion of the church of England to-morrow, if it obliged him to believe that any other Christians should be damned; and that nobody would conclude another man to be damned, who did not wish him so. No man more strict and severe to himself; to other men so charitable as to their opinions, that he thought that other men were more in fault for their carriage towards them, than the men themselves were who erred; and he thought that pride, and passion, more than conscience, were the cause of all separation from each other's communion; and he frequently said, that that only kept the world from agreeing upon such a liturgy, as might bring them into one communion; all doctrinal points, upon which men differed in their opinions, being to have no place in any liturgy. Upon an occasional discourse with a friend, of the frequent and uncharitable reproaches of heretic and schismatic, too lightly thrown at each other, amongst men who differ in their judgment, he writ a little discourse of schism, contained in less than two sheets of paper; which being transmitted from friend to friend in writing, was at last, without any malice, brought to the view of the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, who was a very rigid surveyor of all things which never so little bordered upon schism; and thought the church could not be too vigilant against, and jealous of, such incursions.

He sent for Mr. Hales, whom, when they had both lived in the university of Oxford, he had known well; and told him, that he had in truth believed him to be long since dead; and chid him very kindly for having never come to him, having been of his old acquaintance: then asked him, whether he had lately written a short discourse of schism, and whether he was of that opinion which that discourse implied. He told him, that he had, for the satisfaction of a private friend, (who was not of his mind,) a year or two before, writ such a small tract, without any imagination that it would be communicated; and that he believed it did not contain any thing that was not agreeable to the judgment of the primitive fathers: upon which, the archbishop debated with him upon some expressions of Irenæus, and the most ancient fathers; and concluded with saying, that the time was very apt to set new doctrines on foot, of which the wits of the age were too susceptible; and that there could not be too much care taken to preserve the peace and unity of the church; and from thence



asked him of his condition, and whether he wanted any thing: and the other answering, that he had enough, and wanted or desired no addition, so dismissed him with great courtesy; and shortly after sent for him again, when there was a prebendary of Windsor fallen, and told him, the king had given him the preferment, because it lay so convenient to his fellowship of Eton; which (though indeed the most convenient preferment that could be thought of for him) the archbishop could not without great difficulty persuade him to accept, and he did accept it rather to please him than himself; because he really believed he had enough before. He was one of the least men in the kingdom; and one of the greatest scholars in Europe.

Mr. Chillingworth was of a stature little superior to Mr. Hales, (and it was an age in which there were many great and wonderful men of that size,) and a man of so great a subtilty of understanding, and so rare a temper in debate, that, as it was impossible to provoke him into any passion, so it was very difficult to keep a man's self from being a little discomposed by his sharpness and quickness of argument, and instances, in which he had a rare facility, and a great advantage over all the men I ever knew. He had spent all his younger time in disputation, and had arrived to so great a mastery, as he was inferior to no man in those skirmishes: but he had, with his notable perfection in this exercise, contracted such an irresolution and habit of doubting, that by degrees he grew confident of nothing, and a sceptic, at least, in the greatest mysteries of faith.

This made him, from first wavering in religion, and indulging to scruples, to reconcile himself too soon and too easily to the church of Rome; and carrying still his own inquisitiveness about him, without any resignation to their authority, (which is the only temper can make that church sure of its proselytes,) having made a journey to St. Omer's, purely to perfect his conversion by the conversation of those who had the greatest name, he found as little satisfaction there; and returned with as much haste from them; with a belief, that an entire exemption from error was neither inherent in, nor necessary to any church: which occasioned that war, which was carried on by the Jesuits with so great asperity and reproaches against him, and in which he defended himself by such an admirable eloquence of language, and clear and incomparable power of reason, that he not only made them appear unequal adversaries, but carried the war into their own quarters; and made the pope's infallibility to be as much shaken, and declined by their own doctors, (and as great an acrimony amongst themselves upon that subject,) and to be at least as much doubted, as in the schools of the reformed, or protestant; and forced them since to defend and maintain those unhappy controversies in religion, with arms and weapons of another nature than were used or known in the church of Rome when Bellarmine died; and which probably will in time undermine the very foundation that supports it.

Such a levity, and propensity to change, is commonly attended with great infirmities in, and no less reproach and prejudice to the person; but the sincerity of his heart was so conspicuous, and without the least temptation of any corrupt end; and the innocence and candour of his nature so

evident, and without any perverseness; that all who knew him clearly discerned, that all those restless motions and fluctuations proceeded only from the warmth and jealousy of his own thoughts, in a too nice inquisition for truth. Neither the books of the adversary, nor any of their persons, though he was acquainted with the best of both, had ever made great impression upon him; all his doubts grew out of himself, when he assisted his scruples with all the strength of his own reason, and was then too hard for himself; but finding as little quiet and repose in those victories, he quickly recovered, by a new appeal to his own judgment; so that he was, in truth, upon the matter, in all his sallies and retreats, his own convert; though he was not so totally divested of all thoughts of this world, but that when he was ready for it, he admitted some great and considerable churchmen, to be sharers with him in his public conversion.

Whilst he was in perplexity, or rather some passionate disinclination to the religion he had been educated in, he had the misfortune to have much acquaintance with one Mr. Lugar, a minister of that church; a man of a competency of learning in those points most controverted with the Romanists, but of no acute parts of wit, or judgment; and wrought so far upon him, by weakening and enervating those arguments, by which he found he was governed, (as he had all the logic, and all the rhetoric, that was necessary to persuade very powerfully men of the greatest talents,) that the poor man, not able to live long in doubt, too hastily deserted his own church, and betook himself to the Roman: nor could all the arguments and reasons of Mr. Chillingworth make him pause in the expedition he was using, or reduce him from that church after he had given himself to it; but he had always a great animosity against him, for having (as he said) unkindly betrayed him, and carried him into another religion, and there left him. So unfit are some constitutions to be troubled with doubts, after they are once fixed.

He did really believe all war to be unlawful; and did not think that the parliament (whose proceedings he perfectly abhorred) did in truth intend to involve the nation in a civil war, till after the battle of Edge-hill; and then he thought any expedient or stratagem that was like to put a speedy end to it, to be the most commendable: and so having too mathematically conceived an engine, that should move so lightly as to be a breastwork in all encounters and assaults in the field, he carried it, to make the experiment, into that part of his majesty's army, which was only in that winter season in the field, under the command of the lord Hopton, in Hampshire, upon the borders of Sussex; where he was shut up in the castle of Arundel; which was forced, after a short, sharp siege, to yield for want of victual; and poor Mr. Chillingworth with it, falling into the rebels' hands; and being most barbarously treated by them, especially by that clergy which followed them; and being broken with sickness, contracted by the ill accommodation, and want of meat and fire during the siege, which was in a terrible season of frost and snow, he died shortly after in prison. He was a man of excellent parts, and of a cheerful disposition; void of all kind of vice, and endued with many notable virtues; of a very public heart, and an indefatigable desire to do good; his only un-



happiness proceeded from his sleeping too little, and thinking too much; which sometimes threw him into violent fevers.

This was Mr. Hyde's company and conversation, to which he dedicated his vacant times, and all that time which he could make vacant, from the business of his profession; which he indulged with no more passion than was necessary to keep up the reputation of a man that had no purpose to be idle; which indeed he perfectly abhorred: and he took always occasion to celebrate the time he had spent in that conversation, with great satisfaction and delight. Nor was he less fortunate in the acquaintance and friendships which he made with the persons in his profession; who were all eminent men, or of the most hopeful parts; who being all much superior to him in age and experience, and entirely devoted to their profession, were yet well pleased with the gayety of his humour, and inoffensive and winning behaviour; and this good inclination of theirs was improved by the interest they saw he had in persons of the best quality, to whom he was very acceptable, and his condition of living, which was with more splendour than young lawyers were accustomed to.

Those persons were, Mr. Lane, who was then attorney to the prince of Wales, and afterwards lord chief baron of the exchequer, and lastly, upon the death of the lord Littleton, was made keeper of the great seal, who died in banishment, and of whom we shall say more hereafter; Mr. Geoffrey Palmer, afterwards attorney general, who will likewise have another part in this story; Mr. John Maynard; and Bulstrode Whitlock; all men of eminent parts, and great learning out of their professions; and in their professions, of signal reputation: and though the two last did afterwards bow their knees to Baal, and so swerved from their allegiance, it was with less rancour and malice than other men: they never led, but followed; and were rather carried away with the torrent, than swam with the stream; and failed through those infirmities, which less than a general defection and a prosperous rebellion could never have discovered. With these, and very few other persons of other societies, and of more than ordinary parts in the profession, he conversed. In business and in practice, with the rest of the profession, he had at most a formal acquaintance, and little familiarity; very seldom using, when his practice was at highest, so much as to eat in the hall, without which no man ever got the reputation of a good student: but he ever gave his time of eating to his friends; and was wont pleasantly to say, "that he repaired himself with very good company at dinner, for the ill company he had kept in the morning;" and made himself amends for the time he lost with his friends, by declining suppers, and with a part of that time which was allowed for sleep: but he grew every day more intent on business and more engaged in practice, so that he could not assign so much time as he had used to do to his beloved conversation.

The countenance he received from the archbishop of Canterbury, who took all occasion to mention him as a person he had kindness for; the favour of the lord Coventry, manifested as often as he came before him; the reception he found with the lord privy seal, the earl of Manchester, who had raised the court of requests to as much business as the chancery itself was pos-

sessed of, and where he was looked upon as a favourite; the familiarity used towards him by the earl of Pembroke, who was lord chamberlain of the king's house, and a greater man in the country than the court; by the earl of Holland, and many other lords and ladies, and other persons of interest in the court, made him looked upon by the judges in Westminster hall with much condescension; and they, who before he put on his gown looked upon him as one who designed some other course of life, (for though he had been always very punctual in the performance of all those public exercises the profession obliged him to, both before and after he was called to the bar; yet in all other respects he lived as if he thought himself above that course of life,) now when they no sooner saw him put on his gown, but that he was suddenly in practice, and taken notice of particularly in all courts of justice with unusual countenance, thought he would make what progress he desired in that profession.

As he had those many friends in court, so he was not less acceptable to many great persons in the country, who least regarded the court, and were least esteemed by it; and he had that rare felicity, that even they, who did not love many of those upon whom he most depended, were yet very well pleased with him and with his company. The earl of Hertford and the earl of Essex, whose interests and friendships were then the same, and who were looked upon with reverence by all who had not reverence for the court; and even by all in the court who were not satisfied there, (which was, and always will be, a great people,) were very kind to him, and ready to trust him in any thing that was most secret: and though he could not dispose the archbishop or the earl of Essex to any correspondence or good intelligence with each other, which he exceedingly laboured to do, and found an equal aversion in both towards each other; yet he succeeded to his wish in bringing the archbishop and the earl of Hertford to a very good acquaintance and inclination to each other; which they both often acknowledged kindly to him, and with which the earl of Essex was as much unsatisfied.

The person whose life this discourse is to recollect (and who had so great an affection and reverence for the memory of that prelate, [archbishop Laud,] that he never spake of him without extraordinary esteem, and believed him to be a man of the most exemplar virtue and piety of any of that age) was wont to say, the greatest want the archbishop had was of a true friend, who would seasonably have told him of his infirmities, and what people spake of him; and he said, he knew well that such a friend would have been very acceptable to him; and upon that occasion he used to mention a story of himself: that when he was a young practiser of the law, being in some favour with him, (as is mentioned before,) he went to visit him in the beginning of a Michaelmas term, shortly after his return from the country, where he had spent a month or two of the summer.

He found the archbishop early walking in the garden; who received him according to his custom, very graciously; and continuing his walk, asked him, "What good news in the country?" to which he answered, "there was none good; the people were universally discontented; and (which troubled him most) that every [one]

"spoke extreme ill of his grace, as the cause of all that was amiss." He replied, "that he was sorry for it; he knew he did not deserve it; and that he must not give over serving the king and the church, to please the people, who otherwise would not speak well of him." Mr. Hyde told him, "he thought he need not lessen his zeal for either; and that it grieved him to find persons of the best condition, and who loved both king and church, exceedingly indevoted to him; complaining of his manner of treating them, when they had occasion to resort to him, it may be, for his directions." And then named him two persons of the most interest and credit in Wiltshire, who had that summer attended the council board in some affairs which concerned the king and the county: that all the lords present used them with great courtesy, knowing well their quality and reputation; but that he alone spake very sharply to them, and without any thing of grace, at which they were much troubled; and one of them, supposing that somebody had done him ill offices, went the next morning to Lambeth, to present his service to him, and to discover, if he could, what misrepresentation had been made of him: that after he had attended very long, he was admitted to speak with his grace, who scarce hearing him, sharply answered him, that "he had no leisure for compliments;" and so turned away; which put the other gentleman much out of countenance: and that this kind of behaviour of his was the discourse of all companies of persons of quality; every man continuing any such story with another like it, very much to his disadvantage, and to the trouble of those who were very just to him.

He heard the relation very patiently and attentively, and discoursed over every particular with all imaginable condescension; and said, with evident shew of trouble, that "he was very unfortunate to be so ill understood; that he meant very well; that he remembered the time when those two persons were with the council; that upon any deliberations, when any thing was resolved, or to be said to any body, the council enjoined him to deliver their resolutions; which he did always according to the best of his understanding: but by the imperfection he had by nature, which he said often troubled him, he might deliver it in such a tune, and with a sharpness of voice, that made men believe he was angry, when there was no such thing; that when those gentlemen were there, and he had delivered what he was to say, they made some stay, and spake with some of the lords, which not being according to order, he thought he gave them some reprehension; they having at that time very much other business to do: that he did well remember that one of them (who was a person of honour) came afterwards to him at a time he was shut up about an affair of importance, which required his full thoughts; but that as soon as he heard of the other's being without, he sent for him, himself going into the next room, and received him very kindly, as he thought; and supposing that he came about business, asked him what his business was; and the other answering, that he had no business, but continuing his address with some ceremony, he had indeed said, that he had not time for compliments: but he did not think that he went out of the room

in that manner: and concluded, that it was not possible for him, in the many occupations he had, to spend any time in unnecessary compliments; and that if his integrity and uprightness, which never should be liable to reproach, could not be strong enough to preserve him, he must submit to God's good pleasure."

He was well contented to hear Mr. Hyde reply very freely upon the subject, who said, "he observed by what his grace himself had related, that the gentlemen had too much reason for the report they made; and he did not wonder that they had been much troubled at his carriage towards them; that he did exceedingly wish that he would more reserve his passion towards all persons, how faulty soever; and that he would treat persons of honour, and quality, and interest in their country, with more courtesy and condescension; especially when they came to visit him, and make offer of their service." He said, smiling, that "he could only undertake for his heart; that he had very good meaning; for his tongue, he could not undertake, that he would not sometimes speak more hastily and sharply than he should do, (which oftentimes he was sorry for and reprehended himself for,) and in a tune which might be liable to misinterpretation with them who were not very well acquainted with him, and so knew that it was an infirmity, which his nature and education had so rooted in him, that it was in vain to contend with it." For the state and distance he kept with men, he said, "he thought it was not more than was suitable to the place and degree he held in the church and state; or so much as others had assumed to themselves who had sat in his place; and thereupon he told him some behaviour and carriage of his predecessor, Abbot, (who he said was not better born than himself,) towards the greatest nobility of the kingdom, which he thought was very insolent and inexcusable," and was indeed very ridiculous.

After this bold enterprise, [Mr. Hyde] ever found himself more graciously received by him, and treated with more familiarity; upon which he always concluded, that if the archbishop had had any true friend, who would, in proper seasons, have dealt frankly with him in the most important matters, and wherein the errors were like to be most penal, he would not only have received it very well, but have profited himself by it. But it is the misfortune of most persons of that education, (how worthy soever,) that they have rarely friendships with men above their own condition; and that their ascent being commonly sudden, from low to high, they have afterwards rather dependants than friends, and are still deceived by keeping somewhat in reserve to themselves, even from those with whom they seem most openly to communicate; and which is worse, receive for the most part their informations and advertisements from clergymen who understand the least, and take the worst measure of human affairs, of all mankind that can write and read.

Under this universal acquaintance and general acceptance, Mr. Hyde led for many years as cheerful and pleasant a life as any man did enjoy, as long as the kingdom took any pleasure in itself. His practice grew every day as much as he wished, and would have been much more, if he had wished it; by which, he not only supported his

expense, greater much than men of his rank and pretences used to make, but increased his estate by some convenient purchases of land adjoining to his other; and he grew so much in love with business and practice, that he gave up his whole heart to it; resolving, by a course of severe study, to recover the time he had lost upon less profitable learning; and to intend nothing else, but to reap all those benefits to which that profession could carry him, and to the pursuing whereof he had so many and so unusual encouragements; and towards which it was not the least, that God had blessed him with an excellent wife, who perfectly resigned herself to him; and who then had brought him, before any troubles in the kingdom, three sons and a daughter, which he then and ever looked upon, as his greatest blessing and consolation.

Because we shall have little cause hereafter to mention any other particulars in the calm part of his life, whilst he followed the study and practice of the law, it will not in this place appear a very impertinent digression to say, that he was in that very time when fortune seemed to smile and to intend well towards him, and often afterwards, throughout the whole course of his life, wont to say, that "when he reflected upon himself and his past actions, even from the time of his first coming to the Middle Temple, he had so much more cause to be terrified upon the reflection, than the man had who viewed Rochester bridge in the morning that it was broken, and which he had galloped over in the night; that he had passed over more precipices than the other had done, for many nights and days, and some years together; from which nothing but the immediate hand of God could have preserved him." For though it is very true, the persons before mentioned were the only men, in whose company, in those seasons of his life, he took delight; yet he frequently found himself in the conversation of worse, and indeed of all manner of men; and it being in the time when the war was entered into against the two crowns, and the expeditions made to, and unprosperous returns from Cadiz and the Isle of Rhé, the town was full of soldiers, and of young gentlemen who intended to be soldiers, or as like them as they could; great license used of all kinds, in clothes, in diet, in gaming; and all kinds of expenses equally carried on, by men who had fortunes of their own to support it, and by others, who, having nothing of their own, cared not what they spent, whilst they could find credit: so that there was never an age, in which, in so short a time, so many young gentlemen, who had not experience in the world, or some good tutelar angel to protect them, were insensibly and suddenly overwhelmed in that sea of wine, and women, and quarrels, and gaming, which almost overspread the whole kingdom, and the nobility and gentry thereof. And when he had, by God's immediate blessing, disentangled himself from these labyrinths, (his nature and inclination disposing him rather to pass through those dissolute quarters, than to make any stay in them,) and was enough composed against any extravagant excursions; he was still conversant with a rank of men (how worthy soever) above his quality, and engaged in an expense above his fortune, if the extraordinary accidents of his life had not supplied him for those excesses; so that it brought no prejudice upon

him, except in the censure of severe men, who thought him a person of more license than in truth he was, and who, in a short time, were very fully reconciled to him.

He had without doubt great infirmities; which by a providential mercy were seasonably restrained from growing into vices, at least into any that were habitual. He had ambition enough to keep him from being satisfied with his own condition, and to raise his spirit to great designs of raising himself; but not to transport him to endeavour it by any crooked and indirect means. He was never suspected to flatter the greatest man, or in the least degree to dissemble his own opinions or thoughts, how ingrateful soever it often proved; and even an affected defect in, and contempt of, those two useful qualities, cost him dear afterwards. He indulged his palate very much, and took even some delight in eating and drinking well, but without any approach to luxury; and, in truth, rather discoursed like an epicure, than was one; having spent much time in the eating hours with the earl of Dorset, the lord Conway, and the lord Lumley, men who excelled in gratifying their appetites. He had a fancy sharp and luxuriant; but so carefully cultivated and strictly guarded, that he never was heard to speak a loose or a profane word; which he imputed to the chastity of the persons where his conversation usually was, where that rank sort of wit was religiously detested: and a little discountenance would quickly root those unsavoury weeds out of all discourses, where persons of honour are present.

He was in his nature inclined to pride and passion, and to a humour between wrangling and disputing very troublesome, which good company in a short time so much reformed and mastered, that no man was more affable and courteous to all kind of persons; and they who knew the great infirmity of his whole family, which abounded in passion, used to say, he had much extinguished the unruliness of that fire. That which supported and rendered him generally acceptable was his generosity, (for he had too much a contempt of money,) and the opinion men had of the goodness and justice of his nature, which was transcendent in him, in a wonderful tenderness, and delight in obliging. His integrity was ever without blemish, and believed to be above temptation. He was firm and unshakable in his friendships; and, though he had great candour towards others in the differences of religion, he was zealously and deliberately fixed in the principles both of the doctrine and discipline of the church: yet he used to say to his nearest friends, in that time, when he expected another kind of calm for the remainder of his life, "though he had some glimmering light of, and inclination to, virtue in his nature, that the whole progress of his life had been full of desperate hazards; and that only the merciful hand of God Almighty had prevented his being both an unfortunate and a vicious man:" and he still said, that "God had vouchsafed that signal goodness to him, for the piety and exemplar virtue of his father and mother;" whose memory he had always in singular veneration: and he was pleased with what his nearest ally and bosom friend, sergeant Hyde, (who was afterwards chief justice of the king's bench,) used at that time to say of him, that his cousin had passed his time very luckily, and with notable success, and was

like to be very happy in the world ; but he would never advise any of his friends to walk in the same paths, or to tread in his steps.

It was about the year 1639, when he was little more than thirty years of age, and when England enjoyed the greatest measure of felicity that it had ever known ; the two crowns of France and Spain worrying each other, by their mutual incursions and invasions of each other, whilst they had both a civil war in their own bowels ; the former, by frequent rebellions from their own factions and animosities, the latter, by the defection of Portugal ; and both laboured more to ransack and burn each other's dominions, than to extinguish their own fire. All Germany weltering in its own blood, and contributing to each other's destruction, that the poor crown of Sweden might grow great out of their ruins, and at their charge : Denmark and Poland being adventurers in the same destructive enterprises. Holland and the United Provinces wearied and tired with their long and chargeable war, how prosperous soever they were in it ; and beginning to be more afraid of France their ally, than of Spain their enemy. Italy every year infested by the arms of Spain and France, which divided the princes thereof into the several factions.

Of all the princes of Europe, the king of England alone seemed to be seated upon that pleasant promontory, that might safely view the tragic sufferings of all his neighbours about him, without any other concernment than what arose from his own princely heart and Christian compassion, to see such desolation wrought by the pride, and passion, and ambition of private persons, supported by princes who knew not what themselves would have. His three kingdoms flourishing in entire peace and universal plenty, in danger of nothing but their own surfeits ; and his dominions every day enlarged, by sending out colonies upon large and fruitful plantations ; his strong fleets commanding all seas ; and the numerous shipping of the nation bringing the trade of the world into his ports ; nor could it with unquestionable security be carried any whither else ; and all these blessings enjoyed under a prince of the greatest clemency and justice, and of the greatest piety and devotion, and the most indulgent to his subjects, and most solicitous for their happiness and prosperity.

*O fortunati nimium, bona si sua norint !*

In this blessed conjuncture, when no other prince thought he wanted any thing to compass what he most desired to be possessed of, but the affection and friendship of the king of England, a small, scarce discernible cloud arose in the north, which was shortly after attended with such a storm, that never gave over raging till it had shaken, and even rooted up, the greatest and tallest cedars of the three nations ; blasted all its beauty and fruitfulness ; brought its strength to decay, and its glory to reproach, and almost to desolation ; by such a career and deluge of wickedness and rebellion, as by not being enough foreseen, or in truth suspected, could not be prevented.

Upon the rebellion in Scotland, in the year 1640, the king called a parliament ; which met, according to summons, upon the third of April. Mr. Hyde was chosen to serve for two places ; for the borough of Wotton-Basset, in the county of

Wilts ; and for the borough of Shaftesbury, in the county of Dorset ; but made choice to serve for his neighbours of the former place : and so a new writ issued for the choice of another Burgess for Shaftesbury.

The next day after Mr. Pym had recapitulated the whole series of the grievances and miscarriages which had been in the state, Mr. Hyde told the house, that "that worthy gentleman had omitted "one grievance, more heavy than (as he thought) "many of the others ; which was, the earl marshal's court : a court newly erected, without "colour or shadow of law, which took upon it to "fine and imprison the king's subjects, and to "give great damages for matters which the law "gave no damages for." He repeated a pleasant story of a citizen, who, being rudely treated for more than his fare came to, by a waterman, who, pressing him, still shewed him his crest, or badge upon his coat, the citizen bade him be gone *with his goose* ; whereas it was, in truth, a swan, the crest of an earl, whose servant the waterman was : whereupon the citizen was called into the marshal's court, and, after a long and chargeable attendance, was, *for the opprobrious dishonouring the earl's crest, by calling the swan a goose*, fined and imprisoned, till he had paid considerable damages to the lord, or at least to the waterman ; which really undid the citizen.

He told them another story as ridiculous, of a gentleman, who, owing his tailor a long time a good sum of money for clothes, and his tailor coming one day to his chamber, with more than ordinary importunity for his debt, and not receiving any good answer, threatened to arrest him ; upon which the gentleman, enraged, gave him very ill words, called him base fellow, and laid his hands upon him to thrust him out of his chamber : in this struggle, and under this provocation, oppression, and reproach, the poor tailor chanced to say, that he was as good a man as the other ; for which words he was called into the marshal's court ; and for his peace, was content to be satisfied his debt, out of his own ill manners ; being compelled to release all his other demands in lieu of damages. The case was known to many, and detested by all.

He told them, that "there was an appendant to "that court, which he called the pageantry of it, "the heralds ; who were as grievous to the gentry, "as the court was to the people." He said, "that "sure the knights of that house, when they received that honour from the king, though they "might think themselves obliged to live at a "higher rate, yet they believed that they might "die as good cheap as other men ;" he told them, "they could not, it would cost them ten pounds "more ; and yet a gentleman could not die for "nothing." The heralds had procured such an order from the earl marshal, to force all persons to pay at their funerals, such several sums, according to their several degrees. He concluded with a desire, that when the wisdom of that house provided remedies against the other grievances, it would likewise secure the subject against this exorbitance. This representation was very acceptable to the house, both in respect of the matter, which was odious enough, and in regard of the person that usurped that monstrous jurisdiction, who was in no degree grateful to them ; upon whom the speaker had not made the least

reflection, the modesty of that time not permitting the mention of great men with any reproach, until their offences were first examined and proved: and this being the first part he had acted upon that stage, brought him much applause; and he was ever afterwards heard with great benignity.

Upon the warm debate in the house of commons, concerning the giving the king money, Mr. Hyde observed by the several discourses of many of the court, who were of near admission to the king and queen, and like to make probable guesses, that they believed the king would be so much displeased at the proceedings of the house, that he would dissolve them; which he believed would prove the most fatal resolution could be taken. As soon as the house was up, he went over to Lambeth, to the archbishop; whom he found walking in his garden, having received a full account of all that had passed, from persons who had made more haste from the house. He appeared sad, and full of thoughts; and calling the other to him, seemed willing to hear what he would say. He told him, "that he would not trouble him with the relation of any thing that had passed, of which he presumed he had received a good account: that his business was only to inform him of his own fears and apprehensions, and the observations he had made upon the discourses of some considerable men of the court, as if the king might be wrought upon, because there had not been that expedition used as he expected, speedily to dissolve the parliament: that he came only to beseech him to use all his credit to prevent such a desperate counsel, which would produce great mischief to the king and to the church: that he was confident the house was as well constituted and disposed, as ever house of commons was or would be: that the number of the disaffected to church or state was very small; and though they might obstruct for some time the quick resolving upon what was fit, they would never be able to pervert their good inclinations and desires to serve the king."

The archbishop heard him very patiently, and said, he believed the king would be very angry at the way of their proceedings; for that, in this conjuncture, the delaying and denying to do what he desired was the same thing, and therefore he believed it probable that he would dissolve them, without which he could not enter upon other counsels: that, for his own part, he was resolved to deliver no opinion; but as he would not persuade the dissolution, which might be attended by consequences he could not foresee, so he had not so good an opinion of their affections to the king or the church, as to persuade their longer sitting, if the king were inclined to dissolve them.

The temper and constitution of both houses of parliament, which the king was forced to call shortly after, was very different from the last: and they discovered not more prejudice against any man, than against Mr. Hyde; who was again returned to serve there, and whom they were sorry to find amongst them; as a man they knew well to have great affection for the archbishop, and of unalterable devotion to the government of the church; and therefore they first laboured to find some defect in his election, and then to irreconcile those towards him, who they found had any esteem or kindness for him: but not finding the success in

either answerable to their expectation, they lived fairly towards him, and endeavoured, by several applications, to gain credit with him; who returned them their own civilities; having had very particular acquaintance with many of them, whom he as much endeavoured to preserve from being prevailed upon.

Within few days after their meeting, he renewed the motion he had made in the last parliament, against the marshal's court, (though he knew the earl marshal had gotten himself much into their favour, by his application, and some promises he had made them at the meeting at York; and principally by his declared aversion and prejudice to the earl of Strafford,) and told them what extravagant proceedings there had been in that court, since the dissolution of the last parliament; and that more damages had been given there, by the sole judgment of the lord marshal, for contumelious and reproachful words, of which the law took no notice, in two days, than had been given by all the juries, in all the courts in Westminster hall, in the whole term, and the days for trial after it was ended. Upon which he got a committee to be named, of which himself sat in the chair; and found that the first precedent they had in all their records for that form of proceeding which they had used, and for giving of damages for words, was but in the year 1633; and the very entrance upon this inquisition put an end to that upstart court, which never presumed to sit afterwards; and so that grievance was thoroughly abolished. And, to manifest how great an impression the alarms of this kind made upon the highest and the proudest natures, the very next Sunday after this motion was made in the house of commons, the earl marshal seeing Mr. Hyde in the closet at Whitehall during the time of the sermon, he came with great courtesy to him, thanked him for having treated his person so civilly, when upon so just reason he had found fault with some of his actions: said, he believed he had been in the wrong; but that he had been misled by the advice of sir Harry Martin and other civilians, who were held men of great learning, and who assured him that those proceedings were just and lawful. He said, they had gained well by it, but should mislead him no more: and concluded with great professions of kindness and esteem, and offered him all offices in his power; when, in his heart, he did him the honour to detest and hate him perfectly; as he professed to all whom he trusted.

The memorials and extracts are so large and particular of all these proceedings in the notes and papers of the person whose life is the end of this discourse, that even unawares many things are inserted not so immediately applicable to his own person; which possibly may hereafter, in some other method, be communicated to the world; and therefore we shall again resort only to such particulars as more immediately relate to him. His credit grew every day in the house, in spite of all the endeavours which were used to lessen it: and it being evident that he had no dependence upon the court, and insisted wholly upon maintaining what the law had established, very many wise men, and of estate and reputation in the kingdom, (who observed well the crooked and ambitious designs of those who desired to be thought to care only for the good of their country,) adhered to

him; and were willing to take advice from him, how to prevent those miseries which were like to be brought upon the kingdom: so that they, who had cut out all the work from the beginning, and seldom met with any notable contradiction, found themselves now frequently disappointed and different resolutions taken to what they had proposed; which they imputed to his activity.

He was very much in the business of the house; the greatest chairman in the committees of the greatest moment; and very diligent in attending the service both in the house and at committees: for he had from the beginning of the parliament laid aside his gown and practice, and wholly given himself up to the public business; which he saw so much concerned the peace and very being of the kingdom. He was in the chair in that committee which considered of the illegality of the court of York: and the other, that examined the miscarriages of the judges, in the case of ship-money, and in other cases of judicatory, in their several courts; and prepared charges thereupon against them. He was in the chair against the marshal's court: in that committee which was against the court of York, which was prosecuted with great passion, and took up many weeks debate: in that which concerned the jurisdiction of the lord president and council of the marches of Wales; which likewise held a long time, and was prosecuted with great bitterness and animosity: in which the inhabitants of the four neighbour counties of Salop, Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester, and consequently the knights and burgesses which served for the same, were passionately concerned to absolve themselves from the burden of that jurisdiction; and all the officers of that court and council, whereof some were very great men, and held offices of great value, laboured with equal passion and concernment to support and maintain what was in practice and possession; and their friends appeared accordingly.

He was in the chair in many committees made upon private complaints; insomuch as he was seldom in the afternoon free from that service in the committees, as he was never absent in mornings from the house: and he was often heard to mention one private committee, in which he was put accidentally into the chair, upon an enclosure which had been made of great wastes, belonging to some the queen's manors, without the consent of the tenants, the benefit whereof had been given by the queen to a servant of near trust; who forthwith sold the lands enclosed to the earl of Manchester, lord privy seal; who, together with his son Mandevile, were now most concerned to maintain the enclosure; against which, as well the inhabitants of other manors, who claimed common in those wastes, as the queen's tenants of the same, made loud complaints, as a great oppression, carried upon them with a very high hand, and supported by power.

The committee sat in the queen's court, and Oliver Cromwell, being one of them, appeared much concerned to countenance the petitioners, who were numerous, together with their witnesses; the lord Mandevile being likewise present as a party, and, by the direction of the committee, sitting covered. Cromwell (who had never before been heard to speak in the house of commons) ordered the witnesses and petitioners in the method of the proceeding, and seconded and enlarged

upon what they said with great passion; and the witnesses and persons concerned, who were a very rude kind of people, interrupted the council and witnesses on the other side with great clamour, when they said any thing that did not please them; so that Mr. Hyde (whose office it was to oblige men of all sorts to keep order) was compelled to use some sharp reproofs and some threats to reduce them to such a temper, that the business might be quietly heard. Cromwell in great fury reproached the chairman for being partial, and that he discountenanced the witnesses by threatening them: the other appealed to the committee, which justified him, and declared that he behaved himself as he ought to do; which more inflamed him, who was already too much angry. When upon any mention of matter of fact, or the proceeding before and at the enclosure, the lord Mandevile desired to be heard, and with great modesty related what had been done, or explained what had been said, Mr. Cromwell did answer and reply upon him with so much indecency and rudeness, and in language so contrary and offensive, that every man would have thought, that as their natures and their manners were as opposite as it is possible, so their interest could never have been the same. In the end, his whole carriage was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so insolent, that the chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him; and to tell him, if he proceeded in the same manner, he would presently adjourn the committee, and the next morning complain to the house of him; which he never forgave; and took all occasions afterwards to pursue him with the utmost malice and revenge, to his death.

When Mr. Hyde sat in the chair, in the grand committee of the house for the extirpation of episcopacy, all that party made great court to him; and the house keeping those disorderly hours, and seldom rising till after four of the clock in the afternoon, they frequently importuned him to dine with them at Mr. Pym's lodging, which was at sir Richard Manly's house, in a little court behind Westminster hall; where he, and Mr. Hambden, sir Arthur Haslerig, and two or three more, upon a stock kept a table, where they transacted much business, and invited thither those of whose conversion they had any hope.

One day after dinner, Nathaniel Fiennes, who that day likewise dined there, asked Mr. Hyde whether he would ride into the fields, and take a little air, it being a fine evening; which the other consenting to, they sent for their horses, and riding together in the fields between Westminster and Chelsea, Mr. Fiennes asked him what it was that inclined him to adhere so passionately to the church, which could not possibly be supported. He answered, that he could have no other obligation than that of his conscience, and his reason, that could move with him; for he had no relation or dependence upon any churchmen that could dispose him to it; that he could not conceive how religion could be preserved without bishops, nor how the government of the state could well subsist, if the government of the church were altered; and asked him what government they meant to introduce in its place. To which he answered, that there would be time enough to think of that; but assured him, and wished him to remember what he said, that if the king resolved to defend the bishops, it would cost the kingdom much blood, and would be the

occasion of as sharp a war as had ever been in England: for that there was so great a number of good men who resolved to lose their lives before they would ever submit to that government. Which was the first positive declaration he had ever heard from any particular man of that party, very few of them having at that time that resolution, much less avowing it; and if they had, the kingdom was in no degree at that time infected with that poison, how much soever it was spread afterwards.

Within two days after this discourse from Mr. Fiennes, Mr. Hyde, walking between the parliament house and Westminster, in the churchyard, met with Harry Martin, with whom he lived very familiarly; and speaking together about the proceedings of the houses, Martin told him, that he would undo himself by his adhering to the court; to which he replied, that he had no relation to the court, and was only concerned to maintain the government and preserve the law: and then told him, he could not conceive what he proposed to himself, for he did not think him to be of the opinion or nature with those men who governed the house; and asked him, what he thought of such and such men: and he very frankly answered, that he thought them knaves; and that when they had done as much as they intended to do, they should be used as they had used others. The other pressed him then to say what he desired; to which, after a little pause, he very roundly answered, "I do not think one man wise enough to govern us all:" which was the first word he had ever heard any man speak to that purpose; and would without doubt, if it had been then communicated or attempted, been the most abhorred by the whole nation, of any design that could be mentioned; and yet it appears it had even so early entered into the hearts of some desperate persons, that gentleman being at that time possessed of a very great fortune, and having great credit in his country.

Whilst things were thus depending, one morning, when there was a conference with the lords, and so the house adjourned, Mr. Hyde being walking in the house, Mr. Peirce, brother to the earl of Northumberland, being a member of the house, came to him, and told him that the king would speak with him, and would have him that afternoon to come to him. He answered, he believed it was some mistake, for that he had not the honour to be known to the king; and that there was another of the same name, of the house. Mr. Peirce assured him he was the man; and so it was agreed, that at such an hour in the evening he should call on him at his chamber; which he did, and was by him conducted into the gallery, and so into the square room, where he stayed till the other went to the king; who in a very short time came thither, attended only by Mr. Peirce, who, as soon as Mr. Hyde had kissed his majesty's hand, withdrew.

The king told him, "that he heard from all hands how much he was beholden to him; and that when all his servants in the house of com-

mons either neglected his service, or could not appear usefully in it, he took all occasions to do him service; for which he thought fit to give him his own thanks, and to assure him that he would remember it to his advantage." He took notice of his affection to the church, for which, he said, "he thanked him more than for all the rest;" which the other acknowledged with the duty that became him, and said, "he was very happy that his majesty was pleased with what he did; but if he had commanded him to have withdrawn his affection and reverence for the church, he would not have obeyed him;" which his majesty said made him love him the better. Then he discoursed of the passion of the house, and of the bill then brought in against episcopacy; and asked him, "whether he thought they would be able to carry it;" to which he answered, "he believed they could not, at least that it would be very long first." "Nay, (replied the king,) if you will look to it, that they do not carry it before I go for Scotland, which will be at such a time, when the armies shall be disbanded, I will undertake for the church after that time: why then, (said the other,) by the grace of God, it will not be in much danger:" with which the king was well pleased; and dismissed him with very gracious expressions. And this was the first introduction of him to the king's taking notice of him.

Afterwards, in that summer, during the time of his majesty's stay in Scotland, Mr. Secretary Nicholas (who then kept the signet, though he was not sworn secretary till the king's return) being very sick, sent to him, to desire to speak with him; whereupon he went to him to his house in King's-street, and found him in his bed: and the business was wholly to shew him a letter from the king to him, in which he writ to him, that he understood, by several hands, that he was very much beholden to Mr. Hyde, for the great zeal he shewed to his service; and therefore commanded him to speak with him, and to let him know the sense he had of it; and that when he returned, he would let him know it himself.

Having now taken a view of him from his birth, and through his whole youth, and first entrance into the business of the world, in which he had great success and prosperity, (and if the calm, in which he was born, and lasted so long, had continued, no man could with more probability have promised himself better fortune in the profession to which he had dedicated himself;) and having now brought him to be known to the king; and the tempest, that from the present foul weather shortly after broke out, driving him from further applying himself to, or prosecuting that profession; and the parliament making some short recess during the king's being in Scotland; we will here conclude the first part of his life, and enter upon the second; which will contain a more important part, and in which we will mention no particulars of that active time, but such in which he had a signal part; leaving the rest to the history of those great and monstrous actions.

*Montpelier, March 27, 1669.*



## PART II.

AS soon as the remonstrance, so much mentioned before, was printed, Mr. Hyde, only to give vent to his own indignation, and without the least purpose of communicating it, or that any use should be made of it, had drawn such a full answer to it, as the subject would have enabled any man to have done who had thought of it: and the lord Digby, who had much conversation and friendship with him, coming accidentally and suddenly into the room, where he was alone amongst his books and papers; conferring together of the extravagant proceedings of the parliament, he, upon the familiarity that was between them, and upon the argument that was then between them, read the answer to him which he had prepared to the remonstrance; with which he seemed much pleased, and desired him, that he would permit it to be made use of by the king, and that he might shew it to his majesty; who found it absolutely necessary to publish some answer in his own name to that remonstrance, which had so much poisoned the hearts of the people; and that his majesty was endeavouring to procure such an answer to be drawn. The other expressly and positively refused to give it him, or that any use should be made of it; and reproached him for proposing a thing to him which might prove ruinous to him, if the house should have the least imagination that he exercised himself in such offices; with which answer he seemed satisfied, and departed: no other person having seen it but the lord Falkland, from whom nothing was ever concealed.

Within few days after, the lord Digby, with whom the king advised in the business of the parliament without reserve, came again to him; and, after some apologies, told him freely, that very many had been with the king, desiring him that he would take care that some answer might be published to that remonstrance, which had already done much harm, and would do much more if it were not answered; and that the king had spoken to him; upon which he had confessed that he had seen an answer that pleased him very well, but could not prevail with the author of it to suffer it to be made use of; and told him who it was: whereupon the king seemed to wonder very much, that a person, who had appeared so publicly in defence of his service, should be so wary of assisting him in private: and after many expressions of grace towards that gentleman, his majesty had commanded him to come in his name to him; and to conjure him to send that paper to him; and to give him his royal word, that no person living should know that he had the least hand in it; so that no danger should accrue to him thereby.

Mr. Hyde, though he was very unsatisfied with what the lord Digby had done, (whose affection to him he did not in any degree make question of, but did not like his over activity, to which his restless fancy always disposed him; and as he doubted not that himself had given the occasion to the king to send those commands, so he had likewise enlarged those commands, as he believed,

in such a manner as he thought might most oblige him,) yet, upon the real consideration that it might do the king much service, he did, without delay, deliver the papers; insisting upon the promise of secrecy, and, likewise, that his majesty would not publish without first communicating it to his council, and as done with their advice. And to that purpose he affixed that title to it, before he delivered the papers out of his hands; believing, that as it would be more for the king's service to carry such an authority in the front of it, as "The king's answer with the advice of his council;" so it could not be refused by them, and yet might engage them in some displeasure with the house of commons, which probably might be offended at it. The king was very punctual in doing what was desired, and caused it to be read at a full council, where many of the lords commended it very much, and none spake against it; and so it was published and printed; and it was very apparent to all men, that the king's service was very much advanced by it; and it was not more evident to any than to the house of commons, who knew not how to make any expostulation upon it, it being in the king's own name, and published with the advice of his privy-council: so that all they could do was, to endeavour to discover who was the penner of it; to which discovery they were most intent by all their secret friends in court, who found means to discover most other secrets to them, but in this could do them no service.

As soon as the lord Falkland and sir John Colepepper were called to the privy-council, the king sent for Mr. Hyde to him, who had not seen his majesty from the time he had been presented by Mr. Peirce. He commanded the lord Digby to bring him when it was night to the queen's back stairs; and as soon as he was there, both king and queen came into the room; and when he had kissed their hands, and the lord Digby was withdrawn, the king told him, "he was much beholden to him for many good services, and that now he had preferred two of his friends, it was time to give him some testimony of his favour; and therefore he had sent to him to tell him that he intended to make him his solicitor general, in the place of him who had served him so ill." Mr. Hyde suddenly answered, "God forbid!" With which the king seeming surprised, said, "Why God forbid?" The other replied, "It was in no degree fit at this time that he should remove the other; and if he were removed, himself was in no degree fit for it." The queen said, "he ought not to suffer for his modesty: she had heard men, who could judge well, say, that he was as fit for it as the other." Mr. Hyde said, "that was an argument that gentlemen thought the other not fit for it, not that he believed him fit; which in truth, he said, he was not. That it might be, that when the place was actually void, the king might have filled it better with another man than with Mr. Saint-John, whose parts were not above many others, and his affections were below most men's: but now that he was in-



"vested in that office, it was not a good conjuncture to remove him; and when it should be, he did humbly advise his majesty to make choice of the ablest man of the profession, whose affections were clear, by whom he might indeed have great benefit; whereas himself was young, and without any of that learning or experience which might make him capable of that great trust." The queen saying again this was his modesty, he replied, "Madam, when you know me better, you will not find me so modest a man, but that I hope by your majesty's favour, in due time, to be made a better man than I am at present: but, if you believe that I know any thing of the disposition of the present time, or of what may conduce to the king's service, I pray believe, that, though the solicitor will never do much service, he will be able to do much more mischief if he be removed." The king at the same time resolved to remove another officer, who did disserve him notoriously, and to prefer Mr. Hyde to that place; with which their gracious intention both their majesties acquainted him: but he positively refused it; and assured both their majesties, that he should be able to do much more service in the condition he was in.

Before the king left Whitehall, he renewed his commands to the three persons mentioned before, the lord viscount Falkland, sir John Colepepper, and Mr. Hyde, to meet constantly together, and consult upon his affairs, and conduct them the best way they could in the parliament, and to give him constant advice what he was to do, without which, he declared again very solemnly, he would make no step in the parliament. Two of them were obliged by their offices and relations, and the other by his duty and inclination, to give him all satisfaction; notwithstanding the discouragement they had so lately received, and which had made a deep impression upon them. And so they met every night late together, and communicated their observations and intelligence of the day; and so agreed what was to be done or attempted the next; there being very many persons of condition and interest in the house who would follow their advice, and assist in any thing they desired. And because Mr. Hyde had larger accommodation in the house where he lived in Westminster than either of the other had, the meetings at night were for the most part with him; and after their deliberation together, what was to be put in writing was always committed to Mr. Hyde; and when the king had left the town, he writ as freely to the king as either of the other did; and sometimes, when they would be excused, he went to him in great secret.

He had been from the beginning very unbeloved by all the governing party; and though they took some pains at first to win him, yet their hope of that was quickly desperate; and from the night of the protestation, he was as much in their detestation as any man; and the more, that they could take no advantage against him: and though they had a better opinion of his discretion than to believe he had any share in the advice of the late proceedings, yet they were very willing that others should believe it; and made all the insinuations they could to that purpose amongst those who took their opinions from them; towards which his known friendship with the lord Digby was an argument very prevalent: and then his opposing

the votes upon their privilege had inflamed them beyond their temper; insomuch as Mr. Hambden told him one day, that the trouble that had lately befallen them had been attended with that benefit, that they knew who were their friends: and the other offering to speak upon the point of privilege, and how monstrous a thing it was to make a vote so contrary to the known law; he replied very snappishly, "that he well knew he had a mind they should be all in prison;" and so departed without staying for an answer. Then they imputed to him the disposing the lord Falkland to serve the court, and the court to receive his service; and from the time that he and Colepepper were called to the council, they equally were enraged against both; and now, when they had discovered the place of the nightly meetings, that a secretary of state and a chancellor of the exchequer every day went to the lodging of a private person, who ought to attend them, they believed it a condescension that had some other foundation than mere civility; yet they could not discover any thing against them which they thought fit to offer in public.

It is not amiss in this place to say somewhat of those three persons, who had from that time so great a part in the business that was upon the stage, and did in a short time raise the reputation of the king, and of his cause, to a very great degree; and who, though they were well united in the opposition of all the ill designs against the crown, and concurred in the public service with necessary and mutual civilities towards each other, yet their principles and constitutions were very different; and the lord Falkland and Mr. Hyde (between whom, as is said before, the friendship was most entire) had never had the least acquaintance with sir John Colepepper before the parliament; and finding themselves often of one opinion, grew into some conversation; and being after united in the king's trust, they rarely conferred but in the agitation of business; their natures being in nothing like.

The lord Falkland, though he was a man of a cheerful conversation, was of a severe nature, and a lover of virtue; yet he had great esteem for all men of great parts, though they applied them to ill purposes. He was so great an enemy to all dissimulation, that he chose sometimes the other extreme when it was not requisite. He had not the court in great reverence, and had a presaging spirit that the king would fall into great misfortune: and often said to his friend, that he chose to serve the king, because honesty obliged him to it; but that he foresaw his own ruin by doing it. He had a better opinion of the church of England, and the religion of it, than of any other church and religion; and had extraordinary kindness for very many churchmen; and if he could have helped or prevented it, there should have been no attempts against it. But he had in his own judgment such a latitude in opinion, that he did not believe any part of the order or government of it to be so essentially necessary to religion, but that it might be parted with, and altered, for a notable public benefit or convenience; and that the crown itself ought to gratify the people, in yielding to many things; and to part with some power, rather than to run the hazards which would attend the refusal. But he was swayed in this by a belief that the king would in the end be

prevailed with to yield to what was pressed ; and this opinion wrought too much upon too many.

Albeit he had the greatest compliance with the weakness, and even the humour of other men, when there could be no suspicion of flattery ; and the greatest address to inform and reform them : yet towards the king, who many times obstinately adhered to many conclusions which did not naturally result from good premises, and did love to argue many things to which he would not so positively adhere, he did not practise that condescension ; but contradicted him with more bluntness, and by sharp sentences ; and in some particulars (as of the church) to which the king was in conscience most devoted : and of this his majesty often complained ; and cared less to confer with him in private, and was less persuaded by him, than his affairs, and the other's great parts and wisdom, would have required : though he had not a better opinion of any man's sincerity or fidelity towards him.

Sir John Colepepper had spent some years of his youth in foreign parts, and especially in armies ; where he had seen good service, and very well observed it ; and might have made a very good officer if he had intended it. He was of a rough nature, a hot head, and of great courage ; which had engaged him in many quarrels and duels ; wherein he still behaved himself very signally. He had in a very good season, and after a small waste of his fortune, retired from that course of life, and married, and betook himself to a country life ; and studied the business of the country, and the concerns of it, in which he was very well versed ; and being a man of sharpness of parts, and volubility of language, he was frequently made choice of to appear at the council-board, in those matters which related to the country : in the managing whereof, his abilities were well taken notice of. His estate was very moderate, and his usual expense exceeded it not ; not being delighted with delicacies of any nature, or indeed ever acquainted with them. He had infirmities which sometimes made a noise ; but his parts and abilities made him very acceptable to his neighbours, and to those who were most considerable in their estates, and most popular ; so that with very little opposition, he had been chosen to be knight of that great county Kent, for the parliament ; where he quickly made himself to be taken notice of. He was proud and ambitious, and very much disposed to improve his fortune ; which he knew well how to do, by industry and thrift, without stooping to any corrupt ways, to which he was not inclined.

He did not love the persons of many of those who were the violent managers, and less their designs ; and therefore he no sooner knew that he was well spoken of at court, but he exposed himself to the invitation, and heartily embraced that interest : and when he came thither, he might very well be thought a man of no very good breeding ; having never sacrificed to the muses, or conversed in any polite company. He was warm and positive in debates, and of present fancy to object and find fault with what was proposed ; and indeed would take any argument in pieces, and expose it excellently to a full view ; and leave nothing to chance, or accident, without making it foreseen ; but after that, knew not so well what to judge and determine ; and was so irresolute, and had a fancy

so perpetually working, that, after a conclusion made, he would the next day, in the execution of it, and sometimes after, raise new doubts, and make new objections ; which always occasioned trouble, and sometimes produced inconvenience.

In matters of religion he was, in his judgment, very indifferent ; but more inclined to what was established, to avoid the accidents which commonly attend a change, without any motives from his conscience ; which yet he kept to himself ; and was well content to have it believed that the activity proceeded from thence. He had, with all this uncourtliness (for sure no man less appeared a courtier) and ungracefulness in his mien and motion, a wonderful insinuation and address into the acceptance and confidence of the king and queen ; and flattery being a weed not so natural to the air and soil of the country where he had wholly lived, he was believed to speak with all plainness and sincerity ; when no man more complied with those infirmities they both had, and by that compliance prevailed often over them.

He had a very tragical way in expressing himself, to raise the fears and apprehensions of those who were naturally apprehensive of dangers ; and by this means he prevailed marvellously with the queen in those matters to which she was most averse ; by representing things as dismally to her as he could well do ; and on the other hand, to the king (who was naturally very sanguine) he was full of compliance ; cherished all his hopes and imaginations, and raised and improved those hopes very frequently by expedients very unagreeable to the end proposed. He was then (as was said before) very positive in his conclusions ; as if he did not propose a thing that might come to pass, but what infallibly must be so : which was a temper the king could not contend with ; and did so much suspect himself, (which was his greatest infirmity, and the chief ground of all his sufferings,) that he did believe a man, of whom he thought very well, did know every thing that he confidently insisted upon. But his greatest advantage was, (besides his diligence in speaking as often as he could with the king and queen, and always with the queen upon any important counsel,) that he had an entire confidence and friendship with Mr. John Ashburnham, whom the king loved, and trusted very much ; and who always imprinted that advice in the king's mind, which the other had infused ; and being a member of the house, was always ready to report the service he did his majesty there, as advantageously as the business would bear.

Mr. Hyde was, in his nature and disposition, different from both the other ; which never begot the least disagreement between the lord Falkland and him. He was of a very cheerful and open nature, without any dissimulation ; and delivered his opinion of things or persons, where it was convenient, without reserve or disguise ; and was at least tenacious enough of his opinion, and never departed from it out of compliance with any man. He had a very particular devotion and passion for the person of the king ; and did believe him the most, and the best Christian in the world. He had a most zealous esteem and reverence for the constitution of the government ; and believed it so equally poised, that if the least branch of the prerogative was torn off, or parted with, the subject suffered by it, and that his right was impair-

ed : and he was as much troubled when the crown exceeded its just limits, and thought its prerogative hurt by it : and therefore not only never consented to any diminution of the king's authority, but always wished that the king would not consent to it, with what importunity or impetuosity soever it was desired and pressed.

He had taken more pains than such men use to do, in the examination of religion ; having always conversed with those of different opinions with all freedom and affection, and had very much kindness and esteem for many, who were in no degree of his own judgment ; and upon all this, he did really believe the church of England the most exactly formed and framed for the encouragement and advancement of learning and piety, and for the preservation of peace, of any church in the world : that the taking away any of its revenue, and applying it to secular uses, was robbery, and notorious sacrilege ; and that the diminishing the lustre it had, and had always had in the government, by removing the bishops out of the house of peers, was a violation of justice ; the removing a landmark, and the shaking the very foundation of government ; and therefore he always opposed, upon the impulsion of conscience, all mutations in the church ; and did always believe, let the season or the circumstance be what it would, that any compliance was pernicious ; and that a peremptory and obstinate refusal, that might put men in despair of what they laboured for, and take away all hope of obtaining what they desired, would reconcile more persons to the government than the gratifying them in part ; which only whetted their appetite to desire more, and their confidence in demanding it.

Though he was of a complexion and humour very far from despair, yet he did believe the king would be oppressed by that party which then governed, and that they who followed and served him would be destroyed ; so that it was not ambition of power, or wealth, that engaged him to embark in so very hazardous an employment, but abstractly the consideration of his duty ; and he often used to apply those words of Cicero to himself, *Mea ætas incidit in id bellum, cujus altera pars sceleris nimium habuit, altera felicitatis parum.* It is very probable, that if his access at that time had been as frequent to the king as sir John Colepepper's was, or the lord Falkland's might have been, some things might have been left undone, the doing whereof brought much prejudice to the king ; for all his principles were much more agreeable to his majesty's own judgment, than those of either of the other ; and what he said was of equal authority with him ; and when any advice was given by either of the other, the king usually asked, " whether Ned Hyde were of that opinion ; " and they always very ingenuously confessed, that he was not : but his having no relation of service, and so no pretence to be seen often at court, and the great jealousy that was entertained towards him, made it necessary to him to repair only in the dark to the king upon emergent occasions, and leave the rest to be imparted by the other two : and the differences in their natures and opinions never produced any disunion between them in those councils which concerned the conduct of the king's service ; but they proceeded with great unanimity, and very manifestly much advanced the king's business from the very low state it was

in when they were first trusted ; the other two having always much deference to the lord Falkland, who allayed their passions ; to which they were both enough inclined. The parliament continued its fury, and every day sent some new expostulations to the king, and did all they could to kindle the fire throughout the kingdom, upon the breach of privilege. They had already passed the bill to remove the bishops out of the house of peers, and deferred the sending it to the king, only that it might be accompanied with the other bill concerning the militia, which, being passed the commons, was not like to meet with much obstruction in the house of peers ; the late tumults, and the committing the persons of so many bishops to the Tower, having made many of the lords neglect coming to the house, and disheartened many of those who did continue their attendance : so that the king and queen were weary of Windsor ; and her majesty's fears grew every day so much stronger, that it was resolved, that she should herself remove beyond the seas ; and that then the king should retire into the northern parts, with a resolution that he would get Hull into his hands. But this and all other resolutions were kept very secret ; the design upon Hull, which would require his remove into the northern parts, being the sole advice of sir John Colepepper, which he owned not to his two companions, well knowing that their opinion was, that the queen being once gone, the king should either return to London, or remain at Hampton-court, or at such a distance, and positively refuse to consent to any other unreasonable demands. The king sent word to the parliament, that he was obliged by the treaty with the States upon the marriage of his daughter, the princess Mary, to the prince of Orange, that he would about this time send his daughter to her husband, which he was resolved forthwith to do ; and that the queen his wife, being indisposed in her health, and being advised that change of air would do her much good, resolved to make use of the same opportunity, and to accompany her daughter to the Hague, of which he thought fit to give them notice. The leading men were much divided among themselves upon this message. They, who had been formerly engaged in treaties of preferment, were not willing to give over all hopes of reassuming that matter, which they could never think could be done, if her majesty were gone beyond the seas. Others, who were well acquainted with her constitution and her fears, believed, if she were absent, they should no more prevail with the king (who was naturally positive enough) to consent to their demands ; and there were some who out of pure generosity, and a sense that all the world would believe that she was driven away by the uncivil behaviour of the parliament : and all these desired that she might be persuaded to stay ; and prevailed so far, that both houses sent a message to her to that purpose, with some more courtly expressions than they had been of late accustomed to ; and taking notice that her physician had declared that her health was impaired by the trouble of her mind, made professions of duty, and a desire to give her all content, if they might know what would do it. But the rest, who cared not whether she went or stayed, and rather wished her away, pressed on all those proceedings in the houses which they knew would give her most

offence, and the bill for the militia was now likewise passed both houses, as well as that concerning the bishops, and they sent to the king to appoint a day for the passing and enacting them, together with some other bill for the relief of Ireland, according to their usual method, which was to send some necessary act, which could not be refused, when they sent others which would be more ungrateful. Most men did believe that the king would never give his consent to either of these two; though very many had concurred in them for no other reason, than because they were assured he would not refuse; and others upon confidence that he would; and therefore would not render themselves obnoxious by opposing them. Upon all which the queen continued her resolution, and hastened her journey, that she might be out of the way, and thereby the king might the more resolutely reject those bills, which he intended to do; and the houses the more importunately pressed the despatch of the bills, as soon as the day was appointed for the queen's beginning her journey from Windsor towards Dover. And the bill concerning Ireland could not be despatched too soon for the necessity of the service; besides that any delay therein was presently taken notice of and published as a favour to that rebellion and hindering the suppression thereof, which now grew to be an impudent imputation, especially upon the queen; so that the king thought of sending a commission to despatch those and suspend the other, till he had further considered them; for he thought it not fit to give an absolute denial, till he were retired to a greater distance from London; but then the doing one and not the other would be looked upon as an absolute denial by those imperious conductors.

In this perplexity, when nothing was so necessary as the most obstinate resolution, sir John Colepepper, who was naturally inclined to expedients, and in difficult cases, that is, cases made difficult by the perverseness of supercilious contenders, to composition, much desired that the king would pass that against the bishops, and absolutely reject the other; which he did in truth believe would satisfy so many, that those that remained unsatisfied would not have credit enough to give any further disturbance; and in his own judgment, as hath been said before, he thought the matter of little importance; but he knew that argument would make no other impression upon the king, than to the disadvantage of the arguer; and if he had thought himself obliged to have enacted one, he would have chosen to have passed that for the militia, rather than the other: he urged therefore to the king, no other person present, the necessity of giving the parliament satisfaction in one of those bills; and that there were more who would be satisfied with that concerning the bishops, than with the other concerning the militia; and therefore it would be best to gratify the major part. Then he exposed the dreadful consequences which would attend the yielding in the point of the militia; as if it would be the next day in their power to depose him; and all the tragical effects of granting that authority. He seemed in no degree to undervalue the mischief of consenting to the bill against the bishops; yet that it would be attended with that present benefit, that the church would be free from further apprehension; and that this degradation would secure

the function and the revenue; and that when these jealousies and misunderstandings should be once composed, that bill would be easily repealed by the experience how much the government was hurt by it; and whilst the sword remained in the king's own hands, there would be no attempt to make further alterations. The king asked him, whether Ned Hyde was of that mind; to which he answered, he was not; nor did wish that either of the bills should be passed; which he thought, as the time was, could not be a reasonable judgment: the king said, "it was his; and that he would run the hazard."

When he found he could not prevail there, he went to the queen, and repeated all the arguments he had used to the king, with his usual vehemence; and added, that he exceedingly apprehended, that, by some means or other, upon this refusal of the king's, her majesty's journey would be stopped, and that she would not be suffered to transport herself out of the kingdom; and therefore he heartily wished that she would so use her credit with the king, that he might pass that act concerning the bishops, which he said would lay such an obligation upon both houses, as would redound to her majesty's advantage. The queen was so terrified with the apprehension of her being hindered from pursuing her purpose, that she gave not over her importunity with the king, till she had prevailed with him; and so that bill for removing the bishops out of the house of peers passed by commission, when both their majesties were upon their way, and in their journey to Dover.

Nothing that is here said must reflect upon the memory of sir John Colepepper, as if he were corrupted in his affections to the church, or gave this advice to gratify and please other men, or for any particular advantage to himself, in all which he was very innocent. It is said before, that in his judgment he looked upon the thing as what might be conscientiously consented to; and then his real apprehension of danger and mischief to the king (to whom he bore all possible fidelity) by refusing it, so far wrought upon his warm constitution, that he did really believe it to be his duty to be solicitous to the vehement degree he was. But he quickly found he had been deceived, at least in the imagination, that the consenting to that one bill would at all allay their passion. They were, on the contrary, so far from being pleased with it, that they immediately betook themselves to inquire, "who the evil counsellors were, who dissuaded his majesty from consenting to the other concerning the militia;" which was so necessary to all their purposes: and forthwith sent some of their messengers to the king, whilst he stayed at Dover, to complain of such evil counsel, and to use all importunity that he would pass it as a matter of absolute necessity for the peace and security of the kingdom, and for the carrying on the service for suppressing the rebellion in Ireland; with many new expressions "of the presumption of those malignant persons who gave his majesty such advice," and with boldness enough, that the king should prefer such advice before the wisdom of the parliament.

They who hated the bishops most, and were glad that they were rid of the opposition they gave them in all their demands, seemed not at all contented; but enlarged exceedingly upon the mis-

chief in not granting the militia. And no doubt there were many the less pleased with the passing the other, in doubt, that they should thereby lose the assistance of very many towards the utter extirpation of episcopacy, and the disposal of all church lands, upon which their hearts were set; and who would with the more choler have concurred with them, if that bill, as well as the other, had been rejected; and therefore they rather wished they had the other, which they knew would bring all their ends to pass. They who loved the church, and were afraid of so great an alteration in the frame and constitution of parliament, as the utter taking away of one of the *three estates*, of which the parliament is compounded, were infinitely provoked; and lamented the passing that act, as an introduction to the entire destruction of the government of the church, and to the alteration of the religion of the kingdom: and very many, who more considered the policy than the justice and piety of the state, did ever after believe, that by being removed out of the parliament, the preserving them in the kingdom was not worth any notable contention. Then they looked upon the king's condescension in this particular, in a subject that all men knew had a wonderful influence upon his conscience, as he often took occasion to profess, as a manifestation that he would not be constant in retaining and denying any thing that should be impetuously and fiercely demanded; which, as it exceedingly confirmed those who were engaged in that party, so it abated the courage of too many who had always opposed them, and heartily detested their proceedings; and made them more remiss in their attendance at the house, and less solicitous for any thing that was done there; who by degrees first became a neutral party, believing they should be safe in angering nobody: and when they afterwards found no security in that indifference, they adhered to those who they saw had the best success; and so went sharers with them in their future attempts, according to their several tempers and inclinations.

The benefit that would redound to the king from not passing the other bill of the militia, more than avoiding the infamy of consenting to it, was not evident to discerning men; for they foresaw, that they would quickly wrest it out of his hands without his consent; and that the reputation of the parliament was so great, that whatsoever the two houses (which the people looked upon as the parliament) should concur in, and enjoin to be done, the people would look upon as law, and observe it accordingly: so that when, by the removal of so many voices out of the house of peers as the bishops made, who were always firm to the crown and government, the house of commons found a concurrence from the lords in all they proposed, their joint determination would find obedience, for the most part, from the people; whom there were all endeavours used to corrupt and possess, by presently printing, and causing to be read in churches, all their messages and petitions to the king; that they might see all their concerns were for the good of the kingdom, and preservation of the people.

When the king accompanied the queen to Dover, where they expected a wind many days, he sent the prince, under his new governor, the marquis of Hertford, to Richmond; that there

might be no room for the jealousy that the prince should be transported beyond the seas; which had been infused into the minds of many; and would have made a great noise, if he had waited upon his mother to Dover: but as soon as the wind appeared hopeful for her majesty's embarkation, the king sent an express to Richmond, that the prince should attend his majesty at Greenwich the Saturday following: the marquis being at that time very much indisposed by a defluxion upon his eyes, and a catarrh. The parliament, being presently informed, as they had spies in all places, of this direction, and there being yet no certainty of the queen's being embarked, was much troubled; and resolved to send to his majesty, by members of both houses, to desire that the prince might not remove from Richmond, at least till the marquis recovered health enough to be able to attend him; and at the same time sent an express order to the marquis, that he should not suffer the prince to go from thence, till he himself should be able to go with him.

They appointed one lord and two commoners to carry the message to the king, whom they believed to be still at Dover; and Mr. Hyde coming accidentally into the house, when the matter was in debate, they appointed him to be one of the messengers; which no excuses could free him from, for they did not intend it as a favour to him; so that they were obliged presently to begin their journey; and that night they went to Gravesend. The next day they were fully informed of the queen's being gone to sea, and that the king would be that night at Canterbury; whither the messengers made what haste they could, and found his majesty there, with a very little court, most of his servants having leave to go before to London, the better to provide themselves for a further journey. When they read their message to the king, in the hearing whereof he shewed no satisfaction, he appointed them to attend him after he had supped, and they should receive their answer: and accordingly, about nine of the clock, he caused it to be read, and delivered it to them; taking no notice of Mr. Hyde, as if he had been known to him. That messenger, who was a member of the house of peers, received it from his majesty, as of right he ought to do, that it might be first reported to that house.

Mr. Hyde was very much troubled when he heard the answer read; for it had much sharpness in it, which at that time could only provoke them: so without taking any notice of it to his companions, he pretended to them only to be very weary, and desirous to go to bed, and bade them good night; having the conveniency offered him by the lord Grandison (his familiar friend) to lodge with him in a house next the court: and so the other two messengers making haste to find some lodging in an inn, he sent the lord Grandison to the duke of Richmond, to desire the king that he might speak with him before he went into his bed. The king was half undressed, yet said he would stay for him, and bade that he should make haste to the back stairs; and as soon as he came thither, the duke went into the king, who immediately came out in his nightdress; and the duke having before sent all other servants from thence, retired likewise himself.

He told the king, that "he was sorry that his majesty had expressed so much displeasure in

"his answer; which could produce no good, and might do hurt; and therefore he desired he would call for it, and alter some expressions;" which his majesty was not inclined to do; enlarging himself with much sharpness upon the insolence of the message, and of the order they had sent to the marquis of Hertford; and seemed to apprehend that the prince would not be suffered to attend him at Greenwich; the thought whereof had caused that warmth in him. It was now Friday night, and his majesty resolved the next night to be at Greenwich, and to stay there all Sunday; and then to pursue his former resolutions: upon which, Mr. Hyde told him, "that he hoped the prince would be at Greenwich as soon as he, and then that point would be cleared; that they could not report his message to the parliament till Monday morning; and that they might well attend upon his majesty again on Sunday, and receive his pleasure; and at that time the lord Falkland and sir John Colepepper would be likewise present; when his majesty might take what resolution he pleased in that matter; and therefore he besought his majesty that he would presently send a servant to the other two messengers, at such an inn, for the answer he had delivered to them, of which he would further consider when he came to Greenwich; where he commanded them to attend him on Sunday, and that he would despatch them soon enough for them to be at London that night." All which his majesty was pleased to consent to, and immediately sent a gentleman to them for the paper, with that injunction; and then sent it by the lord Grandison the same night to Mr. Hyde, whom he had commanded to attend him on Sunday morning, saying he had very much to say to him.

When his majesty came to Greenwich, he found the prince there with his governor, who, though indisposed in his health, without returning any answer to the parliament, brought the prince very early from Richmond to Greenwich; with which the king was very much pleased, and in very good humour. And the next morning, when Mr. Hyde came to court, (to whom his companions had told that the king had sent for his answer to them again, and appointed them to attend him for it at Greenwich that afternoon; which they had agreed together to do,) the king being come into the privy chamber, and seeing him there, asked him aloud, where the others who came in the message with him were; and said, he would expect them in the afternoon; and so discoursing somewhat of the weather, that all men heard, he came near him, and, as it were passing by, (which nobody took notice of, the room not being full,) he bade him dine with Porter, at the back stairs, that he might be in the privy chamber when he rose from dinner; and after he had dined he found him there; and at that hour most people looking after their own dinner, his majesty did, without any body's taking notice of it, bid him follow him into the privy gallery; where he was no sooner entered, than the king locked the door with his own key, saying, "We will not now be disturbed, for there is no man in the house now who hath a key to this door." Then he said, "I will say nothing of the answer, for I am sure Falkland and Colepepper will be here anon; and then prepare one, and I will not differ with you; for

"now I have gotten Charles, I care not what answer I send to them."

Then he spake of many particulars of the parliament with warmth enough; and lamented his having consented to the bill concerning the bishops, which he said he was prevailed upon to do for his wife's security; but he should now be without any fear to displease them. He said, he would lay the next night at Theobalds; where he would stay a day or two, that his servants might provide themselves to attend him northward: that he should not see him any more before he took that journey, and therefore he required him upon all occasions to write to him, and advertise him of such matters as were fit for him to know; and to prepare and send him answers to such declarations or messages as the parliament should send to him. He said, he knew well the danger he underwent, if it were discovered; but his majesty assured him, and bade him be confident of it, that no person alive, but himself and his two friends, should know that he corresponded with his majesty; and that he would himself transcribe every paper in his own hand before he would shew it to any man, and before his secretary should write it out. Mr. Hyde told him, that he writ a very ill hand, which would give his majesty too much trouble to transcribe himself; and that he had so much friendship with secretary Nicholas, that he was well contented he should be trusted: to which the king said, Nicholas was a very honest man, and he would trust him in any thing that concerned himself; but in this particular, which would be so penal to the other, if it should be known, it was not necessary; for he would quickly learn to read the hand, if it were writ at first with a little the more care; and nobody should see it but himself. And his majesty continued so firm to this resolution, that though the declarations from the houses shortly after grew so voluminous, that the answers frequently contained five or six sheets of paper very closely writ, his majesty always transcribed them with his own hand; which sometimes took him up two or three days, and a good part of the night, before he produced them to the council, where they were first read; and then he burned the originals. And he gave himself no ease in this particular, till Mr. Hyde left the parliament, and by his majesty's command attended upon him at York: which will be mentioned in its time.

Whilst the king held this discourse with him in the privy gallery, many of the lords were come from London; and not finding him, the earls of Essex and Holland, who by their offices had keys to the gallery, opened that door, and went in; and seeing nobody there, walked to the further end; where in a turning walk the king and Mr. Hyde were: and though they presently drew back, the king himself, as well as Mr. Hyde, was a little discomposed; and said, "I am very sorry for this accident; I meant to have said somewhat to you of those gentlemen, but we must not stay longer together: forget not what I have said; and send me presently the answer for your message, and then attend with your companions in the privy chamber, and I will come out and deliver it to them:" and so he withdrew; the two earls smiling, and saluting Mr. Hyde civilly. He quickly found the lord Falkland and Colepepper, and they as quickly agreed upon the answer,

which the lord Falkland carried to the king : and his majesty approving and signing it, he came out and delivered it, after he had caused it to be read, to the messengers who attended to receive it ; and who went that night to London ; and the next morning, at the first sitting of the houses, reported and delivered it.

It was expected and believed, that as soon as the queen was gone for Holland, the king would return to Whitehall, and reside there. And many wise men were of opinion, that if he had done so, he would have been treated with more duty and respect ; and that he would be able to bring his business to a fair end by very moderate concessions ; for the universal prejudice and aversion was to the queen, how unjustly and unreasonably soever ; and to the king only as it was generally believed, that he governed himself entirely by her dictates : and many of those, whose countenance had most supported the violent party, by their concurrence with them, were grown weary of those excesses ; and as they had been seduced, and craftily drawn further than they meant to have gone, so they plainly discerned that there would be further attempts made than were agreeable to their wishes or their interests, and therefore resolved to second them no further.

The earl of Essex himself was in his nature an honest man, and a man of honour ; and though he did not think the king had any gracious purposes towards him, or great confidence in him, yet he was willing to retire from that angry company ; and did neither desire the dignity of the king should be affronted, or the government receive an alteration or diminution ; and did hope nothing more than to make himself the instrument to reconcile the parliament to the king, by some moderate and plausible expedient. But it was no sooner known in the houses that his majesty was gone to Theobalds, and had taken the prince with him, with a purpose of making a progress further northward, but they fell into all their usual heat and debate, of their just causes of jealousy and distrust, and the wickedness of those persons who misled him ; and the next morning, being well informed that the king stayed all day at Theobalds, they resolved to send a committee of four lords and eight commoners to him, to put him in mind of his violating their privileges, for which they had yet no reparation or satisfaction ; his refusal to settle the militia, whereby he left his kingdom and people exposed to the violence of a foreign enemy, or a domestic insurrection ; the great jealousies and fears which possessed the minds of all his subjects, which would be now exceedingly increased by his removal in this conjuncture from his parliament ; and thereupon concluded, that he would return to London, or reside at such a distance that they might easily repair to him.

When the persons designed for the message withdrew to prepare themselves for their journey, the message being read and agreed upon, Mr. Hyde went likewise out of the house ; and that the king might not be surprised with the sight of the message before he heard of it, he sent instantly to the lord Grandison (in whom he had entire confidence) to speak with him ; and desired him to cause his horse to be made ready, that he might with all possible expedition carry a letter to the king, which he would prepare by the time he could be

ready for the journey. He writ to the king, that such persons would be presently with him, and the substance of the message they would bring to him ; which in respect of the length of it, and of many particulars in it, would require some time to answer, which he should receive soon enough ; and for the present, he might upon the delivery make some short resentment of the houses' proceeding with him ; and conclude, that he would send an answer to their message in due time. The lord Grandison came to Theobalds when the king had newly dined, so that he was alone in his bedchamber ; and as soon as he had delivered the letter, he returned to London, and met the messengers within a mile or two of Theobalds.

As soon as they had delivered their message, which one of them read, the king, with a displeased countenance, and in a warmer and more sprightly tone than was natural to him, told them, " that he was amazed at their message, and could " not conceive what they would have, nor what " they meant to do : that they made a great noise " with their privileges, but forgot that he had " privileges too, which they made no conscience " to violate : that they talked of their fears and " jealousies, for which they had not the least " ground ; but if they would well consider, they " would find that they gave him cause enough " for jealousy ;" and concluded, " that he would " think of their message, and send an answer to " the houses in convenient time : " without saying any thing of his journey, when or whether he meant to go ; nor held any further discourse with them. The manner and the matter of the king's short discourse to them wonderfully surprised the messengers, who were all persons of the best quality in both houses, the earl of Pembroke being the chief, and some of them were of known affections to his majesty's service ; who were wonderfully delighted with the king's quick and sharp treatment, with which the rest were as much troubled : and so they all returned the same night to London.

The king resolved to pursue the course agreed upon with the queen at her departure, and would no more resume the consideration of staying nearer the parliament ; very reasonably apprehending that he should render himself liable every day to new affronts. And the practice both houses had gotten, to send for persons by a sergeant at arms upon any suggestions of light discourse, or upon general and ungrounded suspicions, by which they were compelled to give long attendance, if they were not committed to prison, had so terrified all conditions of men, that very few resorted to the court. And they who did most diligently seem to attend their duty there, did in truth perform that service, that they might with the more ease betray their master, and gratify those who they thought would at last bring themselves into those places and offices, upon which they were to depend. So that he thought it most absolutely necessary to be at such a distance from Westminster, that people might be less apprehensive of their power : resolving likewise, that no person who attended him, or resorted to the place where he was, should yield any obedience to their summons upon those general suggestions, or any applications they should make to his majesty. And though it might have met with better success, if he had taken the contrary resolution, and



stayed in or near Whitehall; yet the hazards or inconveniences which might very probably have attended that counsel, were too much in view for wise men to engage positively in the advice. Besides, the concert that had been made with the queen shut out all opposite consultations: and the king with a small court, after two days' stay at Theobalds, began his progress towards Newmarket; and sometimes resting a day in a place, he advanced by easy journeys northward.

He took the prince with him, the marquis likewise attending him; but left the duke of York still at Richmond, till he came to York: and then likewise he sent for his highness, who came thither to him: and the morning he left Theobalds he sent his answer to the two houses to their message they had sent to him thither. When the messengers who had presented the message to the king at Theobalds made their report to the houses of their reception there, and of what his majesty had said to them, in which they helped and assisted each other, so that there was not only every word he said related, but his manner of speaking and his looks described, which gave them infinite trouble, and much the more, because they saw joy and delight in the countenance of all those who they knew were not their friends, and a kind of dejection in many who used to concur with them; on the same day, or the next, they received an answer from his majesty to their last message, which took notice of every particular in it: answered all the reproaches they had cast upon him, and the unwarrantable manner in doing it; enlarged upon the large concessions he had granted upon their desires; and that all which the people could desire for their benefit and advantage was provided for by his grace, and that it would be acknowledged by them, if they had not fears and jealousies infused into their heads by them. He put them in mind of many indignities offered to him in the pulpits by seditious sermons, and by the press in publishing and printing those sermons, and many other scandalous pamphlets, and that all this found no discountenance from them. He said, he would deny nothing to them which by law they could require, and that the preservation of his own prerogative was necessary, that his subjects might enjoy the benefit of those laws; and after some sharp reflections upon some undutiful actions of theirs, and some unusual expressions in the addresses they had made to him, he concluded that, since they had appealed to the people, by printing all their unwarrantable votes and other proceedings, which they had no lawful authority to publish in that manner, his majesty was well contented that the people should judge between them, and discern who was most tender of their happiness, and most desired that it might be continued to them; and so ordered that his answer should be printed, as their message had been.

This new spirit in the king's actions, and steadiness in his proceedings, and his new dialect in his words and answers to them, so contrary to the softness they expected, infinitely discomposed them, and raised the spirits of others, who had sunk under their insolence. In the house of peers they found more opposition than of late they had done, and many in the house of commons recovered new mettle. Alderman Gourny, who was lord mayor of London, was a man of courage and

discretion, very well affected to the king, and to the government in church and state, and perfectly abhorred the proceedings of the parliament; gave not that obedience to the orders they expected; did all he could to discountenance and suppress the riotous assemblies in the city, and especially the insolencies committed in churches; and expressly refused to call common-halls, and sometimes common-councils, when the house of commons desired it, which was the only way they had to scatter their fire about the city; and the refractoriness of this lord mayor discouraged them much by making it evident, that it was only the rabble and inferior sort of the city which was in truth devoted to them. But they were now gone too far to retire with their honour, or indeed with their safety; and they easily discerned, that if their spirits seemed to sink, their friends would leave them as fast as they had resorted to them; and if they now appeared more moderate in their demands from the king, they should but censure and condemn their own former fervour and importunity, and therefore they made all haste to make it appear that they had no such temper and inclination. They made committees to prepare new messages to the king, and to prepare new declarations; and sent their agents into the country to stir up the people in those counties and places through which the king was to pass; so that, wherever he made any stay, he was sure to be encountered with a petition from the county, that is, in the name of it, or of some eminent town in it where he lodged, that he would return to his parliament; but at the very time appeared to be the work of a few factious people, by the repair of the best persons of quality and interest to his majesty with all professions of affections and duty to him. They declared more hardness and resolution than before for the settling the militia of the kingdom; and since the king had refused to consent to the bill they had sent to him, they appointed a committee to prepare an ordinance for the government and settling of it, which, being passed both houses, they voted had in it the authority of a law, and that all persons were bound to obey it. They had before the king's leaving Windsor, or about that time, sent to the king, that in regard of the sickness and indisposition of the earl of Northumberland, the high admiral of England, so that he could not be able in person to command the fleets which his majesty had ordered to be ready for the guard of the seas, they desired that the earl of Warwick might, with his majesty's approbation, have a commission to execute that charge, (the earl of Northumberland having refused to grant any such commission without the king's consent,) which they said would much compose the minds of the people, in a conjuncture of so much jealousy; and the king answered them, that in the absence of the admiral, sir John Pennington, a person of good experience in command, well known, and of a fair reputation, had used to have that command, which his majesty resolved he should execute that year. They now resolved that the earl of Warwick should be admiral of that fleet, by an ordinance of both houses, which the earl accepted, and undertook the charge accordingly; the admiral having put in some officers and commanders of ships who would be forward to obey all his commands; and the king unhappily restraining some who had good interest in the navy from



taking command then, though he permitted some others to go, who had less credit and reputation to serve him, though they were not without good affections. The king in his journey sent an answer from Huntingdon to some propositions they had sent to him, which contained not only a positive refusal of what they had desired, but making some sharp reflections upon somewhat they had said or done, put them into wonderful passion. They would not believe that it came from the king, but that it was forged in the town, for that it took notice of what had been done the night before, which could not be communicated to the king before the date of that despatch; and therefore they would make inquiry how it came to the speaker, to whom it had been delivered under the king's signet. The lord Falkland owning the having received it that morning from the king, and that he sent it by a messenger to the speaker, and putting them in mind that the matter they reflected upon as done the night before, had likewise been done three or four days before that, which, being manifest, they suppressed their choler as to the forgery, and took revenge upon the message itself, and voted, "that whosoever had advised the king to send that message, was a disaffected person, an enemy to the peace of the kingdom, and a promoter of the rebellion in Ireland;" which was a new style they took up upon that occasion, and continued afterwards in their most angry votes, to make those they liked not odious, and to make their punishment to pass with the more ease when they should be discovered. And now they tried all ways imaginable to find what new counsellors and secretary the king had found, who supplied him with so much resolution and bitterness; and though they made no doubt of the two new counsellors' concurrence in all, yet they did not impute the framing and forming the writing itself to either of them.

They had long detested and suspected Mr. Hyde, from the time of their first remonstrance, for framing the king's messages and answers, which they now every day received, to their intolerable vexation; yet knew not how to accuse him. But now that the earls of Essex and Holland had discovered his being shut up with the king at Greenwich, and the marquis of Hamilton had once before found him very early in private with the king at Windsor, at a time when the king thought all passages had been stopped; together with his being of late more absent from the house than he had used to be; and the resort of the other two every night to his lodging, as is mentioned before, satisfied them that he was the person; and they resolved to disenable him to manage that office long. Sir John Colepepper had as many eyes upon them as they had upon the other, and an equal animosity against them; and had familiarity and friendship with some persons, who from the second or third hand came to know many of the greatest designs, before they were brought upon the stage. For though they managed those councils with the greatest secrecy, and by few persons, which amounted to no more than pure designs in speculation; yet when any thing was to be transacted in public by the house, they were obliged, not only to prepare those of whom they were themselves confident, but to allow those confidants to communicate it to others in whom they confided: and so men, who did not

concur with them, came to know sometimes their intentions time enough to prevent the success they proposed to themselves.

And by this means, sir John Colepepper, meeting at night with the lord Falkland and Mr. Hyde, assured them, that it had been resolved that day to have seized upon all three, and sent them to the Tower: of which he having received notice as he was going to the house, returned to his lodging, not being able to give the same information to the other two; but that his own being absent prevented the mischief. For he knew it was resolved the night before, that, when the three were together in the house, somebody should move the house, "that they would apply themselves to make some strict inquiry after the persons who were most like to give the king the evil counsel he had lately followed, and who prepared those answers and messages they received from his majesty:" upon which, by one and another, those three persons should be named, and particular reasons given for their suspicion; and that they did not doubt, but, if their friends were well prepared beforehand, they should be able to cause them to be all sent to the Tower; and then they doubted not they should be able to keep them there. But it was then likewise agreed, that they would not make the attempt but at a time when they were all three in the house; upon hearing whereof, and finding that they two were there, he went back to his lodging; knowing that thereupon there would be nothing done.

Upon this communication, though they were all of opinion that the design was so extravagant, and exceeding all the rules of common justice, that they would not be able to procure the consent of the major part of the house in it, if there were any considerable number present; yet because very many usually absented themselves, and they were not governed by any rules which had been formerly observed, they thought fit to resolve, that one of them would be always present in the house, that they might know all that was done; but that they would never be there all together, and seldom two of them; and when they were, they would only hear, and speak no more than was of absolute necessity. For it was now grown a very difficult thing for a man who was in their disfavour to speak against what they proposed, but that they would find some exception to some word or expression; upon which, after he had been called upon to explain, he was obliged to withdraw; and then they had commonly a major part to send him to the Tower, or to expel him the house; or at least to oblige him to receive a reprehension at the bar upon his knees. And so they had used sir Ralph Hopton at that time; who excepting to some expression that was used in a declaration prepared by a committee, and presented to the house, which he said was dishonourable to the king, they said, it was a tax upon the committee; caused him to withdraw, and committed him to the Tower; which terrified many from speaking at all, and caused more to absent themselves from the house; where too small numbers appeared any day. These three gentlemen kept the resolution agreed upon, till they all found it necessary to forbear any further attendance upon the house.

About the end of April, which was in the year 1642, Mr. Hyde received a letter from the king,

wherein he required him, that, as soon as he could be spared from his business there, he should repair to his majesty at York, where he had occasion for his service: which when he had communicated to his two friends, they were all of opinion that it was necessary he should defer that journey for some time; there being every day great occasion of consulting together, and of sending despatches to the king. And it was a wonderful expedition that was then used between York and London, when gentlemen undertook the service, as enough were willing to do: insomuch, as when they despatched a letter on Saturday night, at that time of the year, about twelve at night, they received always the king's answer, Monday by ten of the clock in the morning. His majesty was content that he should stay as long as the necessity required; but that as soon as he might be dispensed with, he would expect him. And it was very happy that he did stay; for there was an occasion then fell out, in which his presence was very useful, [towards disposing the lord keeper Littleton to send the great seal to the king at York, and to resolve upon going thither himself as soon as possible to attend his majesty; which resolution being taken,] it was agreed between him and his two friends, that it was now time that he should be gone (the king having sent for him some time before) after a day or two; in which time the declaration of the nineteenth of May would be passed, which being very long, he might carry with him, and prepare the answer upon the way, or after he came to York.

It was upon a Wednesday that he resolved to begin his journey, having told the speaker, that ~~it~~ was very necessary, by the advice of his physician, that he should take the air of the country for his health; and his physician certified the same; which caution was necessary: for he had a week or two before made a journey into the country to his own house, and his absence being taken notice of, a messenger was immediately sent to him, to require him immediately to attend the house; upon which he found it necessary to return without delay; and was willing to prevent the like sudden inquiry, and so prepared the speaker to answer for him. He resolved with the lord Falkland to stay at a friend's house near Oxford, and little out of the road he meant to take for York, till he should hear of the keeper's motion, of which he promised to give him timely notice; not giving in the mean time any credit to his purpose of moving; but he was quickly convinced.

Much notice had been taken of Mr. Hyde's frequent resort to him, and of his being often shut up with him; and when he took his leave of him, the night before he left the town, the keeper was walking in his garden with Mr. Hollis and Mr. Glyn, who had, as they said, then observed, that as soon as the keeper's eyes were upon him, at his entrance into the garden, he had shewn some impatience to be free from them; and when they were gone, others took notice, (for there were many in the garden,) as they pretended, that, after they had walked some time together, they took their leave of each other in another manner than was usual; and which was not true. But he had not so good a name, as that any thing of that kind would not easily gain belief: so that Dr. Morley, (who is since bishop of Winchester,) being in

Westminster hall on the Monday morning, when the news came of the lord keeper's flight, a person of great authority in the parliament met him, and, with great passion inveighing against the keeper, told him, that they knew well enough that his friend Mr. Hyde had contrived that mischief, and brought it to pass; for which he would be that morning, or the next, accused of high treason; which the doctor (who was ever very much his friend) hearing, went presently to the lord Falkland, and told him of it, and desired to know where he was, that he might give him timely notice of it; knowing a gentleman, a very near friend of his, who would immediately ride to him. The lord Falkland was then writing to him, to inform him of the keeper's having made good his word, of which he had but then notice, and to advise him to prosecute his northern journey with all expedition; and desired the doctor, that he would send for the gentleman, whom he would presently direct where he should find Mr. Hyde; who did make so good haste, that he delivered the lord Falkland's letter to him early the same night.

He was then at Ditchley with the lady Lee, (since countess of Rochester,) and the person who brought the advertisement to him was John Ayliffe, whom he dearly loved. He no sooner received the advertisement, but he thought it time for him to be gone; and as he was utterly unacquainted with the way, having never been in the northern parts, and apprehended that there would be care taken to intercept him, if he went in any common road; there was with him at that time Mr. Chillingworth, whose company he had desired from Oxford, purposely for that occasion; and who was well acquainted with those ways which led almost as far as Yorkshire. They sent their horses that night to a village near Coventry, where Mr. Chillingworth's brother had a farm; and then in the morning they put themselves into the lady's coach; which, with six horses, carried them to that village, thirty miles from Ditchley; where, after they had a little refreshed themselves, they took their horses; and that night, out of all roads, reached Lutterworth, a village in Leicestershire; where Mr. Chillingworth had likewise a friend, who was parson of the parish, who received them kindly. And so by unusual ways they got through Derbyshire, until they came to Yorkshire; and then rested at Nostall, the house of sir John Worstenholme; who, though he and his family were at London, had given order for his very good reception; it having been before resolved, with his majesty's consent, that he should stay in some private place near York, till his majesty was informed of it, and till his affairs absolutely required his presence there; there being many reasons that he should be concealed in those parts as long as might be convenient. Nostall was within twenty miles of York; and from thence he gave his majesty notice of his being there, and sent him the answer that was prepared to the declaration of the two houses. And the king the next day sent Mr. Ashburnham to him, with the declaration of the twenty-sixth of May, and which was the highest they had yet published; and to which he wished an answer should be prepared as soon as possible it might be, that the poison thereof might not work too long upon the minds of the people. By this time many persons of quality from the several quarters of the

kingdom repaired to the king, and many gentlemen listed themselves with those of the country in the prince's troop, and usually attended upon his majesty when he rode abroad to take the air; and it was not possible but in such a number of men of all humours, many would discourse with freedom of the times, and of the proceedings of the parliament according to their tempers and passions; and there were spies enough to give quick advertisement to London of all that was said or done. Whereupon the houses sent messengers to apprehend some gentlemen, against whom they had received information of words spoken by them, which trench upon them and their actions, and to bring them before them; who appeared with the same confidence, even in the king's presence, as they could have done at Westminster, and shewed their warrants to the persons concerned, and required their submission; of which his majesty being informed, he forbade the gentlemen to yield any obedience to those summons, and sent for the messengers, and commanded them to depart the town, and to appear no more there on those errands at their utmost perils. The news of this protection, which his majesty knew well if he did not give, he should be quickly stripped of all his attendants, and that nobody should remain about him, but such who would betray him, was no sooner known, but persons of all conditions and from all places flocked to York, and many members of both houses of parliament left their attendance at Westminster, and repaired to his majesty, it being in truth not safe to continue longer there, they having now made their general, and solemnly engaged themselves to live and die with the earl of Essex; and shortly after sir Sydney Mountague was expelled the house of commons for refusing to take that engagement, and giving his reason, because, he said, he had a proclamation in his pocket by which the king had proclaimed the earl of Essex a traitor, and produced the proclamation, for which he was so treated as aforesaid. In the house of commons the members had publicly declared, and made subscriptions what horse and arms they would contribute or bring in to serve under the earl of Essex. It is true, though all the members were called upon by name to declare themselves, there was not yet any man punished for refusing; the case of sir Sydney Mountague fell out afterwards; and Harry Killigrew, of Cornwall, (a gallant gentleman, and generally known,) being asked in the house what he would subscribe, stood up and answered, that he would provide a good horse, and a good sword, and a good buffcoat, and then he would find a good cause; which, for that time, only raised laughter, though they knew well what cause he thought good, which he had never dissembled. However men easily discerned, that in a short time there could very few remain there, but of one party; and so very many repaired into their countries, there to expect what would follow; and very many resorted to the king, to offer him their service, and to receive his commands. Upon the return of the messengers to London, who were forbade by his majesty to come any more thither, after he forbade the gentlemen who had been sent for to obey the summons, the houses had a new reproach to cast upon the king, that he protected delinquents from justice; upon which they made new votes and declarations; and that

the spirits of their friends in those parts might not sink, they sent a committee of both houses to deliver one of their usual messages to his majesty, and ordered them to reside at York, or whosoever his majesty should be, for the more convenient representing their desires and propositions, which would otherwise require particular messengers every [time]; whereas that committee, residing still there, would receive his majesty's answers upon all occasions, and transmit them to the parliament.

The king well knew that the persons were chosen to be spies upon him, and to raise factions in the country against him; yet thought it not yet time to break off all correspondence with the parliament, and so to dismiss that committee. That committee consisted of the lord Edward Howard, who hath been mentioned before so fully that there needs no enlargement upon him in this place; the lord Fairfax, sir Hugh Cholmondely, and sir John Stapleton; the three last being gentlemen of that county; who, in a short time, had so great an influence upon that people, that they made it appear to the king that he was not so entirely possessed of the hearts and affections of that great county, as by the conflux of the chief gentry to him he was willing to believe: for at a general appearance of that country in a great field or moor near York, his majesty riding thither to receive the acclamations of the people, who, he was told, were ready to receive any commands from him, sir Thomas Fairfax, the son of the lord Fairfax, and the same man who was afterwards general for the parliament, with some few other gentlemen of less account, in the head of a great number of substantial country people, presented the king with a petition that he would return to his parliament, and not violate their privileges by giving protection to delinquents; taking notice that he had many papists who attended about him, and had listed themselves in his troops of guards, and some particulars of the like nature; which petition, delivered confidently, in such a manner and at such a time, much surprised the king; and though most of the persons of condition expressed a public dislike and disapprobation of the petition, and the number of the common people, who knew nothing of it, was much superior to the other, which appeared many ways, and in particular by the affronts which were given to many of those who appeared with the petition; yet it made a great noise, and gave the parliament new courage, and persuaded them that they had many friends in that place, where it was believed that the king had most.

As soon as it was taken notice of in the parliament that Mr. Hyde was absent, inquiry was made what was become of him, and a motion made in the house, that he might be sent for. The speaker said, that he had acquainted him with his going into the country to recover his indisposition, which troubled him, by fresh air; and that Dr. Winston his physician was with him, and informed him that he was troubled with the stone; and that his having sat so much in the house in that very hot weather had done him much harm, and therefore that he had advised him to refresh himself in the country air; with which testimony they were for the present satisfied; though Mr. Peard said confidently, "that he was troubled with no other stone than the stone in his heart,

"and therefore he would have him sent for where ever he was; for he was most confident that he "was doing them mischief wherever he was." But he prevailed not, till their committee from York sent them word that he was come thither, and almost always with the king. It is said before, that he stayed at Nostall, at the house of sir John Worstenholme, from whence he sent every day to the king, and received his majesty's commands; and he intended to have stayed longer there, where he could better intend and despatch any business he was to do; and he was willing for some time not to be seen at York, which he knew would quickly be taken notice of at Westminster.

When he came first thither, he found that the king was not satisfied with the lord keeper, which gave him much trouble; his majesty having sent him word, that he did not like his humours, nor know what to make of him. Mr. Elliot, who had brought the seal to the king, to magnify his own service, and not imagining that the keeper intended to follow him, had told many stories; as if the keeper had refused to deliver the seal, and that he got it by force, by having locked the door upon him, and threatened to kill him, if he would not give it to him, which, upon such his manhood, he did for pure fear consent unto. And this tale got so much credit with the king, that he hardly disbelieved it when he came himself; though it was in the nature of it very improbable, that a single man, from another man as strong as himself, (who was attended by many servants in the next room,) should suffer the door to be shut upon him, and suffer that to be extorted from him which he had no mind to part with; and suffer him to go out of his house, when there were persons enough in every room to have laid hands upon him, and to have taken that again by force, which he had ravished away. Besides that, his majesty knew he expected to be sent for at that time; and that if he had repented the promise he had made, and resolved not to perform it, he could have found several ways to have evaded it; and refused to have admitted Mr. Elliot to speak with him: but the prejudice his majesty had before contracted against him, and the great confidence Elliot had in the relation, which was natural in him, had shut out all those reflections. Yet when his majesty saw him, he received him graciously; and caused him to be lodged in the court, in a room very near his majesty; which many believed to be rather out of jealousy and care that he should not again return, than out of respect to him; his majesty keeping still the seal himself, and not restoring it to his custody; which could not but make some impression on him, and more on others, who from thence concluded that he would have no more to do with the seal; and carried themselves towards him accordingly.

The lords who were come from the house of peers, and had been offended at his behaviour there, gave him little respect now; but rather gave credit to Mr. Elliot's relation; and were forward to make relation of his carriage in the house to his disadvantage, to the king himself; so that it was no wonder that the poor gentleman grew very melancholic. And when he was sent for to attend the king, (who was himself present when the great seal was to be used, nor did ever

suffer it to be used but in the presence of the keeper, who signed all things, as he ought to do by his office,) when any proclamation of treason, as that against the earl of Essex, or against the proceedings of the houses, as in the business of the militia, or the like, was brought to be sealed, he used all delays; and made many exceptions, and found faults in matters of form, and otherwise, sometimes very reasonably; yet in such a manner as made it evident he retained many fears about him, as if he was not without apprehension that he might fall again into their hands; which was the cause that the king had said, that he knew not what to make of him.

Mr. Hyde, as soon as he heard this, wrote a letter to the king, and put him in mind of all that had formerly passed in that affair; how absolutely the keeper had destroyed himself in the account of the parliament, by paying that obedience which he ought to do to his majesty's commands; and that if he should be deprived of his majesty's favour, he must be of all men the most miserable; and that himself should be most unfortunate, in having contributed so much to his ruin; which would call his majesty's good nature, and even his justice into question; and therefore besought him to be gracious to him, and to keep up his spirits with his countenance. However, he made it his own humble suit to his majesty, that he would not take any severe resolution against him, before he gave him leave to kiss his hand, and to offer him some further considerations. Upon the receipt of this letter, the king sent him word, that he would gratify him in the last part of his letter, and conclude nothing before he spake with him: in the mean time he wished him to send the keeper some good counsel; and that as soon as he should have despatched some business he had then upon his hands, that he would come to York, where he would find much to do; and that he thought now there would be less reason every day for his being concealed. And within four or five days after, his majesty sent Mr. Ashburnham to him, to let him know, that he had every day so much to do with the keeper, and found him so refractory and obstinate, that he should not be able to keep the promise he had made to him, if he did not make haste to York; and therefore bade him to be with him with all convenience: whereupon, within two days after, for he had somewhat to despatch that required haste, and sooner than he intended, he waited upon his majesty at York.

It was about a day or two after the appearance of the people of the country, when sir Thomas Fairfax had delivered the petition, mentioned before, that Mr. Hyde came to York, and when he came to the court, being about four of the clock in the afternoon, the king was at council, upon the publishing his answer to the declaration of the twenty-sixth of May; which, though it contained eight or nine sheets of paper, he brought to the board in his own hand writing; having kept the promise he had made at Greenwich to that hour, in writing out all the papers himself, which had been sent to him; which had been a wonderful task he had imposed on himself: so that he always spent more than half the day shut up by himself in his chamber, writing; which was most of the news the houses heard of him at London; and which perplexed them very much.

Mr. Hyde was in the gallery when the king came from council; and as soon as he saw him, he bade him welcome to York very graciously; and asked some questions aloud of him, as if he thought he had then come from London; and then called him into the garden, where he walked with him above an hour. He said at the beginning, "that they needed not now be afraid of 'being seen together,'" then used all the expressions of kindness to him that can be imagined, of the service he had done him, and of the great benefit he had received from it, even to the turning the hearts of the whole nation towards him again, and of his gracious resolutions of rewarding him with the first opportunity; and many expressions of that kind, which the other received with the modesty and reverence that became him. Then his majesty spake of his business, and the temper of that country; and quickly entered upon finding fault with the keeper, and protested, if it were not for his sake, he would turn him out of his place that very hour; and enlarged upon many particulars of his obstinacy, and of his want of courage, to such a degree, as if he did really apprehend that the gentleman usher of the black rod would come and take him out of his chamber.

Mr. Hyde told him, that he would discourage many good men, who desired to serve him very faithfully, if he were too severe for such faults, as the infirmities of their nature and defects in their education exposed them to: that if the keeper, from those impressions, had committed some faults which might provoke his majesty's displeasure, he had redeemed those errors by a signal service, which might well wipe out the memory of the other. The king said with some warmth, "that he was so far from another opinion, that 'he would hate himself, if he did not believe that 'he had made a full expiation; and though he 'did think that he had been wrought upon by 'him to perform that part, yet he thought the merit of it far above any of his transgressions; and that he was disposed, from the first minute of his coming to York, to have renewed his old kindness to him, and confidence in him; and 'would willingly have given the seal again into 'his hands, if he had found he had desired it; 'but that he found no serenity in his countenance, nor any inclination to do what necessity required: and whereas the parliament took 'advantage, that none of his majesty's acts, 'which he had caused to be published, were 'authentic, nor ought to be looked upon as his, 'because the great seal had not been affixed to them, which could not be done whilst the great seal was at Westminster; now he had the seal 'by him, and sent proclamations to be sealed, 'the keeper was still as unwilling that they 'should pass, as if he was still under their 'power; which made him angry, and nothing 'that he had done before.'"

Mr. Hyde replied, that "the poor gentleman 'could not but think himself disobliged to the 'highest extremity, in the presumption of Mr. 'Elliot; and that his extravagant and insolent 'discourses should find credit, without his majesty's reprehension and vindication, who knew 'the falsehood of them." And so put his majesty in mind of all that had passed; and of the other circumstances, which made all the other's brags impossible to be true. For his fears and

apprehensions, he besought his majesty to remember, that "he had newly escaped out of that 'region where the thunder and lightning is 'made; and that he could hardly yet recover the 'fright he had been often in, and seen so many 'others in; and that his majesty need not distrust him; he had passed the Rubicon, and 'had no hope but in his majesty." His majesty concluded, that he should be sure to receive all necessary countenance and protection from him; of which he bade him to assure him, and presently to visit him; which going to do, he met him in the garden, and they there walked together.

He found him full of apprehension that he should be put out of his place, and of the ruin and contempt that he should be then exposed to, which he had brought upon himself; but when the other answered him, that there was no danger of that, and told him all that had passed between the king and him; and that if he would, he might have the seal in his own custody again within an hour, he was exceedingly revived, and desired him to entreat the king to keep the great seal still himself; that he would by no means be answerable for the safety of it, nor would trust any servant of his own to look to it; which, as it was wisely considered and resolved by him, so it increased the king's confidence in him; who would have been troubled if the other had accepted the grace that was offered. And from that time, when any thing was to be done that administered any argument for doubt, Mr. Hyde always prepared him by discourse; so that there was never after any unkindness from the king towards him: but the vigour of his mind grew every day less, under a great melancholy that oppressed him, from the consideration of the time, and of his own ill condition in his fortune; which was much worse than any body imagined it could be.

Before he went out of the garden, the lord Howard, sir Hugh Cholmely, and sir Philip Stapleton, (who were the committee from the parliament,) had intelligence that he was walking in the garden with the king; whereupon they came presently thither, and after they had saluted him with much civility, they shewed him an instruction they had from the parliament; by which they were required, if any member of either house came to York, they should let them know, that it was the pleasure of the house that they should immediately attend the house, and signify to them what answer they made; and so they desired he would excuse them for doing their duty. He told them, he was but just then come thither, in obedience to his majesty's commands, and knew not yet what service he was to do; but that as soon as his majesty would give him leave, he would return to the parliament.

There happened an accident, at Mr. Hyde's first coming to York, which he used often to speak of, and to be very merry at. One of the king's servants had provided a lodging for him, so that when he alighted at the court, he sent his servants thither, and stayed himself at the court till after supper, and till the king went into his chamber; and then he had a guide, who went with him, and conducted him to his chamber; which he liked very well, and began to undress himself. One of his servants wished that he had any other lodging, and desired him not to lie

there: he asked why, it seemed to him a good chamber: his servant answered, that the chamber was good, but the people of the house the worst he ever saw, and such as he was confident would do him some mischief: at which wondering, his servant told him, that the persons of the house seemed to be of some condition by their habit that was very good; and that the servants, when they came thither, found the master and mistress in the lower room, who received them civilly, and shewed them the chamber where their master was to lodge, and wished them to call for any thing they wanted, and so left them: that shortly after, one of them went down, and the mistress of the house being again in the lower room, where it seems she usually sat, she asked him what his master's name was, which he told her: what, said she, that Hyde that is of the house of commons? and he answering yes, she gave a great shriek, and cried out, that he should not lodge in her house; cursing him with many bitter execrations. Upon the noise, her husband came in; and when she told him who it was that was to lodge in the chamber above, he swore a great oath that he should not; and that he would rather set his house on fire, than entertain him in it. The servant stood amazed, knowing that his master had never been in or near that city, and desired to know what offence he had committed against them; he told them, he was confident his master did not know them, nor could be known to them. The man answered, after two or three curses, that he knew him well enough, and that he had undone him, and his wife, and his children; and so, after repeating some new bitter curses, he concluded, that he would set his house on fire, as soon as the other should set his foot in it; and so he and his wife went away in a great rage into an inner room, and clapped the door to them.

When his servant had made this relation to him, he was no less surprised; knew not what to make of it; asked whether the people were drunk; was assured that they were very sober, and appeared before this passion to be well bred. He sent to desire the master of the house to come to him, that they might confer together; and that he would immediately depart his house, if he desired it. He received no answer, but that he and his wife were gone to bed: upon which he said no more, but that, if they were gone to bed, he would go to bed too; and did accordingly. Though he was not disturbed in the night, the morning was not at all calmer; the master and the mistress stormed as much as ever, and would not be persuaded to speak with him; but he then understood the reason: the man of the house had been an attorney in the court of the president and council of the north, in great reputation and practice there; and thereby got a very good livelihood; with which he had lived in splendour; and Mr. Hyde had sat in the chair of that committee, and had carried up the votes of the commons against that court, to the house of peers; upon which it was dissolved: which he confessed was a better reason for being angry with him than many others had, who were as angry, and persecuted him more. However, he thought himself obliged to remove the eyesore from them, and to quit the lodging that had been assigned to him; and he was much better accommodated by

the kindness of a good prebendary of the church, Dr. Hodshon, who sent to invite him to lodge in his house, as soon as he heard he was come to town; where he resided as long as the court stayed there.

There was now a great conflux of the members of both houses of parliament to York; inasmuch as there remained not in the house of commons above a fifth part of the whole number; and of the house of peers so few, that there continued not at Westminster twenty lords. Yet they proceeded with the same spirit and presumption, as when their numbers were full; published new declarations against the king; raised soldiers for their army apace; and executed their ordinance for the militia in all the counties of England, the northern parts only excepted; forbade all persons to resort to the king; and intercepted many in their journey towards York, and committed them to prison: notwithstanding which, many persons of quality every day flocked thither; and it was no longer safe for those members to stay in the houses of parliament, who resolved not to concur with them in their unwarrantable designs; and therefore the lord Falkland and sir John Colepepper shortly after repaired likewise to York. The houses quickly found the reproach of their small numbers was some discredit to their transactions, and therefore renewed their summons to their absent members to return; and, when they saw no obedience given to those summons, they expelled those members of the house of commons who were with the king, and gave order that new writs should issue out for the electing new members in their places; but the king prevented that by giving order to the lord keeper not to seal any writs which should be prepared and sent to him for any new elections. Upon some information against the lord Savile, for some expressions he had used against the parliament, when the petition that is mentioned before was presented by sir Thomas Fairfax, that lord and eight more were summoned by an order from the house of peers, and required to attend that house. Upon which they making a joint answer, that they had received an express order to attend upon his majesty's person, the house of commons, taking notice of this answer, in a new and unheard-of way carried up a charge and impeachment to the house of peers against those nine lords for not attending the service of the parliament; and the house of peers thereupon, with all formality, and in their robes, passed a sentence and judgment upon those nine, (the number of the judges not much exceeding that number,) that they should be fined, and disabled to sit in parliament during the time that parliament should continue; which was looked upon as an act without any foundation of law or precedent, and was slighted accordingly by those who were most immediately concerned in it.

The noise of the king's journey to Beverley made a great impression upon the parliament; where, how great a concurrence soever there was, in those unwarrantable actions which begot the war, yet a small number of those who voted both the raising the army and making the general, did in truth intend, or believe, that there would be a war: and therefore, when they looked upon it as begun in this march of the king's to Hull, (for they considered their own actions as done only to prevent a war, by making the king unable to

make it, who as they thought only desired it,) they moved presently for some overtures of an accommodation: which that angry party that resolved against it, never durst absolutely reject; but consenting cheerfully to it, got thereby authority to insert such things in the address, as must inevitably render it ineffectual. So at this time they sent the earl of Holland, a person whom at that time they knew to be most unacceptable to the king, with two members of the house of commons, who came to Beverley the day the king arrived there. The subject of their message was, after several specious expressions and professions of their duty, to dissuade his majesty from making war against his parliament, by proceeding in his enterprise against Hull, which the parliament was obliged to defend. And all the expedient they proposed for the avoiding this war was, that he would consent to the nineteen propositions, which they had formerly made to him at York, and to which he had long since returned his answer; and both the one and the other were printed.

These nineteen propositions, which contained the disinherison of the crown of all its choice regalities, and left only the shadow and empty name of the king, had been framed by the houses after Mr. Hyde left London. And because he had so much work then upon his hands, as they believed he would not be able to despatch soon enough, the lord Falkland and sir John Colepepper undertook to prepare an answer to them themselves; and so divided the propositions between them; and in a short time so finished their answer, that they sent it to the king, and desired that Mr. Hyde might peruse it, and then cause it to be published and printed. The answer was full to all particulars, and writ with very much wit and sharpness; but there were some expressions in it, which he liked not, as prejudicial to the king, and in truth a mistake in point of right, in that part which had been prepared by sir John Colepepper; who had taken it up upon credit, and, without weighing the consequence, did really believe that it had been true; which was, that in the discourse of the constitution of the kingdom, he had declared, that the king, and the *house of peers*, and the *house of commons* made the *three estates*: and for this reason Mr. Hyde did not advance the printing it; and told the king, that all the particulars in those propositions had been enough answered in former answers to other declarations, (which was true,) and therefore that this needed not be published: with which his majesty was satisfied, without knowing the particular true reason; which he thought not fit to communicate, for both the persons' sakes, of whose affection for the church (which was principally concerned in that mistake, since in truth the *bishops* make the *third estate*, the king being the head and sovereign of the whole) his majesty was always jealous.

But they no sooner came to York, than they appeared much unsatisfied, that that answer was not printed; and the lord Falkland finding it remained still in Mr. Hyde's hands, he expostulated warmly with him of the reasons; and in some passion said, "he therefore disliked it, because "he had not writ it himself." Upon which, without saying more, than that "he never expected so unkind a reproach from him," he delivered the written copy to him, and he imme-

diately procured the king's consent, and sent it to the press that night, with order to lose no time in the impression. Of which the king was afterwards very sensible; and that excellent lord, who intended not the least unkindness, (nor did it produce the least interruption in their friendship,) was likewise much troubled when he knew the reason; and imputed it to his own inadvertency, and to the infusion of some lawyers, who had misled sir John Colepepper; and to the declarations which many of the prelatical clergy frequently and ignorantly made, that the bishops did not sit in parliament as the representatives of the clergy, and so could not be the *third estate*.

It happened that the day the earl of Holland came to Beverley, Mr. Hyde had been riding abroad; and returning to Beverley, happened to be in the same road, when the earl of Holland and his company prosecuted their journey to the king: when meeting together, there passed the usual salutations which are between persons well known to each other. "He hoped," the earl said, "that he should be welcome to all honest "men at the court, because he came to invite the "king to return to his parliament, and to abolish "all jealousies between them." The other answered, "he would be very welcome indeed, if "he brought proper expedients to produce either "of those effects; but then his errand must be "of another composition than what the king understood it to be." Upon which they entered upon a warmer discourse than it may be either of them intended; and as the earl spake in another style than he had used to do, of the power and authority of the parliament, and how much they were superior to any opposition or contradiction; so the other in the debate was less reserved, and kept a less guard upon himself than he used to do; so that they seemed nothing pleased with each other: nor did Mr. Hyde visit him after his coming to Beverley, because he was informed that the earl had, to many persons who resorted to him, repeated with some liberty and sharpness, what had passed between them; and not without some menaces what the parliament would do. And as soon as he did return, there was a new vote passed by name against him, and two or three more, by which he was exempted from pardon, in any accommodation that should be made between the king and parliament.

Mr. Hyde had been absent four or five days from the court, and came into the presence when the king was washing his hands before dinner; and as soon as the king saw him, he asked him aloud, "Ned Hyde, when did you play with my "band-strings last?" upon which he was exceedingly out of countenance, not imagining the cause of the question, and the room being full of gentlemen, who appeared to be merry with what the king had asked. But his majesty observing him to be in disorder, and to blush very much, said pleasantly, "Be not troubled at it, for I have "worn no band-strings these twenty years:" and then asked him whether he had not seen the diurnal; of which he had not heard till then; but shortly after, some of the standers-by shewed him a diurnal, in which there was a letter of intelligence printed, where it was said, that Ned Hyde was grown so familiar with the king, that he used to play with his band-strings. Which was a method of calumniating they began then, and



shortly after prosecuted and exercised upon much greater persons.

In the afternoon the earl of Holland came to deliver his message with great formality; whom the king received with much coldness and manifestation of neglect: and when the earl approached, and kneeled to kiss his hand, he turned, or withdrew his hand in such a manner, that the earl kissed his own. When the message was read, the king said little more, than that they should not stay long for an answer; and so went to his chamber. The earl was not without many friends there; and some of them moved the king, that he would give him leave to say somewhat to him in private, which they believed would be very much for his service; but his majesty would by no means yield to it. By this time his majesty had notice of the governor's irresolution at Hull; and so was glad of this opportunity to have a fair excuse for making no attempt upon that place: and sent the next day for the earl of Holland to receive his answer; which being read aloud in the king's presence, and a full room, by the clerk of the council, was very grateful to the auditors, who feared some condescension in the king, though very mortifying to the earl. For besides that it was thought very sharp towards the houses, it declared his brother, the earl of Warwick, a traitor, for possessing himself of the king's fleet against his consent; and concluded, that he would forbear any attempt upon Hull for fourteen days; in which time, if the parliament would enter into a treaty for a happy peace, they should find him very well inclined to it; after the expiration of that time, he should pursue those ways which he thought fit. In the mean time, he made a short progress into the adjacent counties of Nottingham and Leicester, to see what countenance they wore, and to encourage those who appeared to have good affections to his service: and then returning to Beverley within the limited time, and hearing no more from the parliament, or any thing from Hull that he expected, he returned again to York, as hath been said before.

Mr. Hyde was wont often to relate a passage in that melancholic time, when the standard was set up at Nottingham, with which he was much affected. Sir Edmund Varney, knight-marshal, who was mentioned before as standard-bearer, with whom he had great familiarity, who was a man of great courage, and generally beloved, came one day to him, and told him, "he was very glad to see him, in so universal a damp, under which the spirits of most men were oppressed, retain still his natural vivacity and cheerfulness; that he knew that the condition of the king, and the power of the parliament, was not better known to any man than to him; and therefore he hoped that he was able to administer some comfort to his friends, that might raise their spirits, as well as it supported his own." He answered, "that he was, in truth, beholden to his constitution, which did not incline him to despair; otherwise, that he had no pleasant prospect before him, but thought as ill of affairs as most men did; that the other was as far from being melancholic as he, and was known to be a man of great courage, (as indeed he was of a very cheerful and a generous nature, and consequently valiant,) and that they could not do the king better service, than by making it their

"business to raise the dejected minds of men, and root out those apprehensions which disturbed them, of fear and despair, which could do no good, and did really much mischief."

He replied smiling, "I will willingly join with you the best I can, but I shall act it very scurvily. My condition," said he, "is much worse than yours, and different, I believe, from any other man's; and will very well justify the melancholic that, I confess to you, possesses me. You have satisfaction in your conscience that you are in the right; that the king ought not to grant what is required of him; and so you do your duty and your business together: but for my part, I do not like the quarrel, and do heartily wish that the king would yield and consent to what they desire; so that my conscience is only concerned in honour and in gratitude to follow my master. I have eaten his bread, and served him near thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to forsake him; and choose rather to lose my life (which I am sure I shall do) to preserve and defend those things which are against my conscience to preserve and defend: for I will deal freely with you, I have no reverence for the bishops, for whom this quarrel [subsists]." It was not a time to dispute; and his affection to the church had never been suspected. He was as good as his word; and was killed, in the battle of Edgehill, within two months after this discourse. And if those who had the same and greater obligations, had observed the same rules of gratitude and generosity, whatever their other affections had been, that battle had never been fought, nor any of that mischief been brought to pass that succeeded it.

After the king came to Oxford with his army, his majesty one day speaking with the lord Falkland very graciously concerning Mr. Hyde, said he had such a peculiar style, that he could know any thing written by him, if it were brought to him by a stranger, amongst a multitude of writings by other men. The lord Falkland answered, he doubted his majesty could hardly do that, because he himself, who had so long conversation and friendship with him, was often deceived; and often met with things written by him, of which he could never have suspected him, upon the variety of arguments. To which the king replied, he would lay him an angel, that, let the argument be what it would, he should never bring him a sheet of paper (for he would not undertake to judge of less) of his writing, but he would discover it to be his. The lord Falkland told him it should be a wager; but neither the one nor the other ever mentioned it to Mr. Hyde. Some days after, the lord Falkland brought several packets, which he had then received from London, to the king, before he had opened them, as he used to do: and after he had read his several letters of intelligence, he took out the prints of diurnals, and speeches, and the like, which were every day printed at London, and as constantly sent to Oxford: and amongst the rest there were two speeches, the one made by the lord Pembroke for an accommodation, and the other by the lord Brooke against it; and for the carrying on the war with more vigour, and utterly to root out the cavaliers, which were the king's party.

The king was very much pleased with reading



the speeches, and said, he did not think that Pembroke could speak so long together; though every word he said was so much his own, that nobody else could make it. And so after he had pleased himself with reading the speeches over again, and then passed to other papers, the lord Falkland whispered in his ear, (for there were other persons by,) desiring him he would pay him the angel; which his majesty in the instant apprehending, blushed, and put his hand in his pocket, and gave him an angel, saying, he had never paid a wager more willingly; and was very merry upon it, and would often call upon Mr. Hyde for a speech, or a letter, which he very often prepared upon several occasions; and the king always commanded them to be printed. And he was often wont to say, many years after, that he would be very glad he could make a collection of all those papers, which he had written occasionally at that time; which he could never do, though he got many of them.

There was at that time a pleasant story upon those speeches. The lord Brooke had met with them in print, and heard that he was much reproached for so unchristian a speech against peace, though the language was such as he used in all opportunities: whereupon one morning in the house of peers, and before the house sat, he came to the earl of Portland, (who yet remained there with the king's approbation, and knew well enough from whence the speeches came, having himself caused them to be printed,) and shewing them to him, desired he would move the house, that that speech might, by their order, be burned by the hand of the hangman; by which means the kingdom would be informed, that it had never been spoken by him. The earl said, he would willingly do him the service; but he observed, that the speeches were printed in that manner, that where the earl of Pembroke's speech ended on the one side of the leaf, his (the lord Brooke's) speech began on the other side, so that one could not be burned, without burning the other too; which he knew not how the earl of Pembroke would like; and therefore he durst not move it without his consent. Whereupon they both went to the earl, who was then likewise in the house; and Portland told him what the lord Brooke desired, and asked him whether he wished it should be done. He, who heard he was very well spoken of, for having spoke so honestly for peace, said, he did not desire it. Upon which Brooke, in great anger, asked, if he had ever made that speech; he was very sure he had never made the other; and the other with equal choler replied, that he was always for peace; and though he could not say he had spoken all those things together, he was sure he had spoken them all at several times; and that he knew as well, that he had always been against peace, and had often used all those expressions which were in the speech, though, it may be, not all together. Upon which they entered into a high combat of reproachful words against each other, to the no small delight of the earl, who had brought them together, and of the rest of the standers-by; though upon the king's advance from Colebrooke, and the imagination that he purposed to have brought his army to London, both the parliament and the city was so far provoked, that they laid aside all thoughts of treaty; and upon his retreat, the

view of the number and ill condition of his army, the furious party was much exalted, and thought of nothing but of forming new armies, which might subdue the other parts of the kingdom; yet when they had better collected themselves, the principal persons of the parliament, and those of the city, who had formerly very importunately pressed the message to the king for a treaty, returned to the same temper. The parliament was full of faction, and they who had concurred too much in the entering into the war, were now most solicitous to get out of it; they said the expense was already unsupportable; their army was wasted, so that they were upon the matter to begin again. They had spent very much of the money which had been raised for Ireland, and employed great numbers of those soldiers which were levied for that kingdom, which did not only redound to the great hazard of losing that kingdom, but would exceedingly turn to their reproach with the people of England, as soon as it should be taken notice of, and it could not be long concealed. They foresaw likewise that the vast sum of money, which must be got for the carrying on the war, must all be raised out of the city, which appeared discontented enough. There was likewise no union in the army; many officers gave up their commissions; and those who were members of both houses, and had carried regiments and troops into the field, were weary of the service, and disengaged themselves, and gave up their commands; so that the motions were again renewed for sending to the king for a peace: and at last a message was sent to the king, that he would send a safe conduct for four lords and eight commoners to attend his majesty with an humble petition from both houses, which they hoped might produce a good accommodation; which safe conduct was immediately granted, with which the messenger returned; and within few days after, the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Holland, together with Pierrepont, lord Wenman, Whitlocke, Waller, and other members of the house of commons, came to Oxford with a petition to the king; which contained no more than a desire from the parliament, in terms more modest than they had been accustomed to, that his majesty would permit them to send a committee of both houses to attend him, that they might treat about a happy peace, and, in the first place, of a cessation of all acts of hostility. There was a pleasant observation at that time, which made the artifices appear by which they imposed upon their friends at London. The people there did generally believe that the king, and the little army he had with him, were in so great straits for want of provision in Oxford, that they were compelled to eat horseflesh; and that they would in a short time be forced to return to the parliament, that they might avoid the being starved; and either to keep up this imagination, or that they did themselves believe the scarcity to be very great, these commissioners brought with them a great quantity of provisions, even of bread and beer, as well as of beef and mutton and fowl, sufficient to feed the whole company that came with them, during such time as they believed they should stay there; of which they were ashamed as soon as they entered Oxford, and saw the great plenty in the markets, not only of the usual common fare, but of those choice fowl, of pheasants, partridge, cocks, snipes,

in that abundance, as they were not so well furnished in London; besides the best fish and wild fowl, which was brought in every day, from the western part, in such plenty, that it can hardly be imagined. So that they were quickly converted from giving credit to that rumour, and it may be by it judged the better of the want of integrity in many other reports. The commissioners, after three or four days, returned with a gracious answer from the king, and with a safe conduct for such persons as the two houses should send to treat with the king; and men began to entertain good hope of a peace, and fair accommodation of all differences.

It may not be unfit in this place, for the better understanding the unhappy temper of the court and of the king's affairs, to remember, that, as soon as the commissioners were gone out of the town, there appeared a general indisposition in court, in army, and amongst the persons of quality which filled the town, to the peace, and a wonderful apprehension that it would be brought to pass, and therefore there were many cabals and meetings to consult how the treaty might be prevented, or at least made ineffectual. Though the king was in pleasant and plentiful quarters, where he wanted no provision of victuals, and out of which (for he was possessed of most of the countries between Oxford and Chester, and of the greatest part of Wales) he might reasonably hope to recruit his army; yet there was no hope of procuring money to pay them; and though the soldiers yet behaved themselves modestly in their quarters, so that there were no complaints, it could not be imagined that the country would long endure free-quarters, and submit likewise to pay contributions in money, which was assigned to the horse. The battle of Edge-hill, and the supplying the few garrisons which were made with very slender proportions of ammunition, had already so exhausted the stores, that there were not left at this time in Oxford above forty barrels of powder, and match and bullet proportionable; and though there was set up there a mill to make powder, newly erected, yet the undertakers in it would not promise to provide above twenty barrels in a week, which could produce no provision suitable to the necessity. It is true there was a reasonable supply of arms and ammunition arrived at Newcastle, the only port in the king's obedience; but, besides the great use there was to be of it in those parts, where the earl of Newcastle had been left to raise an army, and had now Yorkshire added to his commission, which stood in great need of his protection, the distance was so great between that and Oxford, that there was little hope of getting any of it with a less convoy than an army. Above all this, it was apparent to all men, who could discern at any distance, that the good humour of the lords and persons of quality, which kept up the humour every where else, would decay, and turn into murmuring and discontent, as soon as that money should be spent which they had brought with them from London, and which alone had made some show of plenty in the court; and therefore it was looked upon by wise men as a judgment from Heaven, that now, when that seemed to be in view which men of all conditions had prayed for since the setting up the standard at Nottingham, there should be even a conspiracy amongst those very persons to drive that blessing

from them. And it was the more wonderful, that even the king himself was not without apprehension that he might suffer by making peace, and countenanced those who spake most against it, and laboured to prevent it; of which there will be occasion anon to speak more at large, and in that place to mention the true reason which produced that aversion. At this time there was a change in Mr. Hyde's fortune, by a preferment the king conferred upon him. Every body knew that he was trusted by the king in his most secret transactions; but he was under no character in his service. When the commissioners who were sent for the safe-conduct came to Oxford, some who came in their company, amongst other matters of intelligence, brought the king a letter of his own to the queen, printed, that had been intercepted, and printed by the license, if not order, of the parliament. In this letter, of the safe conveyance whereof his majesty had no apprehension, the king had lamented the uneasiness of his own condition, in respect of the daily importunity which was made to him by the lords and others, for honours, offices, and preferments; and named several lords, who were solicitous by themselves, or their friends, for this and that place; in all which he desired to receive the queen's advice, being resolved to do nothing with reference to those pretences, till he should receive it. But he said there were some places which he must dispose of without staying for her answer, the necessity of his service requiring it; which were the mastership of the wards; applications being still made to the lord Say in those affairs, and so that revenue was diverted from him: and therefore, as he had revoked his patent, so he was resolved to make secretary Nicholas master of the wards; "and then," (these were his majesty's own words,) "I must make Ned Hyde secretary of state, for the truth is, I can trust nobody else." Which was a very envious expression, and extended by the ill interpretation of some men, to a more general comprehension than could be intended. This was quickly made public, for there were several prints of it in many hands; and some men had reason to be troubled to find their names mentioned in that manner, and others were glad that theirs were there, as having the pretence to pursue their importunities the more vehemently, being, as the phrase was, brought upon the stage, and should suffer much in their honour, if they should be now rejected; which kind of argumentation was very unagreeable and grievous to the king.

One morning, when the king was walking in the garden, as he used to do, Mr. Hyde being then in his view, his majesty called him, and discoursed of the trouble he was in at the intercepting that letter; and finding by his countenance that he understood not the meaning, he asked him, "whether he had not heard a letter of his, which he writ to the queen, had been intercepted and printed." And he answering, "that he had not heard of it," as in truth he had not, the king gave him the printed letter to read, and then said, that "he wished it were as much in his power to make every body else amends as he could him; for," he said, "he was resolved that afternoon to swear him secretary of state, in the place of Nicholas, whom he would likewise then make master of the wards." Mr.

Hyde told him, "he was indeed much surprised with the sight of the letter; which he wished had not been communicated in that manner: but he was much more surprised to find his own name in it, and his majesty's resolution upon it, which he besought him to change; for as he never had the ambition to hope or wish for that place, so he knew he was very unfit for it, and unable to discharge it." To which the king with a little anger replied, that "he did the greatest part of the business now;" and he answered, that "what he did now would be no part of the business, if the rebellion were ended; and that his unskilfulness in languages, and his not understanding foreign affairs, rendered him very incapable of that trust." The king said, "he would learn as much as was necessary of that kind very quickly." He continued his desire, that his majesty would lay aside that thought; and said, "that he had great friendship for secretary Nicholas, who would be undone by the change; for he would find that his majesty would receive very little, and he nothing, by that office, till the troubles were composed." The king said, "Nicholas was an honest man, and that his change was by his desire;" and bade him speak with him of it; which he went presently to do, leaving his majesty unsatisfied with the scruples he had made.

When he came to the secretary's lodging, he found him with a cheerful countenance, and embracing him, called him his son. Mr. Hyde answered him, that "it was not the part of a good son to undo his father, or to become his son to whom he might undo him;" and so they entered upon the discourse; the one telling him what the king had resolved, and how grateful the resolution was to him; and the other informing him of the conference he had then had with the king, and that for his sake, as well as his own, he would not submit to the king's pleasure in it. And so he debated the whole matter with him, and made it evident to him, that he would be disappointed in any expectation he should entertain of profit from the wards, as the state of affairs then stood: so that he should relinquish an honourable employment, which he was well acquainted with, for an empty title, with which he would have nothing to do: and so advised him to consider well of it, and of all the consequences of it, before he exposed himself to such an inconvenience.

Whilst this was in suspense, sir Charles Caesar, who, with great prejudice to the king, and more reproach to the archbishop of Canterbury, Laud, had been made master of the rolls, died: and sir John Colepepper had long had a promise from the king of that place, when it should become void, and now pressed the performance of it: which was violently opposed by many, partly out of ill-will to him, (for he had not the faculty of getting himself much loved,) and as much out of good husbandry, and to supply the king's necessities with a good sum of money, which Dr. Duck was ready to lay down for the office. And the king was so far wrought upon, that he paid down three thousand pounds in part of what he was to give; but his majesty caused the money to be repaid, and resolved to make good his promise to sir John Colepepper, who would by no means release him. This was no sooner declared, than

the lord Falkland (who was much more solicitous to have Mr. Hyde of the council, than he was himself for the honour) took an opportunity to tell the king, that he had now a good opportunity to prefer Mr. Hyde, by making him chancellor of the exchequer, in the place of sir John Colepepper; which the king said he had resolved to do, and bid him take no notice of it, until he had told him so himself: and shortly after sent for him, and said, "that he had now found an office for him, which he hoped he would not refuse: that the chancellorship of the exchequer was void by the promotion of Colepepper, and that he resolved to confer it upon him;" with many gracious expressions of the satisfaction he had in his service. The other answered, "that though it was an office much above his merit, yet he did not despair of enabling himself by industry to execute it, which he would do with all fidelity."

As soon as this was known, no man was so much troubled at it as sir John Colepepper, who had in truth an intention to have kept both places, until he should get into the quiet possession of the rolls. And though he professed much friendship to the other, he had no mind he should be upon the same level with him; and believed he would have too much credit in the council. And so delayed, after his patent for the rolls was passed, to surrender that of the chancellorship of the exchequer, until the lord Falkland and the lord Digby expostulated very warmly with him upon it, and until the king took notice of it; and then, seeming very much troubled that any body should doubt the integrity of his friendship to Mr. Hyde, to whom he made all the professions imaginable, he surrendered his office of chancellor of the exchequer: and the next day Mr. Hyde was sworn of the privy-council, and knighted, and had his patents sealed for that office. And the king, after he rose from the council, and after many expressions of the content he took himself in the obligation he had laid upon him, with much grace, that was not natural in him upon such occasions, told him, that "he was very fortunate, because he verily believed nobody was angry at his preferment; for besides that the earl of Dorset and others, who he knew loved him, had expressed much satisfaction in the king's purpose," he said, "the lord Maltrevors, and the lord Dunsmore, who he did not think had any acquaintance with him, seemed very much pleased with him; and therefore he thought nobody would envy him; which was a rare felicity." But his majesty was therein mistaken; for he had great enviers, of many who thought he had run too fast; especially of those of his own profession, who looked upon themselves as his superiors in all respects, and did not think that him age, (which was not then above thirty-three,) or his other parts, did entitle him to such a preference before them. And the news of it at Westminster exceedingly offended those who governed in the parliament; to see the man whom they most hated, and whom they had voted to be incapable of pardon, to be now preferred to an office the chief of them looked for. Besides, there was another unusual circumstance accompanied his preferment, that it was without the interposition or privy of the queen, which was not like to make it the more easy and advantageous; and it was not the more unwelcome to him from that circumstance.

Notwithstanding all the discourse of, and inclination to a treaty, the armies were not quiet on either side. The king's quarters were enlarged by the taking of Marlborough in Wiltshire, and of Cirencester in Gloucestershire; which, though untenable by their situation and weak fortifications, were garrisoned by the parliament with great numbers of men; who were all killed, or taken prisoners. And the parliament forces were not without success too; and, after the loss of Marlborough, surprised the regiment of horse, that was commanded by the lord Grandison, a gallant gentleman, who, if not betrayed, was unhappily invited to Winchester, with promise of forces ready to defend the place; which being in no degree performed, he was, the next day after he came, enclosed in the castle of Winchester, and com-

pelled to become, all, officers and soldiers, prisoners of war: though he and some other of the principal officers, by the negligence or corruption of their guard, made their escape in the night, and returned to Oxford.

This was the state of the kingdom, of the king, and of the parliament, in the beginning of the year 1643, at the time when Mr. Hyde was made of the privy-council, and chancellor of the exchequer: which was between the return of the commissioners, who had been sent to the king to propose a treaty, and the coming of those commissioners to Oxford, who were afterwards sent from the parliament to treat with the king; which being about the end of the year 1642, this part shall be closed here.

*Pezenas, the 24th of July, 1669.*

### PART III.

IT was about the beginning of March (which by that account was about the end of the year 1642, and about the beginning of the year 1643) that the commissioners of the parliament came to Oxford, to treat with his majesty; and were received graciously by him; and by his order lodged conveniently, and well accommodated in all respects.

The persons were the earl of Northumberland, (the rest appointed by the house of peers were dispensed with,) and of the commons the lord Wenman, Mr. Pierrepont, Mr. Whitlocke, . . . . . and the king intended to have appointed some of his council to have treated with them; but they discovered at their first audience, that they had authority only to treat with his majesty himself, and not with any other persons; whereupon his majesty gave them admission whenever they desired it, and received what they had to propose in writing, and then consulted and debated it at his council, and delivered his answer again in writing, the chancellor of the exchequer being always appointed to prepare those answers. The commissioners had very sincere desires to have made a peace, none of them having ever had inclination to alter the government, and the short experience they had, made it manifest to them that others were possessed with contrary resolutions; but their instructions were very strict, and nothing left to their own discretions; they who sent them well knowing how their affections stood, and though they had not power to hinder a treaty, which all the kingdom called for, and to refuse it had been to declare that they would continue the war that was universally abominated; yet they knew well how to elude it, which they were the less suspected to incline to, because they were still willing that such persons should be employed to treat who were known to be most solicitous for peace. When the propositions were formed in the house, upon the debate of them, when objections were made of their unreasonableness: that the king had already refused those very overtures when his condition was much lower, and therefore that it was not probable he would yield to the same when he was in the head of a good army: it was answered by those who resolved it should come to

nothing, that it was the course and rule in all treaties *iniquum petere ut æquum feras*; that they did not expect that the king would yield to all they desired, or indeed that a peace would ever be made upon what they did or could propose; but that thereupon the king would be wrought upon to make his propositions, which must be the ground of the peace; and that they must first know what the king would grant before they abated any thing of their demands; and hereby (which seemed to have somewhat of reason) they still prevailed to keep up their propositions to the utmost they had insisted upon, in their proudest and most insolent conjuncture, but still implied that they would be glad to depart from any thing of it, when they should see any approach made towards peace by any concessions from the king that would make it safe and valid: yet they bound up their commissioners to the strictest letter of their propositions; nor did their instructions at this time (which they presented to the king) admit the least latitude to them, to interpret a word or expression, that admitted a doubtful interpretation. Inasmuch as the king told them, "that he was sorry that they had no more trust reposed in them; and that the parliament might as well have sent their demands to him by the common carrier, as by commissioners so restrained." They had only twenty days allowed them to finish the whole treaty: whereof they might employ six days in adjusting a cessation, if they found it probable to effect it in that time; otherwise they were to decline the cessation, and enter upon the conditions of the peace; which, if not concluded before the end of the twenty days, they were to give it over, and to return to the parliament.

These propositions and restrictions much abated the hopes of a good issue of the treaty. Yet every body believed, and the commissioners themselves did not doubt, that if such a progress should be made in the treaty, that a peace was like to ensue, there would be no difficulty in the enlargement of the time; and therefore the articles for a cessation were the sooner declined, that they might proceed in the main business. For though what was proposed by them in order to it was agreeable

enough to the nature of such an affair; yet the time allowed for it was so short, that it was impossible to make it practicable: nor could notice be timely given to all the quarters on either side to observe it.

Besides that, there were many particulars in it, which the officers on the king's side (who had no mind to a cessation) formalized much upon; and (I know not from what unhappy root, but) there was sprung up a wonderful aversion in the town against a cessation. Inasmuch as many persons of quality of several counties, whereof the town was full, applied themselves in a body to the king, not to consent to a cessation till a peace might be concluded; alleging, that they had several agitations in their countries, for his majesty's and their own conveniences, which would be interrupted by the cessation; and if a peace should not afterwards ensue, would be very mischievous. Which suggestion, if it had been well weighed, would not have been found to be of importance. But the truth is, the king himself had no mind to the cessation, for a reason which shall be mentioned anon, though it was never owned: and so they wayed all further mention of the cessation, and betook themselves to the treaty; it being reasonable enough to believe, that if both sides were heartily disposed to it, a peace might as soon have been agreed upon as a cessation could be. All the transactions of that treaty having been long since published, and being fit only to be digested into the history of that time, are to be omitted here. Only what passed in secret, and was never communicated, nor can otherwise be known, since at this time no man else is living who was privy to that negotiation but the chancellor of the exchequer, will have a proper place in this discourse. The commissioners, who had all good fortunes and estates, had all a great desire of peace, but knew well that there must be a receding mutually on both sides from what they demanded; for if the king insisted on justice, and on the satisfaction and reparation the law would give him, the lives and the fortunes of all who had opposed him would be at his mercy; and there were too many concerned to submit to that, and that guilt was in truth the foundation of their union. On the other side, if the parliament insisted on all that they had demanded, all the power of the crown and monarchy itself would be thrown off the hinges, which as they could never imagine the king would ever consent to, so they saw well enough their own concernment in it, and that themselves should be as much involved in the confusion as those they called their enemies.

The propositions brought by the commissioners in the treaty were so unreasonable, that they well knew that the king would never consent to them: but some persons amongst them, who were known to wish well to the king, endeavoured underhand to bring it to pass. And they did therefore, whilst they publicly pursued their instructions, and delivered and received papers upon their propositions, privately use all the means they could, especially in conferences with the lord Falkland and the chancellor of the exchequer, that the king might be prevailed with in some degree to comply with their unreasonable demands.

In all matters which related to the church, they did not only despair of the king's concurrence,

but did not in their own judgments wish it; and believed, that the strength of the party which desired the continuance of the war, was made up of those who were very indifferent in that point; and that, if they might return with satisfaction in other particulars, they should have power enough in the two houses, to oblige the more violent people to accept or submit to the conditions. They wished therefore that the king would make some condescensions in the point of the militia; which they looked upon as the only substantial security they could have, not to be called in question for what they had done amiss. And when they saw nothing could be digested of that kind, which would not reflect both upon the king's authority and his honour, they gave over insisting upon the general; and then Mr. Pierrepont (who was of the best parts, and most intimate with the earl of Northumberland) rather desired than proposed, that the king would offer to grant his commission to the earl of Northumberland, to be lord high admiral of England. By which condescension he would be restored to his office, which he had lost for their sakes; and so their honour would be likewise repaired, without any signal prejudice to the king; since he should hold it only by his majesty's commission, and not by any ordinance of parliament: and he said, if the king would be induced to gratify them in this particular, he could not be confident that they should be able to prevail with both houses to be satisfied therewith, so that a peace might suddenly be concluded; but, as he did not despair even of that, he did believe, that so many would be satisfied with it, that they would from thence take the occasion to separate themselves from them, as men who would rather destroy their country than restore it to peace.

And the earl of Northumberland himself took so much notice of this discourse to secretary Nicholas, (with whom he had as much freedom as his reserved nature was capable of, (as to protest to him, that he desired only to receive that honour and trust from the king, that he might be able to do him service; and thereby to recover the credit he had unhappily lost with him. In which he used very decent expressions towards his majesty; not without such reflections upon his own behaviour, as implied that he was not proud of it: and concluded, that if his majesty would do him that honour, as to make that offer to the houses, upon the proposition of the militia, he would do all he could that it might be effectual towards a peace; and if it had not success, he would pass his word and honour to the king, that as soon, or whensoever his majesty would please to require it, he would deliver up his commission again into his hands; he having no other ambition or desire, than by this means to redeliver up the royal navy to his majesty's as absolute disposal, as it was when his majesty first put it into his hands; and which he doubted would hardly be done by any other expedient, at least not so soon.

When this proposition (which, from the interest and persons who proposed it, seemed to carry with it some probability of success, if it should be accepted) was communicated with those who were like with most secrecy to consult it; secretary Nicholas having already made some approach towards the king upon the subject, and found his

majesty without inclination to hear more of it; it was agreed and resolved by them, that the chancellor of the exchequer should presume to make the proposition plainly to the king, and to persuade his majesty to hear it debated in his presence; at least, if that might not be, to enlarge upon it himself as much as the argument required: and he was not unwilling to embark himself in the affair.

When he found a fit opportunity for the representation, and his majesty at good leisure, in his morning's walk, when he was always most willing to be entertained; the chancellor related ingenuously to him the whole discourse, which had been made by Mr. Pierrepont, and to whom; and what the earl himself had said to secretary Nicholas; and what conference they, to whom his majesty gave leave to consult together upon his affairs, had between themselves upon the argument, and what occurred to them upon it: in which he mentioned the earl's demerit towards his majesty with severity enough, and what reason he had not to be willing to restore a man to his favour, who had forfeited it so unworthily. Yet he desired him to consider his own ill condition; and how unlike it was that it should be improved by the continuance of the war; and whether he could ever imagine a possibility of getting out of it upon more easy conditions than what was now proposed; the offer of which to the parliament could do him no signal prejudice, and could not but bring him very notable advantages: for if the peace did not ensue upon it, such a rupture infallibly would, as might in a little time facilitate the other. And then he said as much to lessen the malignity of the earl as he could, by remembering, how dutifully he had resigned his commission of admiral upon his majesty's demand, and his refusal to accept the commission the parliament would have given him; and observed some vices in his nature, which would stand in the place of virtues, towards the support of his fidelity to his majesty, and his animosity against the parliament, if he were once reingratiated to his majesty's trust.

The king heard him very quietly without the least interruption, which he used not to do upon subjects which were not grateful to him; for he knew well that he was not swayed by any affection to the man, to whom he was more a stranger than he was to most of that condition; and he, upon occasions, had often made sharp reflections upon his ingratitude to the king. His majesty seemed at the first to insist upon the improbability that any such concession by him would be attended with any success; that not only the earl had not interest in the houses to lead them into a resolution that was only for his particular benefit, but that the parliament itself was not able to make a peace, without such conditions as the army would require; and then he should suffer exceedingly in his honour, for having shewn an inclination to a person who had requited his former graces so unworthily: and this led him into more warmth than he used to be affected with. He said, "indeed he had been very unfortunate in conferring his favours upon many very ungrateful persons; but no man was so inexcusable as the earl of Northumberland." He said, "he knew that the earl of Holland was generally looked upon as the man of the greatest ingratu-

tude; but," he said, "he could better excuse him than the other: that it was true, he owed all he had to his father's and his bounties, and that himself had conferred great favours upon him; but that it was as true, he had frequently given him many mortifications, which, though he had deserved, he knew had troubled him very much; that he had oftener denied him, than any other man of his condition; and that he had but lately refused to gratify him in a suit he had made to him, of which he had been very confident; and so might have some excuse (how ill soever) for being out of humour, which led him from one ill to another: but that he had lived always without intermission with the earl of Northumberland as his friend, and courted him as his mistress; that he had never denied any thing he had ever asked; and therefore his carriage to him was never to be forgotten."

And this discourse he continued with more commotion, and in a more pathetic style than ever he used upon any other argument. And though at that time it was not fit to press the matter further, it was afterwards resumed by the same person more than once; but without any other effect, than that his majesty was contented that the earl should not despair of being restored to that office, when the peace should be made; or upon any eminent service performed by him, when the peace should be despaired of. The king was very willing and desirous that the treaty should be drawn out in length; to which purpose a proposition was made to the commissioners for an addition of ten days, which they sent to the parliament, without the least apprehension that it would be denied. But they were deceived; and for answer, received an order upon the last day but one of the time before limited, by which they were expressly required to leave Oxford the next day. From that time all intercourse and commerce between Oxford and London, which had been permitted before, was absolutely interdicted under the highest penalties by the parliament.

If this secret underhand proposition had succeeded, and received that encouragement from the king that was desired, and more application of the same remedies had been then made to other persons, (for alone it could never have proved effectual,) it is probable, that those violent and abominable counsels, which were but then in projection between very few men of any interest, and which were afterwards miserably put in practice, had been prevented. And it was exceedingly wondered at, by those who were then privy to this overture, and by all who afterwards came to hear of it, that the king should in that conjuncture decline so advantageous a proposition; since he did already discern many ill humours and factions, growing and nourished, both in his court and army, which would every day be uneasy to him; and did with all his soul desire an end of the war. And there was nothing more suitable and agreeable to his magnanimous nature, than to forgive those, who had in the highest degree offended him: which temper was notorious throughout his whole life. It will not be therefore amiss, in this discourse, which is never to see light, and so can reflect upon nobody's character with prejudice, to enlarge upon this fatal rejection, and the true cause and ground thereof.

The king's affection to the queen was of a very extraordinary alloy; a composition of conscience, and love, and generosity, and gratitude, and all those noble affections which raise the passion to the greatest height; insomuch as he saw with her eyes, and determined by her judgment; and did not only pay her this adoration, but desired that all men should know that he was swayed by her: which was not good for either of them. The queen was a lady of great beauty, excellent wit and humour, and made him a just return of noblest affections; so that they were the true idea of conjugal affection, in the age in which they lived. When she was admitted to the knowledge and participation of the most secret affairs, (from which she had been carefully restrained by the duke of Buckingham whilst he lived,) she took delight in the examining and discussing them, and from thence in making judgment of them; in which her passions were always strong.

She had felt so much pain in knowing nothing, and meddling with nothing, during the time of that great favourite, that now she took pleasure in nothing but knowing all things, and disposing all things; and thought it but just, that she should dispose of all favours and preferments, as he had done; at least, that nothing of that kind might be done without her privacy: not considering that the universal prejudice that great man had undergone, was not with reference to his person, but his power; and that the same power would be equally obnoxious to murmur and complaint, if it resided in any other person than the king himself. And she so far concurred with the king's inclination, that she did not more desire to be possessed of this unlimited power, than that all the world should take notice that she was the entire mistress of it: which in truth (what other unhappy circumstances soever concurred in the mischief) was the foundation upon which the first and the utmost prejudices to the king and his government were raised and prosecuted. And it was her majesty's and the kingdom's misfortune, that she had not any person about her, who had either ability or affection, to inform and advise her of the temper of the kingdom, or humour of the people; or who thought either worth the caring for.

When the disturbances grew so rude as to interrupt this harmony, and the queen's fears, and indisposition, which proceeded from those fears, disposed her to leave the kingdom, which the king, to comply with her, consented to; (and if that fear had not been predominant in her, her jealousy and apprehension, that the king would at some time be prevailed with to yield to some unreasonable conditions, would have dissuaded her from that voyage;) to make all things therefore as sure as might be, that her absence should not be attended with any such inconvenience, his majesty made a solemn promise to her at parting, that he would receive no person into any favour or trust, who had disserved him, without her privacy and consent; and that, as she had undergone so many reproaches and calumnies at the entrance into the war, so he would never make any peace, but by her interposition and mediation, that the kingdom might receive that blessing only from her.

This promise (of which his majesty was too religious an observer) was the cause of his majesty's

rejection, or not entertaining this last overture; and this was the reason that he had that aversion to the cessation, which he thought would inevitably oblige him to consent to the peace, as it should be proposed; and therefore he had countenanced an address, that had been made to him against it, by the gentlemen of several counties attending the court: and in truth they were put upon that address by the king's own private direction. Upon which the chancellor of the exchequer told him, when the business was over, that he had raised a spirit he would not be able to conjure down; and that those petitioners had now appeared in a business that pleased him, but would be as ready to appear, at another time, to cross what he desired; which proved true. For he was afterwards more troubled with application and importunity of that kind, and the murmurs that arose from that liberty, when all men would be counsellors, and censure all that the council did, than with the power of the enemy.

About the time that the treaty began, the queen landed in the north, having been chased by the parliament ships into Burlington bay, their ships discharging all their cannon upon a small village where she lodged after her landing, that she was glad to resort for shelter to some banks in the field, where she spent most part of the night, and was the next day received by the earl of Newcastle, with some troops of his army, and was by him conveyed to York. Her majesty had brought with her a good supply of arms and ammunition, which was exceedingly wanted in the king's quarters; and she resolved, with a good quantity of ammunition and arms, to make what haste she could to the king; having at her first landing expressed, by a letter to his majesty, her apprehension of an ill peace by that treaty; and declared, that she would never live in England, if she might not have a guard for the security of her person: which letter came accidentally afterwards into the hands of the parliament; of which they made use to the queen's disadvantage. And the expectation of her majesty's arrival at Oxford, was the reason that the king so much desired the prolongation of the treaty. And if it had pleased God that she had come thither time enough, as she did shortly after, she would have probably condescended to many propositions for the gratifying particular persons, as appeared afterwards, if thereby a reasonable peace might have been obtained.

It was some few days before the commissioners from the parliament came to Oxford to treat, that some commissioners from Scotland came likewise to the king; and, having taken London in their way, had concerted with their old friends how to behave themselves, and how they might be able, by being present there, to advance their pretences. They were sent by the council and kingdom of Scotland, and they pretended to desire his majesty to issue out his letters of summons for the convening a parliament in that kingdom, which they said the affairs of that nation required; the rather, because of the present distractions in England. The earl of Loudon, so often mentioned before, who had been so deeply engaged in the beginning, and throughout the rebellion of Scotland, and had been gratified upon the pacification, (in treaty whereof he had been a principal commissioner,) at the king's late being in Edinburgh,



with being made an earl and chancellor of Scotland, was the principal commissioner now sent to Oxford, together with Alexander Henderson, their high priest, who had modelled the church government there, after he had inflamed the people against the bishops there. In that parliament, when his majesty had been lately present, and they had obtained all those concessions from his majesty which gave them power to keep all they had got, and left the empty name of king to his majesty, there was an act passed for the dissolving that parliament, with a provision in it, that if the king should not call another parliament within three years after the dissolution of that, that then, upon such day, in such a year, summons should be sent out by the several officers, so that infallibly, on such a Tuesday, in such a year, another parliament should meet at Edinburgh according to such a model as they had carried with them from London. Now when these commissioners came to Oxford to demand a parliament, there were above two years to come to the day upon which that act of parliament would authorize them to meet; but it is true the king might, if he thought fit, convene one sooner. His majesty knew well, that, with reference to Scotland itself, there was no occasion for a parliament to meet, and knew as well, that it was desired only in order the better to support the rebellion in England; and, without a parliament, he did not believe that the disaffected party in that kingdom would have power enough to do him any notable disservice; his majesty always unhappily overvaluing the authority of those there, who he believed true to him; and therefore he gave for answer to those commissioners, that he would send out his summons time enough for a parliament to meet before that time: nor could all the importunity they could use, which was very great, nor the professions and promises which they could make, which were very many, how great benefit and service his majesty should receive by speedily calling a parliament, prevail with him to give them any other answer.

When they despaired of having his majesty's leave to have a parliament, which would have served their turn, and suspended all other propositions, they dealt more ingenuously and openly; and taking notice of the present treaty, and desiring such an end thereof as might establish peace and quiet to the nation, to the glory of God, and settlement of the true religion, they presented a long paper to the king, containing a bitter invective against bishops, and the whole government of the church; as being contrary to the word of God, and to the advancement of true religion: and concluded with a very passionate desire for the alteration of that government, as the only means to settle peace throughout his majesty's dominions. In all their other demands, concerning the kingdom of Scotland, and calling a parliament there, the king had only conferred with two or three of those he most trusted, whereof the chancellor of the exchequer was always one, and drew the answers he gave: but this last paper, which only concerned England, he brought to the council-board, and required their advice, what answer he should give to it. The king himself was very desirous to take this occasion, to shew his affection and zeal for the church; and that other men's mouths might be hereafter stopped

in that argument, and that nobody might ever make the same proposition to him again, he had a great mind to have made an answer to every expression in their paper, and to have set out the divine right of episcopacy; and how impossible it was ever for him in conscience to consent to any thing, to the prejudice of that order and function, or to the alienating their lands; enlarging himself more in the debate, than he used to do upon any other argument; mentioning those reasons which the ablest prelate could do upon that occasion; and wished that all those, and such others as might occur, should be contained in his answer.

Many of the lords were of opinion that a short answer would be best, that should contain nothing but a rejection of the proposition, without giving any reason; no man seeming to concur with his majesty; with which he was not satisfied; and replied with some sharpness upon what had been said. Upon which the lord Falkland replied, having been before of that mind, desiring that no reasons might be given; and upon that occasion answered many of those reasons the king had urged, as not valid to support the subject, with a little quickness of wit, (as his notions were always sharp, and expressed with notable vivacity,) which made the king warmer than he used to be; reproaching all who were of that mind with want of affection for the church; and declaring, that he would have the substance of what he had said, or of the like nature, digested into his answer: with which reprehension all sat very silent, having never undergone the like before. Whereupon the king recollecting himself, and observing that the chancellor of the exchequer had not yet spoke, called upon him to deliver his opinion, adding, that he was sure he was of his majesty's mind, with reference to religion and the church.

The chancellor stood up, and said, that he would have been glad to have said nothing that day, having observed more warmth than had ever been at that board, since he had the honour to sit there, (which was not many days before;) that in truth he was not of the opinion of any one who had spoken; he did not think that the answer ought to be very short, or without any reasons; and he did as little think that the reasons mentioned by his majesty ought to be applied to the paper, which the Scots had been so bold as to present to the king. He said, all those reasons were fit to be offered in a synod, or in any other place, where that subject could be lawfully ventilated; and he believed them all to be of that weight, that Mr. Henderson and all his assembly of divines could never answer; but he should be very sorry that his majesty should so far condescend to their presumption, as to give those reasons; as if he admitted the matter to be disputed. He asked his majesty, what answer he would give to the king of France, if he should send to him to alter the government of the city of London, or any other city, and that he would substitute other magistrates in the place of those who are; which, as a king, he might more reasonably demand, than these gentlemen of Scotland could do what they propose; whether his majesty would think it more agreeable to his honour, to make a reasonable discourse of the antiquity of the lord mayor of London, and of the dependence the present magistrates had upon the law, and the frame of



the government; or whether he would only send him word, that he should meddle with what he had to do. He did think, that it was very fit that his majesty's answer to this paper should contain a very severe and sharp reprehension for their presumption; and take notice, how solicitous they were for the preservation of what they called the right and privilege of their country, that his majesty might not bring any thing into debate at his council-board here, that concerned the kingdom of Scotland; though it had often too much relation to the affairs and government of England: yet that they would take upon them to demand from his majesty, at least to advise him to make, an alteration in the government of England, which would quite alter the frame of it, and make such a confusion in the laws, which they could no more comprehend than they could any thing of the same kind that related to any other foreign kingdom; and therefore, that for the future they should not practise the like presumption.

The king discovered himself to be very well pleased all the time he was speaking; and when he had done, his majesty said again, he was sure the chancellor was entirely of his mind, with reference to the church; and that he had satisfied him that this was not the season, nor the occasion, in which those arguments which he had used were to be insisted on; and that he was willing to depart from his own sense; and was in truth so well pleased, that he vouchsafed to make some kind of excuse for the passion he had spoken with: and all the lords were very well satisfied with the expedient proposed; and all commended the chancellor: and the answer was given to the Scottish commissioners accordingly; who had too good intelligence not to know all that had passed: and upon their long discourses with the king, (who was always forward to enlarge upon that subject, in which he was so well versed,) expected such an answer as might give them opportunity to bring the whole matter of episcopacy upon the stage, and into public disputation. And so they returned to London, with manifest dissatisfaction, before the commissioners of the parliament; and with avowed detestation of a person, against whom they were known always to have an inveterate and an implacable displeasure. It appeared quickly that the parliament had refused to enlarge the time of the treaty, and so positively commanded the commissioners to return before the last day was expired that was assigned for the treaty. They who intended nothing but the carrying on of the war, and believed there could be no security for them but by an entire victory of the king, and a total subduing his party, had not power enough to hinder and prevent the treaty, and therefore satisfied themselves with limiting the commissioners to such propositions and by such instructions as are mentioned before. But from that time they met with little opposition in the houses; they who desired peace, and had raised their hopes upon the treaty, thinking it reasonable that all preparations should be made for the war, and they who abhorred the thought of peace, and all those who affected it, using all imaginable diligence in advancing those preparations; insomuch as, having by ordinances and seizures drawn in great supplies of money, they

had made such wonderful haste in recruiting the army, (to which the earl of Essex had contributed all his endeavours, believing that he had yet performed less than had been expected from him,) that the very day that the commissioners left Oxford, the earl of Essex had a rendezvous of his whole army, and marched towards Reading, which was about the beginning of April.

The king was much troubled [at the disunion between the princes Rupert and Maurice, and the marquis of Hertford,\* after the taking of Bristol;] which he knew must exceedingly disorder and divide that army: for composing whereof, his majesty resolved, the next day after the news, to go himself to Bristol; which was very necessary in many respects. The settlement of the port, which was of infinite importance to the king in point of trade, and his customs, and with reference to Ireland, and the applying the army to some new enterprise, without loss of time, could not be done without his majesty's presence. But there was nothing more disposed his majesty to that resolution, than to be absent from his council at Oxford, when he should settle the differences between the prince and the marquis; for as he was always swayed by his affection to his nephew, which he did not think partiality; so the lords, towards whom the prince did not live with any condescension, were very solicitous that the marquis might receive no injustice or disobligation. And the king, to avoid all counsel in this particular, resolved to declare no resolution till he should come himself to Bristol; and so went from Oxford thither: taking with him, of the council, the duke of Richmond, the lord Falkland, the master of the rolls, and the chancellor of the exchequer. The king lodging the first night at Malmesbury; and the lord Falkland, the master of the rolls, and some other gentlemen lodging that night with the chancellor of the exchequer, at his house at Pirton, which lay in the way to Bristol; where they were the next day within an hour after the king.

The disorders at Bristol were greater than could have been imagined; the factions and jealousies ran through all kinds and degrees of men, of the army, of the city, of the country; and the loss of many officers and common men upon the assaults had weakened the army beyond imagination, and the number of the sick and wounded was very great. The natural murmurs of the Cornish were now turned into direct mutiny, and they declared positively that they would not march further southward, but would return to their own country to look to their houses, their wives, and their children, which they said were infested by the garrison at Plymouth. There was no money to give them, nor were there any officers left, who had credit and authority over them; and now all men saw the infinite loss the king had sustained in the death of Greenvil, Slanning, and Trevanion, who governed that people absolutely. It was evident, that if they were compelled to march further, many of them would run away, and the rest be full of discontent; and therefore it was resolved, that they, and all the rest who had been officers or soldiers formerly designed for the western services under the marquis and prince Maurice, should return again to the west, upon a presumption that they would be able, with the reputa-

\* The account of this disunion is to be found in page 413, &c. of the History of the Rebellion.

tion they would carry back upon the taking of Bristol, in a short time to subdue those maritime places, which were possessed by small garrisons for the parliament; and being recruited by good winter quarters, an army would be ready by the next spring to attend his majesty; and all the Cornish made solemn promises that, as soon as Plymouth should be reduced, they would with great alacrity return to any service they should be required. The expectation was very reasonable, and the counsel much advanced by prince Rupert, that his brother Maurice might be in the head of an army; for he had prevailed with the king to resolve that the marquis of Hertford should be no more employed as general, though it was not discovered to him, nor his commission taken from him.

Besides the king's inclination to his nephew, he found that work not so difficult, nor the marquis so popular, as it appeared in the first consultation at Oxford. The marquis's unactivity in all things relating to the war, and his too much retirement to his ease, had lost all the reverence and devotion of the soldiers; and prince Maurice's living with them sociably and familiarly, and going with them upon all parties and in all actions, in which he had received some hurts, had made both his person and his command very acceptable to them. Then the marquis's leaning too much to the advice of his domestic officers and the stewards of his lands, and people of that condition, (many whereof were thought very disaffected to the king's service, as most of his tenants were,) made the chief persons of the country less solicitous for his command over them than they had been, whereof the lord Paulet was the chief, who was then at Bristol, and spake with great freedom to the king of the marquis's unfitness to exercise that command; which advice, besides that it was very grateful, made the more impression, because he was thought to have good affection for the marquis, and had little knowledge of the prince.

This matter being thus settled in the king's own thoughts and resolutions, he discovered it no further than by appointing those troops to be ready for their march, and prince Maurice to conduct them, whilst the marquis of Hertford attended his majesty till the business of Bristol should be settled, and some other affairs of the country; the marquis intending, when those should be settled, (in doing whereof he was willing to be present,) to make haste to the army, and his majesty, according to his natural custom of discovering any disobliging resolution as late as was possible, did not at all impart his purpose to him, and being first to resolve what obligation to confer upon him at the same time, to make the other the better digested; and to that purpose he was pleased to confer with freedom and without reservation with the chancellor of the exchequer, and bidding him inform himself of the opinion both the army and the country had of the marquis, and asking him, whether the lord Paulet and others had not spoken to him of the laziness of the marquis, and of the credit and power Hirtton had with him; and of some actions done by his secretary, who was a fellow of an ill reputation; and wished him to think of it, and to dispose the marquis to decline that employment, as less agreeable to his nature and constitution, and to remain about the person of the king, in order to which he would think upon some place, for he knew

he was weary of being governor to the prince. The chancellor had great reverence for the marquis, and knew the benefit his fidelity had brought to the king, and the insupportable damage that would accrue from his declared discontent, and had no other esteem of the prince's parts and conduct and discretion, than good manners obliged him to; and yet he had with much trouble heard the little credit the marquis had in the army, and more of his unactivity than he believed he could have been guilty of; for though he knew he was naturally lazy, and did so much love his ease, he knew too that he had a clear courage and a very good understanding; and if he had a friend by him to put him in mind of any thing that concerned his honour, he would be very counsellable. Whereupon he told the king, that though he had heard many discourses which he had not expected, and found that some persons had changed their opinions of the marquis, yet he was so apprehensive of the ill consequence that might probably attend his majesty's inclination to remove him from the command, and giving the entire trust to his nephew, that he could not give his counsel for the putting it in execution; but that when his majesty upon full thoughts had fixed himself, he would use the credit he had with the marquis to dispose him to conform himself to his majesty's determination, and that he could with a much better conscience dissuade the marquis from affecting that command, than he could persuade his majesty to take it from him.

The other matter concerning the government of Bristol was of as nice a nature, but not like to give the king so much trouble; for sir Ralph Hopton had neither set his heart upon the command, nor would embrace any title that might give any umbrage to his majesty, but laid all his pretences at the king's feet, and himself to be disposed of by him. By which unconcernedness and ingenuity the marquis was sensibly disobliged, having chosen him as a subject fit to support his authority against the pretences of the prince; and therefore this unwarm condescension was looked upon as a forsaking the marquis, who was never thoroughly reconciled to him afterwards. But that which gave the king trouble was, the clear and unquestionable credit and reputation of sir Ralph Hopton, who was now the only man left, who had out of nothing, and when the marquis had given over all hopes of the west and abandoned it, and fled into Wales, (which was now remembered with many reproaches,) raised that force, and upon the matter reduced that part of the kingdom to his majesty's obedience. He was a person of one of the best families, and one of the fairest fortunes, of all the gentlemen in that large, rich, and populous county of Somerset, and inferior to none in the love and affection of that people. He was of a very generous nature, a pious and devout man, and an exact observer of justice, which made the city infinitely desire that he might be their governor, who would not suffer them to be made a prey to the soldier. On the other side, by being himself ungrievous to them by any exactions, it was very probable he would be able to persuade and induce them cheerfully to submit to such impositions as were necessary for their own defence; and that such a man should be rejected by the king upon the prince's pretence, who could not reside there himself, and

must leave it to a deputy who would never be grateful, seemed unreasonable to the king himself in reference to his own service, and to the envy which would be increased by it towards his nephew, prince Rupert, who was already become very unpopular; but on the other side, the granting it to him would be generally looked upon as the triumph of the marquis of Hertford over prince Rupert, which his majesty could not think of with any patience. The easy temper and disposition of sir Ralph Hopton, and prince Rupert's being willing to come off from this matter with his honour, gave the king an expedient to compose this difficult affair to his own satisfaction: prince Rupert should have the name of governor of Bristol, according to his pretence, by a grant from the king, and sir Ralph Hopton should be his lieutenant governor, which he without scruple accepted: but the prince promised to the king that he would never in the least degree meddle in the government, but leave it entirely to sir Ralph Hopton; which being all concluded, two were only satisfied, the king and sir Ralph Hopton; the other two, the prince and the marquis, were both offended, the latter thinking himself injured by sir Ralph's declining his commission to be governor, and submitting to be lieutenant under prince Rupert, though he had it by commission from the king himself; and prince Rupert being as angry that he had only the title, and could not make his own lieutenant; and that the same man's having the place, who was designed to it by the marquis, as was generally known, would be believed to be put in by his authority; and from that time he never favoured sir Ralph Hopton, but always discountenanced him all he could. But the king, to publish to all the world the esteem he had of him, made him at the same time a baron, and created him lord Hopton of Witham, a noble seat of his own in the county of Somerset, of whom there will be more occasion of discourse hereafter upon several occasions.

When the king had settled these particulars, which had very much disquieted him, he considered what he was to do now this success at Bristol gave him great reputation every where; and the possessing the second city of the kingdom for trade and wealth of the inhabitants much enlarged his quarters.

The chancellor of the exchequer had undergone some mortification during the short abode at Bristol, which was the only port of trade within the king's quarters; which was like to yield a considerable benefit to the king, if it were well managed; and the direction thereof belonged entirely to his office: but when he sent to the officers of the customs, to be informed of the present state of trade, he found that some treaty was made, and order given in it by Mr. Ashburnham, a groom of the bedchamber; who, with the assistance and advice of sir John Colepepper, had prevailed with the king to assign that province to him, as a means to raise a present sum of money for the supply of the army: which the chancellor took very heavily; and the lord Falkland, out of his friendship to him, more tenderly; and expostulated it with the king with some warmth; and more passionately with sir John Colepepper and Mr. Ashburnham, as a violation of the friendship they professed to the chancellor, and an invasion of his office; which no man bears easily.

They were both ashamed of it, and made some weak excuses, of incogitance and inadvertence; and the king himself, who discerned the mischief that would ensue, if there should be an apparent schism amongst those he so entirely trusted, was pleased to take notice of it to the chancellor, with many gracious expressions; and said, "that Mr. Ashburnham being treasurer and paymaster of the army, he did believe some money might have been raised for the present occasion; and only intended it for the present, without considering it would be an invasion of his right; and therefore directed, that an account should be given to him of all that had been done, and he should do in it as he thought fit." But when he understood all that had been done, he would make no alteration in it, that his majesty might be convinced that his service was not looked after in the design. And it was discernible enough, that Mr. Ashburnham, who usually looked very far before him, had not so much intended to disoblige the chancellor, as, by introducing himself this way into the customs, to continue one of the farmers of the customs, when the war should be at an end; of which he got a promise from the king at the same time; who had great affection for him, and an extraordinary opinion of his managery. If there remained after this any jealousy or coldness between the chancellor of the exchequer and the other two, as the disparity between their natures and humours made some believe there did, it never brake out or appeared, to the disturbance or prejudice of the king's service; but all possible concurrence in the carrying it on was observed between them.

They who had judged only of the improbability of relieving Gloucester, by the slow progress that seemed to be made in the parliament towards it, and the small increase that was made in the army by new levies, found themselves deceived; and, before it was imagined possible, saw the earl of Essex march out of London with a much better army, and better provided for, than he had yet commanded since the beginning of the troubles. The city had supplied him with five thousand foot of their train-bands, consisting all of citizens of good account, who were commanded by their own officers; and made it appear, that their city order and discipline very well prepared and disposed men for the boldest service and enterprise. The march of the earl of Essex from London to Gloucester, over as large a campaign as any in England, when the king had an army of above eight thousand horse, reputed victorious, without being put to strike one stroke; the circumstances of that siege, and the raising it; the earl's march after he had performed that great work, and when the king's army watched only to engage him in a battle, and passing over a large and open campaign three days before the king had notice that he was come out of Gloucester; the overtaking his army, and the battle by Newbury; and his retreat afterwards to London; contained so many particular actions of courage and conduct, that they all deserve a very punctual and just relation; and are much above the level of this plain and foreign discourse.

In this battle of Newbury, the chancellor of the exchequer lost the joy and comfort of his life; which he lamented so passionately, that he could not in many days compose himself to any thoughts

of business. His dear friend the lord Falkland, hurried by his fate, in the morning of the battle, as he was naturally inquisitive after danger, put himself into the head of sir John Byron's regiment, which he believed was like to be in the hottest service, and was then appointed to charge a body of foot; and in that charge was shot with a musket bullet, so that he fell dead from his horse. The same day that the news came to Oxford of his death, which was the next after he was killed, the chancellor received a letter from him, written at the time when the army rose from Gloucester; but the messenger had been employed in other service, so that he came not to Oxford till that day. The letter was an answer to one the chancellor had then sent to him; in which he had told him, how much he suffered in his reputation with all discreet men, by engaging himself unnecessarily in all places of danger; and that it was not the office of a privy counsellor, and a secretary of state, to visit the trenches, as he usually did; and conjured him, out of the conscience of his duty to the king, and to free his friends from those continual uneasy apprehensions, not to engage his person to those dangers which were not incumbent to him. His answer was, that the trenches were now at an end; there would be no more danger there: that his case was different from other men's; that he was so much taken notice of for an impatient desire of peace, that it was necessary that he should likewise make it appear, that it was not out of fear of the utmost hazard of war: he said some melancholic things of the times; and concluded, that in few days they should come to a battle, the issue whereof, he hoped, would put an end to the misery of the kingdom.

Much hath been said of this excellent person before; but not so much, or so well, as his wonderful parts and virtues deserved. He died as much of the time as of the bullet: for, from the very beginning of the war, he contracted so deep a sadness and melancholy, that his life was not pleasant to him; and sure he was too weary of it. Those who did not know him very well imputed, very unjustly, much of it to a violent passion he had for a noble lady; and it was the more spoken of, because she died the same day, and, as some computed it, in the same hour that he was killed: but they who knew either the lord or the lady, knew well that neither of them was capable of an ill imagination. She was of the most unspotted, unblemished virtue; never married; of an extraordinary talent of mind, but of no alluring beauty; nor of a constitution of tolerable health, being in a deep consumption, and not like to have lived so long by many months. It is very true, the lord Falkland had an extraordinary esteem of her, and exceedingly loved her conversation, as most of the persons of eminent parts of that time did; for she was in her understanding, and discretion, and wit, and modesty, above most women; the best of which had always a friendship with her. But he was withal so kind to his wife, whom he knew to be an excellent person, that, though he loved his children with more affection and fondness than most fathers used to do, he left by his will all he had to his wife; and committed his three sons, who were all the children he had, to her sole care and bounty.

He was little more than thirty years of age when he was killed; in which time he was very accom-

plished in all those parts of learning and knowledge, which most men labour to attain till they are very old; and in wisdom, and the practice of virtue, to a wonderful perfection. From his age of twenty years, he had lived in an entire friendship with the chancellor, who was about six months elder; and who never spake of him afterwards, but with a love, and a grief, which still raised some commotion in him. And he very often used to lament him in the words of Cicero concerning Hortensius, "*Quod magna sapientium et civium bonorum penuria, vir egregius, conjunctissimusque mecum consiliorum omnium societate, alienissimo reipublicæ tempore extinctus, et auctoritatis, et prudentiæ suæ, triste nobis desiderium reliquerat.*" And without doubt, it was in a conjuncture of time, when the death of every honest and discreet person was a very sensible and terrible loss in the judgment of all good men.

After the unhappy death of the lord Falkland, the king much desired that the chancellor of the exchequer should be secretary of state in his place; which the queen did not oppose, though she rather wished that the lord Digby might have it; who had so much kindness and friendship for the chancellor, (which was at that time, and long after, as sincere as could receive harbour in his breast,) that he professed, he would not have it, if the other would receive it: but the chancellor gratified his civility, and refused the office the second time, as he had once before. And he had so much more reason now, by the coming of a very specious embassy from France, in the person of the count of Harcourt, who was already arrived in London; in which the chancellor knew his own want of ability to act that part the office of secretary would have obliged him to; and for which, as far as the perfection of the French tongue could qualify him, the lord Digby was very proper; and so he was made secretary of state; professing to every body, that, as he had the office by the chancellor's refusal of it, so he would wholly advise with him in all things pertaining to it, which he always did; and the confidence and friendship between them was mutual, and very notorious, until that lord changed his religion. And he was no sooner admitted and sworn secretary of state, and privy counsellor, and consequently made of the junto, which the king at that time created, consisting of the duke of Richmond, the lord Cottington, the two secretaries of state, and sir John Colepepper, but the chancellor of the exchequer was likewise added; to the trouble, at least the surprise, of the master of the rolls; who could have been contented that he should have been excluded from that near trust, where all matters were to be consulted before they should be brought to the council-board. And this committee was appointed to treat with the count of Harcourt; whom the king believed to be sent from France, to demand any thing from the parliament in that king's name, as his majesty should direct; and therefore they were appointed to consider well what he should be directed to propose.

But the ambassador no sooner came to the town in great state and lustre, but he quickly saved them any further labour, by declaring, that he would treat with nobody but the king himself; his business being only to serve the king, with

reference to the differences between his majesty and the parliament; and pretended, that, in his short stay at London, he had already discovered that his majesty was betrayed; and that his most secret counsels were discovered: and so there was never any communication between him and the king's council; but all matters were transacted with the king himself, and queen, and lord Jermyn, who was not of the council, and the lord Digby; the queen promising herself very much from his negotiation; the ambassador being then of great reputation, having been general of the French army in two or three great actions, in which his success had been very notable; and the queen looked upon him as a person particularly devoted to her service; and being of the house of Lorrain, (the younger son of the duke d'Elbeuf,) he was not without some alliance to the king: and so he returned to London with such instructions and advice as they thought fit to intrust him with, which were too particular; and with the privacy only of the two other persons mentioned before.

But it quickly appeared after, that he was not sent with any purpose to do the king service; but that cardinal Mazarin (who was newly entered upon the ministry, after the death of cardinal Richelieu) might take such a view of the affairs of England, as the better to judge what he was to do; and that an accommodation there might not break his measures, with reference to his other designs; which the ambassador was easily satisfied it was not like to do. And so, after three or four months spent between Oxford and London, he returned to France; leaving the king's affairs so much worse than he found them, by having communicated some instructions which had been given him at Oxford, with overmuch confidence, and which less disposed some persons to peace than they had been at London.

The king called the chancellor one day to him, and told him, "that he thought there was too much honour done to those rebels at Westminster in all his declarations, by his mentioning them as part of the parliament; which as long as they should be thought to be, they would have more authority, by their continuing their sitting in the place whither they were first called, than all the other members, though so much more numerous, would have, when they should be convened any where else; (there being a thought of convening them to Oxford:) therefore he knew no reason why he should not positively declare them to be dissolved; and so forbid them to sit or meet any more there." He said, "that he knew learned men of an opinion, that that act for the continuance of the parliament was void from the beginning; and that it is not in the power of the king to bar himself from the power of dissolving it; which is to be deprived of an essential part of his sovereignty: but if the act were good and valid in law, they had dissolved themselves by their force, in driving so many members, and even his majesty himself, who was their head, from the parliament; and had forfeited their right of sitting there, and all that the act had given them, by their treason and rebellion; which the very being a parliament could not support: and therefore he wished, that a proclamation might be prepared, to declare them actually dissolved; and expressly forbidding them to meet, or any

"body to own them, or submit to them as a parliament."

The chancellor told him, that "he perceived by his majesty's discourse, that he had very much considered the argument, and was well prepared in it; which for his part he was not. But he besought him to think it worth a very strict reflection; and to hear the opinion of learned men before he resolved upon it. That it was of a very nice and delicate nature, [at] which not only the people in general, but those of his own party, and even of his council, would take more umbrage, than upon any one particular that had happened since the beginning of the war. That he could not imagine that his forbidding them to meet any more at Westminster would make one man the less to meet there; but he might forbid them upon such grounds and reasons as might bring more to them: and that they who had severed themselves from them, upon the guilt of their actions, might return and be reconciled to them, upon their unity of opinion. That it had been the first powerful reproach they had corrupted the people with towards his majesty, that he intended to dissolve this parliament, notwithstanding the act for continuance thereof; and if he had power to do that, he might likewise, by the same power, repeal all the other acts made this parliament, whereof some were very precious to the people: and as his majesty had always disclaimed any such thought, so such a proclamation, as he now mentioned, would confirm all the fears and jealousies which had been infused into them, and would trouble many of his own true subjects."

"That for the invalidity of the act from the beginning, he was in his own opinion inclined to hope that it might be originally void, for the reasons and grounds his majesty had mentioned; and that the parliament itself, if this rebellion was suppressed, might be of the same judgment, and declare it accordingly; which would enable him quickly to dissolve it. But till then, he thought all the judges together, even those who were in his own quarters, and of unquestionable affection to his majesty, would not declare any such invalidity; and much less, that any private man, how learned soever, would avow that judgment: in which his majesty might easily satisfy himself, having so many of the judges, and many other excellent men of the robe then at Oxford. For their having dissolved themselves, or forfeited their right of sitting there, by their treason and rebellion," he said, "he could less understand it than the other argument of invalidity; for that the treason and rebellion could only concern and be penal to the persons who committed them: it was possible many might sit there, he was sure many had a right to sit there, who had always opposed every illegal, and every rebellious act; and therefore the faults of the others could never forfeit any right of theirs, who had committed no fault: and, upon the whole matter, he concluded as he had begun, that his majesty would very thoroughly consult it, before he did so much as incline in his own wishes."

His majesty said, he had spoken more reason against it, than he had thought could have been alleged: however, he bade him confer with his

attorney general, who, he believed, was of another opinion. The chancellor moved his majesty, that since the ground of what should be resolved on in this point must be expressed in the proclamation, the attorney might put his own conceptions in writing, and then his majesty would the better judge of them. The king said, it seemed reasonable to him, and he had proposed it to him, but he had declined it, and commended the pen his majesty had used to employ, as very clear and significant; and said, if he had an hour's conference with that person, the business would be done. Whereupon the chancellor went immediately to his lodging, choosing rather to use that civility towards him, than to send for him; who did not love him so well as he had done before he was his superior officer.

After a long conference together, and many circumlocutions, (which was his natural way of discourse,) and asking questions, Why not this? and, Why not that? without expressing his own opinion; at last he confessed, that there must be no attempt to dissolve them, "though it might be even that might be lawful in many respects," but that it would be sufficient to declare the force which had been, and still was upon them, that rendered them not free; and so they ought not to be looked upon as a parliament; and that they might be required to adjourn from time to time, till all the members might with safety repair to, and sit with them: in all which the other agreed with him, and so they parted; the chancellor promising, that, against the next morning, he would prepare a proclamation agreeable to that, which he thought to be their joint meaning; for he did not observe any difference to be between them. The next morning the attorney came to his lodging, where he found the draught prepared; which, as soon as he had read, he said did in no degree express or comprehend the sense that had been agreed between them: and thereupon he entered again into the same discourse he had made before, and more perplexed than before; being most offended with the preamble, wherein it was declared, that the king neither could or intended to break the parliament: which was so contrary to what he had infused into the king, and which the chancellor thought most necessary, to contradict that reproach which naturally would be cast upon his majesty. In the end, when he had wearied himself with the debate, they came both again to mean the same thing; which was no other than was agreed before, though, as the attorney said, it was not expressed in the draught before them: whereupon it was agreed between them, that, against the next morning, either of them should make a draught apart; and then, when they came together, it would easily be adjusted.

But the next morning they were as far asunder as before, and the attorney had prepared no paper, and said, it needed not, the difference being very small, and would be rectified with changing or leaving out a word or two; which the chancellor desired him to do, and to leave out or put in what he pleased: which when he went about to do, twenty other things occurred to him; and so he entered upon new discourses, without concluding any thing; and every day entertained the king with an account, as if all were agreed; but upon conference with the chancellor, his ma-

jesty wondered at the delay, and told him, he wondered at it, for the attorney spake still as clearly to him as it was possible for any man to do, and therefore the putting it in writing could not be hard. The other answered him, that it would never be done any other way, than that which he had first proposed to him; and therefore besought his majesty, that he would oblige the attorney to put his own conceptions, which he made so clear to him, into writing; and then, his majesty having likewise what the chancellor prepared in his hands, he would easily conclude which should stand; and otherwise there would never be any conclusion.

About two days after, the chancellor came into the garden where the king was walking; and calling him shortly to him, in some disorder, his majesty told him, "he was never in that amazement in his life; that he had at last, not without a very positive command, obliged the attorney to bring him such a draught in writing, as was agreeable to his own sense; and that he had now done it; but in such a manner, that he no more understood what the meaning of it was, than if it were in Welch, which was the language of the attorney's country; only," he said, "he was very sure it contained nothing of the sense he had ever expressed to him:" and so bade him follow him into a little room at the end of the garden; where, as soon as he was entered, he shut the door, because there were many people in the garden; and then pulled a paper out of his pocket, and bade him read it; which when he had done, it being all in the attorney's own hand, he said, "it deserved wonder indeed;" and it was so rough, perplexed, and insignificant, that no man could judge by it, or out of it, what the writer proposed to himself. And it made so great an impression upon the king, (who had before thought him a man of a master reason, and that no man had so clear notions,) that he never after had any esteem of him.

The truth is, he was a man very unlike any other man; of a very good natural wit, improved by conversation with learned men, but not at all by study and industry: and then his conversation was most with men, though much superior to him in parts, who rather admired than informed him; of which his nature (being the proudest man living) made him not capable, because not desirous. His greatest faculty was, and in which he was a master, to make difficult matters more intricate and perplexed; and very easy things to seem more hard than they were. The king considered the matter and subject of that proclamation at the council; where that draught the chancellor had provided was agreed to; and the attorney seemed to be satisfied in it, and was content to have it believed that it had been consulted with him; though he never forgave the chancellor for exposing him in that manner; by which he found he had lost much ground.

After the treaty of Uxbridge, most of the commissioners had given so good a testimony of the chancellor's diligence and industry, that the king, shortly after his return, very graciously took notice of it to him; and, above all, of his affection to the church, of which, he said, Dr. Steward had so fully informed him, that he looked upon him as one of the few who was to be relied upon in that particular:

at which, he said, himself was not at all surprised, having long known his affection and judgment in that point; but confessed he was surprised with the carriage of some others, from whom he had expected another kind of behaviour in matters of the church; and named sir Orlando Bridgman, upon whom, he said, he had always looked, being the son of a bishop, as so firm, that he could not be shaken; and therefore he was the more amazed, to hear what condescensions he had been willing to have made, in what concerned religion: and pressed the chancellor to answer some questions he asked him about that transaction: to the particulars whereof he excused himself from answering, by the protestation they had all taken before the treaty, with his majesty's approbation: though indeed himself had been very much surprised with the first discovery of that temper in that gentleman, which he had never before suspected: and ever after said, that "he was a man of excellent parts, and honestly inclined; and would choose much rather to do well than ill; but if it were not safe for him to be steady in those resolutions, he was so much given to find out expedients to satisfy unreasonable men, that he would at last be drawn to yield to any thing he should be powerfully pressed to do."

[The king at that time having resolved to separate the prince his son from himself, by sending him into the west,] the chancellor had a great desire to excuse himself from attending upon the prince in that journey; and represented to his majesty, that his office made it more proper for him to be near his majesty's person; and therefore renewed his suit again to him, that his service might be spared in that employment; which he was the less inclined to, because he had discovered, that neither the duke of Richmond or the earl of Southampton did intend to wait upon his highness in that expedition: but the king told him positively, and with some warmth, that if he would not go, he would not send his son: whereupon he submitted to do any thing which his majesty should judge fit for his service.

The chancellor speaking one day with the duke of Richmond, who was exceedingly kind to him, of the ill state of the king's affairs, and of the prince's journey into the west; the duke asked him, whether he was well resolved to carry the prince into France, when he should be required. He answered, that there had been no such thing mentioned to him, nor could he ever be made instrumental in it, but in one case, which was, to prevent his falling into the hands of the parliament; and in that case, he did believe every honest man would rather advise his going any whither, than to be taken by them: yet even in that case, he should prefer many places before France. The duke wished he might stay till then, implying, that he doubted it was the present design; but there was never any thing discovered to make it believed, that there was a design at that time formed to such a purpose: yet the lord Digby, who had all familiarity and confidence with the chancellor, shortly after gave him occasion to apprehend that there might even then be some such intention.

After a long discourse of the great satisfaction the king had in his (the chancellor's) service, and how much he was pleased with his behaviour in the treaty at Uxbridge, and that he had not a greater

confidence in any man's affection and fidelity; he said, his majesty had a great mind to confer with him upon a point of the last importance; but that he was kept from it by an apprehension that he was of a different judgment from his majesty in that particular. The other answered, that he was very sorry that the king was reserved for such a reason; for though he knew the chancellor did never pretend to think one thing when he did think another, and so might take the boldness to differ from his majesty in his judgment; yet the king could not believe that he would discover the secret, or refuse to do any thing that became an honest man, upon his command, though he did not believe it counsellable. Whereupon he entered upon a very reasonable consideration of the low condition of the king; of the discontent and murmur of the court, and of the camp; how very difficult a thing it was like to be, to raise such an army as would be fit to take the field; and how much more unfit it would be for the king to suffer himself to be enclosed in any garrison; which he must be, if there were no army for him to be in. If the first difficulty should be mastered, and an army made ready to march, there could be little doubt, how great soever their distractions were at London, but that the parliament would be able to send another more numerous, and much better supplied than the king's could be; and then, if the king's army was beaten, he could have no hope ever to raise another, his quarters already being very strait; and after a defeat, the victorious army would find no opposition; nor was there any garrison that could oppose them any considerable time; London would pour out more forces; that all the west would be swallowed up in an instant; and in such a case he asked him, whether he would not think it fit, and assist to the carrying the prince out of the kingdom.

The chancellor told him, he would deliver his opinion freely to him, and was willing he should let the king know it. That such a prospect as he had supposed, might and ought to be prudently considered; but that it must be with great secrecy, for that there were already, to his knowledge, some whispers of such a purpose; and that it was the true end of sending the prince into the west; which, if it should be believed, it would never be in their power to execute, though the occasion should be most pressing: therefore desired there might not be the least whisper of any contingency that might make it fit. For the matter itself, it must never be done upon any supposition of a necessity; but when the necessity should be real, and in view, it ought to be resolved and executed at once; and he would make no scruple of carrying him rather into Turkey, than suffering him to be made a prisoner to the parliament.

The lord Digby replied, that though the king would be very well pleased with this opinion of his, yet he would not be surprised with it; since he knew his affection and wisdom to be such, that in such an extremity he could not but have that resolution: therefore that was not the point that the king doubted he would differ with him in. Then he continued the discourse, that he hoped there would not such an occasion fall out, and that the divisions at London would yet open some door for a good peace to enter at; but if they should unite, and should send out a strong army,



and likewise appoint the Scots to march towards them; how the king would do between two such armies, was a terrible prospect: and then the least blow would raise so general a consternation, that the king would be more disquieted by his friends and servants, than by the enemy; that his council was so constituted, that they would look upon the prince's leaving the kingdom, as less advisable than giving himself up to the parliament; and that many men were yet so weak as to believe, that the best way the king could take for his security, and preservation of his posterity, was to deliver up both himself and all his children into the hands of the parliament; and that they would then give him better conditions than they had offered in their treaties, having it then in their power to keep all such persons from him as they were dissatisfied with.

If this opinion should once spread itself, as upon any signal defeat it would undoubtedly do, it must be expected, that the council, and most of the lords, who looked upon themselves as ruined for their loyalty, out of their natural apprehension, would imagine, that the prince being then in the west, and at liberty to do what should be thought fit, would be directed by the king to transport himself into parts beyond the sea; and the queen his mother being then in France, most probably thither; which was a circumstance that would likewise make his transportation more universally odious. So that upon this reflection and erroneous animadversion, the king would be, in the first unfortunate conjuncture, importuned by all about him to send for the prince; or at least to send such orders to those to whose care he was intrusted, that they should not presume to transport him beyond the seas, in what exigent soever. Most men would believe, that they should merit of the parliament by this advice, and would prosecute it with the more earnestness and importunity; whilst those few who discerned the mischief and ruin that must flow from it, would not have the courage to deliver their opinions in public, for fear of being accused of the counsel; and by this means the king might be so wearied and tired with importunity, that, against his judgment, he might be prevailed with to sign such a direction and order as is before mentioned; though his majesty was clearly satisfied in his understanding, that if both himself and the prince were in their hands together, the best that could happen would be murdering him and crowning his son; whereas if his son were at liberty, and out of their reach, they would get nothing by his death, and consequently would not attempt it.

This, he said, was the fatal conjuncture the king apprehended; and he then asked the chancellor, what he would do. To which he answered, without pausing, that he hoped the king had made up a firm resolution never to depart from his own virtue, upon which his fate depended; and that if he forsook himself, he had no reason to depend upon the constancy of any other man, who had nothing to support that confidence but the conscience of doing what was just: that no man could doubt the lawfulness of obeying him, in carrying the prince out of the kingdom, to avoid his being taken by the rebels; and he was not only ready to obey in that case, but would confidently advise it, as a thing in policy and prudence necessary to be done. But if the king, being at liberty, and

with his own counsellors and servants, should under his hand forbid the prince to transport himself, and forbid all about him to suffer it to be done, he would never be guilty of disobeying that express command; though he should be very sorry to receive it. He wished the king would speak with him of it, that he might take the boldness to conjure him never to put an honest and a faithful servant to that unjust strait, to do any thing expressly contrary to his plain and positive command, upon pretence of knowing his secret pleasure; which is exposing him to public justice and reproach, which can never be wiped out by the conscience of the other; and that the artifice was not worthy the royal breast of a great monarch. This, he said, was still upon the supposition of the king's liberty; but if he were a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, (though that should not shake his resolution, or make him say things he doth not intend, upon imagination that others will know his meaning,) the case would be different; and honest men would pursue former resolutions, though they should be countermanded, according to circumstances.

The conference ended; and was never after resumed: nor did the king ever, in the least degree, enter upon the argument with the chancellor, though he had many private conferences with him upon all that occurred to him, with reference to what the prince should do in the west; and of all the melancholic contingencies which might fall out in his own fortune. And it was generally believed, that his majesty had a much greater confidence in the chancellor than in the other, whose judgment he had no reverence for; and this made the chancellor afterwards believe, that all the other discourse from the lord Digby proceeded rather from some communication of counsels he had with the queen, than any directions from the king. And he did upon concurrent circumstances ever think, that the queen did, from the first minute of the separation of the prince from the king, intend to draw his highness into France, that he might be near her, and under her tuition, before any thing in the declension of the king's fortune required it, or made it counsellable; and therefore had appointed the lord Digby, her creature, who she knew had great friendship with the chancellor, to feel his pulse, and discover, whether he (in whom she had never confidence) might be applicable to her purposes. But he often declared, that the king himself never intimated the least thought of the prince's leaving the kingdom, till after the battle of Naseby; and when Fairfax was marched with his army into the west, and himself was in despair of being able to raise another army; and even then, when he signified his pleasure to that purpose, he left the time, and the manner, and the place to them, who were especially trusted by him about the prince; as will appear by the particular papers which are preserved of that affair; and wherein it will likewise appear, that his majesty received infinite satisfaction and content in the whole management of that affair, and the happy and secure transportation of the prince, in the just and proper season, and when all the kingdom was right glad that it was done.

As his majesty was more particularly gracious to the chancellor from the time of the treaty at Uxbridge; so there was no day passed without his conferring with him in private upon his most



secret considerations and apprehensions, before his departure with the prince for the west. One day he told him, he was very glad of what the duke of Richmond had done the day before; and indeed he had done somewhat the day before which very much surprised the chancellor. When his majesty arose from council, the duke of Richmond whispered somewhat privately to him, upon which the king went into his bedchamber; and the duke called the chancellor, and told him, the king would speak with him, and so took him by the hand, and led him into the bedchamber; the privilege and dignity of which room was then so punctually preserved, that the king very rarely called any privy counsellor to confer with him there, who was not of the bedchamber: which maintained a just reverence to the place, and an esteem of those who were admitted to attend there.

As soon as he came into the room, before he said any thing to the king, who was there alone, the duke spake to the chancellor, and told him, that he had been brought up from his childhood by the crown, and had always paid it the obedience of a child; that as he had taken a wife with the approbation and advice of the crown, so he had never made a friendship, which he took to be a kind of marriage, without the king's privy and particular approbation; that he had long had a kindness for him, but had taken time to know him well, which he thought he now did; and therefore had asked his majesty's consent, that he might make a friendship with him: and then said to the king, "Sir, have I not your approbation to this conjunction?" to which his majesty said, "Yes, my lord, I am very glad of it; and I will pass my word to you for the chancellor, that you will not repent it;" with many gracious expressions to them both: and so the duke led him out of the room again, saying, "Now, Mr. Chancellor, it is in your power to deceive me." And to this it was, that his majesty's discourse related the next day, when he told him he was glad of what had passed, &c. and said, he hoped he would give him good counsel; for he had not of late lived towards him in the manner he was used to do; that he knew well the duke was a very honest and worthy man, and had all the kindness, as well as duty for his majesty; but that he was grown sullen, or discontented, and had not the same countenance he used to have; for which he could imagine no other reason, but that his man Webb gave him ill counsel: he said, he was well contented that he should take notice, that his majesty was not well satisfied; and asked him suddenly, when the duke was at Oriel college with them; (Oriel college was the lodging of the lord treasurer, where that committee for secret affairs, of which the duke was one, used to meet.) The chancellor answered, that indeed the duke had not been there lately, which he thought had proceeded from his attendance upon his majesty, or some other necessary divertisement. The king said, it proceeded not from thence; and that he might take occasion from his absence from thence, to let himself into that discourse, and afterwards proceed as he thought fit.

The duke was a person of a very good understanding; and of so great perfection and punctuality in all matters of honesty and honour, that he was infinitely superior to any kind of temptation. He had all the warmth and passions of a subject,

and a servant, and a friend for the king, and for his person; but he was then a man of a high spirit, and valued his very fidelity at the rate it was worth; and not the less, for that it had almost stood single for some time. The chancellor was very sorry for this discovery; and chose to wait upon the duke the same day, near the hour when the meeting used to be at Oriel college: and when he had spent a short time with him, he said, he thought it was time to go to Oriel college, and asked his grace, whether he would please to go thither; for which he making some excuse, the other pressed him with some earnestness, and said, it was observed that he had a good time declined that meeting, and if he should not now go thither, he should be doubtful there was some reason for it.

The duke replied, that he had indeed been absent from thence for some time, and that he would deal clearly with him as his friend, but desired it should not be known; that he was resolved to be there no more. Then complained, that the king was not kind to him; at least, had not that confidence in him which he had used to have: and then spake of many particulars loosely; and especially, that before the treaty, he had advised the king to use all the means he could to draw them to a treaty, for many advantages which were like to be gotten by it; and to that purpose produced a letter that he had newly received from the countess of Carlisle, and read it to his majesty, who then seemed not to be moved with the contents; but afterwards, in several discourses, reflected upon it in such a manner, as if he were jealous that the duke held too much correspondence with that people: which he looked upon as such a point of diffidence, that it was no longer fit for him to be present where the secret part of his affairs was transacted; and so he had and would forbear to meet in that place, till his majesty should entertain a better opinion of him: yet he concealed the trouble of mind which he sustained; and wished that no notice might be taken of it.

The chancellor told him, it was too late for that caution; that the lords themselves could not but observe his long absence, who before used to be the most punctual; and confessed to him, that the king himself had spoken to him of it with a sense of wonder and dislike; which, he said, he was to blame himself for; since the honour he had done him to the king, had likewise disposed his majesty to trust him so far, as to express some dissatisfaction he had in his grace's late carriage and behaviour. The duke seemed not displeased with the communication, but thereupon entered into a fuller and warmer discourse than before; how much the king had withdrawn his confidence from him, and trusted others much more than him. In sum, it was easy to discern, that the thing that troubled him was the power and credit that John Ashburnham had with the king; which his vanity made him own to that degree, that he was not content to enjoy the benefit of it, except he made it public, and to be taken notice of by all men; which could not but reflect upon his honour: and when the chancellor seemed to think it impossible, that himself could believe that the king could prefer a man of Mr. Ashburnham's talent before his grace, he proceeded with many instances, and insisted with most indignation upon one.

That about a year before, sir John Lucas, who was well known to his grace, having met him abroad in his travels, and ever after paid a particular respect to him, had applied himself to him, and desired his favour; that when there should be any opportunity offered, he would recommend him to the king, to whom he was not unknown: that his affection to his majesty's service was notorious enough, and that his sufferings were so likewise, his house being the first that was plundered in the beginning of the war; by which, the loss he sustained in furniture, plate, money, and stock, was very considerable; so that he might modestly hope, that when his majesty scattered his favours upon others of his own rank, his poor service might likewise be remembered: but he had seen men raised to dignities, who he was sure had not the advantage over him in their sufferings, whatever they might have in their actings; and he desired no more, but (since it was too evident that his majesty's wants were great, and that money would do him some service) that he might receive that degree of honour which others had, and he would make such a present to him as should manifest his gratitude; and he desired to owe the obligation to his grace, and to receive it only by his mediation.

He said, he had moved this matter, with the relation of all the circumstances, to his majesty, who spake very graciously of the gentleman, as a person of merit, but said, he was resolved to make no more lords; which he received as a very good answer, and looked upon as a good resolution, and commended it; desiring only, that if at any time his majesty found it necessary to vary from that resolution, he would remember his proposition, and gratify that gentleman; which he promised to do; and with all which he acquainted the person concerned; thinking it could not but well satisfy him. But he told him, that he was sorry that he could not receive the honour by his grace's recommendation; but for the thing itself, he could have it when he would; and shortly after it was despatched by Mr. Ashburnham: he asked, whether this was not preferring Mr. Ashburnham very much before him. The chancellor told him, he was preferred as the better market man; and that he ought not to believe that the king's affection swayed him to that preference, but an opinion that the other would make the better bargain. He replied, his majesty was deceived in that, for he had told him what the other meant to give, without the least thought of reserving any thing for himself; whereas his majesty had now received five hundred pounds less, and his market man had gotten so much for his pains.

In conclusion, he prevailed so far with him, that they went that afternoon together to the committee to Oriel college; and the next day the chancellor spake with the king again, and told him, that the duke had been in the afternoon with the committee, where many things had been consulted; and that he found all his trouble proceeded from an apprehension, that his majesty had withdrawn his affection from him; at least, that he, the duke, had not the same credit with his majesty which he had formerly had; and that the sense and fear of that, could not but make an impression upon a good servant, who loved his master as well as he did. His majesty said, they two should not live as well together as they had done,

as long as the duke kept his man Webb; who made him believe that the king was wholly governed by Ashburnham, and cared not for anybody else. He said, nobody who knew him could believe he could be governed by Ashburnham; who, though an honest man, and one that he believed loved him well, no man thought was of an understanding superior to his majesty; and enlarged himself upon this argument so much, that he seemed as it were glad of the opportunity to clear himself from that aspersion or imputation.

It is a very great misfortune for any prince to be suspected to be governed by any man; for as the reproach is of all others the most grievous, so they think the trusting weak men, who are much short of their own vigour of wit and understanding, is a sufficient vindication from that calumny; and so, before they are aware of it, they decline wiser men, who are fit to advise them, and give themselves to weaker, upon an imagination, that nobody will ever suspect they can be governed by them. In fine, he found the work too hard for him; the king being so much incensed against Webb, that he expected the duke should turn him away: and the duke himself looked upon the king's prejudice as infused into him by Ashburnham, upon particular malice; having often desired, that some accuser might charge Webb, and he be heard to answer for himself; which the king not being willing to admit, the other was unwilling to dismiss a servant, his secretary, who had served him long, and was very useful to him; and who indeed was never suspected for any infidelity or want of affection to his master: and so the chancellor, to his great trouble, was not able to remove that cloudiness that remained in both their countenances; which never produced the least ill effect in the view or observation of any; the duke's duty being never in any degree diminished; and the king's kindness to him continuing with many gracious evidences to his death.

The last conference his majesty had with the chancellor was the very day the prince began his journey towards the west, and indeed after he had received his blessing; when his majesty sent for him into his bedchamber, and repeated some things he had mentioned before. He told him, "there had been many things which had troubled him, with reference to his son's absence from him; for all which, but one, he had satisfied himself: the one was, the inconvenience which might arise from the weakness and folly of his governor; against which he had provided, as well as he could, by obliging the prince to follow the advice of his council in all things; which he was well assured he would do; and he had given them as much authority as they could wish: another was, that there was one servant about the prince, who he thought had too much credit with him, which was Elliot; who he did not intend should be with him in the journey; and had therefore sent him into France to the queen, with direction to her majesty, to keep him there; and if he should return whilst the prince remained in the west, that he should be sent to his majesty, and not suffered to stay with his highness; and that was all the care he could take in those two particulars: but there was a third, in which he knew not what to do, and that troubled him much more than the other

"two." When the chancellor seemed full of expectation to know what that might be, the king said, "I have observed of late some kind of sharpness, upon many occasions, between Colepepper and you; and though you are joined with other honest men, yet my great confidence is upon you two: I know not that the fault is in you; nay, I must confess, that it is very often in him; but let it be where it will, any difference and unkindness between you two must be at my charge; and I must tell you, the fear I have of it gives me much trouble: I have spoken very plainly to him my apprehension in this point, within this hour; and he hath made as fair promises to me as I can wish; and upon my conscience I think he loves you, though he may sometimes provoke you to be angry."

The king here making a pause, the chancellor, out of countenance, said, "he was very sorry that he had ever given his majesty any occasion for such an apprehension, but very glad that he had vouchsafed to inform him of it; because he believed he should give his majesty such assurance in that particular as would fully satisfy him: he assured his majesty, that he had a great esteem of the lord Colepepper; and though he might have at some times passions which were inconvenient, he was so confident of him-

self, that they should not provoke or disturb him, that he was well content that his majesty should condemn, and think him in the fault, if any thing should fall out, of prejudice to his service, from a difference between them two." With which his majesty appeared abundantly satisfied and pleased; and embracing him, gave him his hand to kiss; and he immediately went to horse, and followed the prince: and this was the last time the chancellor ever saw that gracious and excellent king.

It was upon the fourth of March, in the year 1644, that the prince parted from the king his father. He lodged that night at Farringdon, having made his journey thither in one continued storm of rain from the minute he left Oxford; and from thence went the next day to the garrison of the Devizes; and the third to the city of Bath; which being a safe place, and within seven or eight miles of Bristol, he stayed there two or three days. And in this journey the chancellor was first assaulted with the gout, having never had the least apprehension of it before; but from his coming to Bath, he was not able to stand, and so went by coach to Bristol; where in few days he recovered that first lameness, which ever after afflicted him too often. And so the year 1644 ended, which shall conclude this part.

*Montpelier, November 6, 1669.*

## PART IV.

A VERY particular memorial of all material affairs in the west, during the subsequent year of 1645, during the prince's residence in the west—The state and temper of that country, after the defeat of his majesty's army at Naseby—The several plots and devices of the lord Goring, to get the prince into his power—The debauchery of that army and amongst the officers of it, and the defeats it suffered from the enemy through that debauchery—Goring's departure out of the kingdom, and the posture he left his army in—The beating up of their quarters afterwards—The entering of Fairfax into the west with his army; and his sudden taking the towns there—The mutinous behaviour of sir Richard Greenvil, and the quarrels and conflicts between the troops under his command with those under the lord Goring—The prince's retreat by degrees backward into Cornwall, as Fairfax advanced—The several messages and orders from the king, for the transporting the prince out of England, and all the directions and resolutions thereupon; and the several messages from the queen and the earl of St. Alban's; with the assurance of a supply of six thousand foot, under the command of Ruvignie, promised confidently to be landed in Cornwall within one month, when there was not any such thing in nature, nor one company raised, or ship in readiness, or in view for such an expedition, &c.—The king's obliging the lord Hopton to take charge of those broken and dissolute troops—The commitment of sir Richard Greenvil, for not submitting to be commanded by him, and for endeavouring to raise a party in the country to treat with the enemy for

the security and neutrality of Cornwall, and the routing the lord Hopton's troops at Torrington—The prince's retreat thereupon to Pendennis; and the factions and conspiracies between some of his own servants, and some gentlemen of the country, to hinder the prince from going out of the kingdom; and the departure of his highness from Pendennis, in the end of that year 1645, and his arrival in the island of Scilly, is contained in papers, orderly and methodically set down; which papers and relation are not now at hand, but are safe, and will be easily found; together with his highness's stay in the island of Scilly: from whence, the next day, the lord Colepepper was despatched with letters to the queen to Paris, to give notice of his highness's being in that island; and to desire money, arms, and ammunition for the defence thereof: and at the same time another vessel was sent into Ireland, to give the marquis of Ormond likewise information of it, and to desire that two companies of foot might be sent thither, to increase that garrison, and to defend it, in case the enemy should attack it—His highness's stay in Scilly near six weeks, until the lords Capel and Hopton came thither, after they had made conditions for the disbanding their troops with Fairfax; which Goring's troops made it necessary to do; they not only refusing to obey all orders, but mingling every day with the troops of the enemy, and remaining quietly together in the same quarters, drinking and making merry with each other—The report of a fleet designed from the parliament for Scilly, and those lords viewing the island, and not looking upon it as

tenable, caused a new consultation to be held, whether it were fit for his highness to remain there, till the return of the lord Colepepper, or to remove sooner; and whither he should remove; the frigate which brought the prince from Pendennis being still kept in readiness at Scilly, upon the foresight that his remove might come to be necessary—That upon this consultation it was resolved, that it would not be safe for his highness to remain there, but that he should transport himself from thence into the island of Jersey; which was done accordingly—And his highness's arrival there about the beginning of April, 1645—The prince's reception in Jersey, by sir George Carteret; and the universal joy of the island for his arrival; with the situation and strength of the island—The lord Digby's arrival in Jersey, with two frigates from Ireland, and with two hundred soldiers; having been at Scilly, and there heard of his highness's departure for Jersey—His earnest advice for the prince's going for Ireland; and when he could not obtain his highness's consent, till the return of the lord Colepepper, his going to Paris, to persuade the queen, and to protest against the prince's going for France; against which he inveighed with more passion than any man—The arrival of Mr. Thomas Jermyn from Paris, with very positive orders for the prince's repair thither, from the queen—And shortly after, the lord Colepepper's arrival, who had been despatched from her majesty to return to Scilly, before she knew of his highness's remove from thence; which advertisement overtook the lord Colepepper at Havre de Grace, after he was embarked; and so he bent his course thither, and had the same orders for the prince's going to Paris, as Mr. Jermyn had likewise brought.

There was none of the council inclined that his highness, being in a place of unquestionable safety, should suddenly depart from thence, till the state and condition in which his majesty was, and his pleasure might be known: it was then understood that his majesty had left Oxford, and was with the Scottish army before Newark; which he had caused to be rendered, that the army might retire; which it presently did, and the king in it, to Newcastle: the prince was yet in his father's dominions; some places in England still holding out, as Oxford, Worcester, Pendennis, and other places; that it would be easy, in a short time, to understand the king's pleasure, and that there could be no inconvenience in expecting it, the prince's person being in no possible danger; but that the mischief might be very great, if, without the king's direction, it were done, whether his majesty should be well or ill treated by the Scots; and that the parliament might make it a new matter of reproach against the king, that he had

sent the heir apparent of the crown out of the kingdom; which could be no otherwise excused, at least by those who attended him, than by evident and apparent necessity: those reasons appeared of so much weight to the prince himself, (who had not a natural inclination to go into France,) and to all the council, that the lord Capel and the lord Colepepper were desired to go to Paris, to satisfy the queen why the prince had deferred yielding a present obedience to her command.

The treatment they received at Paris, and their return again to Jersey, together with the lord Jermyn and lord Digby, and some other persons of quality: the lord Digby being to return to Ireland with eight thousand pistoles, which the cardinal sent towards the supply of the king's service there; and being by it and the cardinal so thoroughly convinced of the necessity of the prince's going for France, that he was more positive for it than any of the rest; and had promised the queen that he would convert the chancellor, and make him consent to it; with whom he had a great friendship—The debate at Jersey upon their coming back—The lord Capel adhering to his former opinion, that we might first know the king's opinion; towards the receiving of which he had offered the queen, and now offered again, to go himself to Newcastle, where the king still was; nobody knowing what would be the issue of the controversy between the Scots and the parliament; and if the king should direct it, every man would willingly attend his highness, and punctually observe whatsoever the king commanded; and because the objection might be removed, of his being taken prisoner by the parliament, or his being not suffered by the Scots to speak with the king, he did offer, and all who were of his opinion consented to it, that if he did not return to Jersey within one month, the prince should pursue the queen's orders, and every man would attend his highness into France; and a month's delay could be of no ill consequence—The prince's resolution to go presently for Paris—and the reasons which moved the lords Capel and Hopton, and the chancellor, to excuse themselves—and his highness's permission to remain in Jersey; from whence they would attend his commands, when he had any service for them—And the sudden reservedness and strangeness that grew between those who advised the going, and those who were for staying—and the prince's embarking himself for France about July, in the year 1646—

All these particulars are so exactly remembered in those papers, remaining in a cabinet easy to be found, that they will quickly be put into a method; and contain enough to be inserted in the fourth part of this relation<sup>a</sup>.

*Montpelier, November 9, 1669.*

<sup>a</sup> These materials were afterwards made use of by the author, when he completed the *History of the Rebellion*, where these occurrences are treated of more at large.

## PART V.

THE prince having left Jersey about July in the year 1646, the chancellor of the exchequer remained there about two years after; where he presently betook himself to his study; and enjoyed, as he was wont to say, the greatest tranquillity of mind imaginable. Whilst the lords Capel and Hopton stayed there, they lived and kept house together in St. Hilary's; which is the chief town of the island: where, having a chaplain of their own, they had prayers every day in the church, at eleven of the clock in the morning; till which hour they enjoyed themselves in their chambers, according as they thought fit; the chancellor betaking himself to the continuance of the History, which he had begun at Scilly, and spending most of his time at that exercise. The other two walked, or rode abroad, or read, as they were disposed; but at the hour of prayers they always met; and then dined together at the lord Hopton's lodging, which was the best house; they being lodged at several houses, with convenience enough. Their table was maintained at their joint expense only for dinners; they never using to sup; but met always upon the sands in the evening to walk, often going to the castle to sir George Carteret; who treated them with extraordinary kindness and civility, and spent much time with them; and, in truth, the whole island shewed great affection to them, and all the persons of quality invited them to their houses, to very good entertainments; and all other ways expressed great esteem towards them; and appeared very unanimous and resolute to defend the island against any attempt the parliament should make against it.

[And from hence they writ a joint letter to the king, which they sent to him by Mr. Fanshaw; in which they made great profession of their duty to his majesty, and their readiness to proceed in his service, and to wait upon the prince upon the first occasion; with such reasons for their not attending him into France, as they thought could not but be satisfactory to his majesty; declaring, that they had only desired that he would stay so long in a place of his own, of unquestionable security, as that they might receive the signification of his majesty's pleasure for his remove; upon which they were all resolved to have waited upon him: though it was evident enough to them, that their advice would be no longer hearkened unto, after his highness should arrive with the queen.]—(See *Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 604.)

In England, men's hopes and fears were raised according to their tempers; for there was argument for both affections in the transactions and occurrences of every day; it being no easy matter to make a judgment which party would prevail, nor what they would do if they did. The lord Capel received advice from his friends in England, to remove from Jersey into some part of the United Provinces; that so, being in a place to which there could be no prejudice, his friends might the more hopefully solicit for liberty for him to return into his own country, and that he

might live in his own house; which they had reason to hope would not be denied to a person who had many friends, and could not be conceived to have any enemies, his person being worthily esteemed by all. Whereupon, with the full concurrence and advice of his two friends, from whom he had great tenderness to part, and with whom he renewed his contract of friendship at parting in a particular manner, upon foresight of what might happen; he went from thence, and first waited upon the prince at Paris, that he might have his royal highness's approbation for his return into England, if he might do it upon honourable conditions: and from thence, with all possible demonstration of grace from the prince, he transported himself to Middleburgh in Zealand; where he remained till his friends procured liberty for him to return, and remain at his own house. The worthy and noble things he did after, will be mentioned in order, and deserve to be transmitted to posterity in some more illustrious testimony, that may be worthy to be recorded.

The lord Capel thus leaving Jersey, the lord Hopton and the chancellor remained still there, in the same conjunction, until, some few months after, the lord Hopton received the news of the death of his wife, and of the arrival in France of his uncle, sir Arthur Hopton; who, having been ambassador from the king in Spain, had left that court, and retired to Paris; from whence he shortly after removed to Rouen, with a purpose, as soon as he had at large conferred with his nephew, to go into England, for the good and benefit of both their fortunes: and upon this occasion the lord Hopton likewise left Jersey, with all possible professions of an entire friendship to the chancellor, which was never violated in the least degree to his death. And the chancellor being thus left alone, he was with great civility and friendship invited by sir George Carteret to remove from the town, (where he had lived with his friends till then,) and to live with him in the castle Elizabeth; whither he went the next day after the departure of the lord Hopton, and remained there, to his wonderful contentment, in the very cheerful society of sir George Carteret and his lady; in whose house he received all the liberty and entertainment he could have expected in his own family; of which he always retained so just a memory, that there was never any intermission or decay of that friendship he then made: and he remained there till he was sent for again to attend the prince, which will be mentioned in its time.

He built a lodging in the castle, of two or three convenient rooms, to the wall of the church, which sir George Carteret had repaired and beautified; and over the door of his lodging he set up his arms, with this inscription, *Bene vixit, qui bene latuit*: and he always took pleasure in relating, with what great tranquillity of spirit (though deprived of the joy he took in his wife and children) he spent his time here, amongst his books (which he got from Paris) and his papers; between which

he seldom spent less than ten hours in the day : and it can hardly be believed how much he read and writ there ; insomuch as he did usually compute, that during his whole stay in Jersey, which was some months above two years, he writ [daily] little less than one sheet of large paper with his own hand ; most of which are still to be seen amongst his papers.

From Hampton Court, his majesty writ to the chancellor of the exchequer with his own hand ; in which he took notice, that he was writing the *History of the late Troubles* ; for which he thanked him, saying, that he knew no man could do it so well ; and that he would not do it the worse, by the helps that he would very speedily send him : (as his majesty shortly after did, in two manuscripts very fairly written, containing all matters of importance that had passed from the time that the prince of Wales went from his majesty into the west, to the very time that his majesty himself went from Oxford to the Scottish army ; which were all the passages in the years 1645 and 1646.) He used many gracious expressions in that letter to him ; and said, he looked upon him as one of those who had served him with most fidelity, and therefore he might be confident of his kindness ; and that he would bring him to him with the first ; though, he said, he did not hold him to be infallible, as he might discern by what he had commanded Dr. Sheldon, who was then clerk of his closet, to write to him ; and at the same time the doctor writ him word, that the king was sorry that he, the chancellor, stayed at Jersey, and did not attend the prince into France ; and that if he had been there, he would have been able to have prevented the vexation his majesty had endured at Newcastle, by messages from Paris.

The doctor likewise sent him word, that great pains had been taken from Paris to incense the king against him ; but that it had so little prevailed, that his majesty had with some sharpness reprehended those who blamed him, and had justified the chancellor. He made haste to answer his majesty's letter, and gave him so much satisfaction, that his majesty said, he was too hard for him. And about the same time the lord Capel came into England ; and though he was under security to the parliament for behaving himself peaceably, he was not restrained from seeing the king ; and so gave him a very particular information of all that had passed at Jersey ; and many other things, of which his majesty had never been informed before ; which put it out of any body's power to make any ill impressions in him towards the chancellor.

[Upon the king's refusing to give his assent to the four acts sent to him from the parliament when he was in the Isle of Wight, they voted, "that no more addresses should be made to the king ;" and published a declaration to that effect, which contained severe charges against his majesty.]—(See p. 630.)

The chancellor of the exchequer no sooner received a copy of it in Jersey, than he prepared a very large and full answer to it ; in which he made the malice and the treason of that libellous declaration to appear ; and his majesty's innocence in all the particulars charged upon him, with such pathetic applications and insinuations, as were most like to work upon the affections of the people : all which was transmitted (by the care of Mr.

Secretary Nicholas, who resided at Caen in Normandy, and held a constant correspondence with the chancellor) to a trusty hand in London ; who caused it to be well printed and divulged, and found means to send it to the king : who, after he had read it, said he durst swear it was writ by the chancellor, if it were not that there was more divinity in it than he expected from him, which made him believe he had conferred with Dr. Steward. But some months after, being informed by secretary Nicholas, he sent the chancellor thanks for it ; and expressed upon all occasions, that he was much pleased with that vindication.

[The lord Capel had written to the chancellor of the exchequer, who remained still in Jersey, signifying the king's commands, that as soon as the chancellor should be required to wait upon the prince, he should without delay obey the summons. The king had writ to the queen, that when it should be necessary for the prince to remove out of France, the chancellor should have notice of it, and be required to attend him. About the beginning of April, in the year 1648, the lord Capel writ again to the chancellor, giving him notice, that he would probably be sent for soon, and desiring him to be ready. About the middle of May, the queen sent to the chancellor of the exchequer to Jersey, commanding, that he would wait upon the prince at Paris, upon a day that was past before the letter came to his hands ; but as soon as he received the summons, he immediately transported himself into Normandy, and went to Caen ; from thence he hastened to Rouen, where he found the lord Cottington, the earl of Bristol, and secretary Nicholas, who had received the same commands. They were informed that the prince was passed by towards Calais ; and direction was sent, that the chancellor and the rest should stay at Rouen till they should receive new orders from Calais. Within few days they received advice, that the prince had put himself on board a ship that he found at Calais bound for Holland, where they were to hear from him ; whereupon they removed from Rouen to Dieppe ; from whence they might embark for Holland when required.]—(See p. 645.)

After the lord Cottington, the earl of Bristol, and the chancellor of the exchequer had stayed at Dieppe some days, and were confirmed by reports every day that the prince was in Holland, and that the fleet wanted some provisions, without which it could not put out to sea ; they resolved to make use of the first vessel, of which there were many then in the harbour, that should be bound for Holland, and to transport themselves thither ; and there was one which within two or three days would set out for Flushing. The earl of Bristol had no mind to venture himself in such a vessel ; and since the fleet that had declared for the king was then in Holland, he apprehended that the parliament might have other vessels abroad, that might easily seize upon that small bark ; and so, after some debate with the lord Cottington, (they two being seldom of one mind,) the earl resolved to return to his old habitation at Caen, and expect another occasion.

The chancellor, who knew nothing of the sea, nor understood the hazards thereof, (being always so afflicted upon that element with sickness, that he considered nothing about it ; and holding himself obliged to make what haste he could to the

prince,) committed himself entirely to the lord Cottington: and when they resolved to embark themselves in the vessel bound for Flushing, a French man of war, which was called the king's ship, came into the road of Dieppe, and offered to carry them the next day to Dunkirk; which they took to be the safer passage: and so giving the captain as much money as he demanded, they put themselves upon his miserable frigate, where they had no accommodations but the open deck; and were safely set on shore at Dunkirk, where marshal Ranzaw was then governor. And they no sooner landed in the evening, but Carteret, a servant of the prince's, came to them, and informed them, that the prince was entered the river of Thames with the fleet; and that he was sent by his highness to the marshal for a frigate, which he had offered to lend the prince: and that he had delivered the letter, and the marshal (who had been out all the night before upon a design upon the enemy, and was newly arrived, and gone to bed) had promised him that the frigate should be ready the next day. This seemed an extraordinary good fortune to them, that they might now embark directly for the fleet without going into Holland, which they were willing to avoid; and so resolved to speak with the marshal as soon as they could, that they might be confirmed by him, that his frigate should be ready the next day; and thereupon sent a servant to wait at the marshal's lodging, that they might know when he waked, and was to be spoken with.

The marshal had notice of their arrival before the servant came to him, and of their desire to go to the prince; and sent one of his officers to welcome them to the town, and to see them well accommodated with lodging; and to excuse him, that he did not wait upon them that night, by reason of the fatigue he had undergone the night before, and that day; and to oblige them to dine with him the next day, against which time the vessel would be made ready to receive them, and transport them to the prince's fleet; with which they were abundantly satisfied; and betook themselves to their rest for that night: and were early up the next morning to see the marshal; but it was late before he rose.

He received them with great civility, being a very proper man, of a most extraordinary presence and aspect, and might well be reckoned a very handsome man, though he had but one leg, one hand, one eye, and one ear, the other being cut off with that side of his face; besides many other cuts on the other cheek, and upon his head, with many wounds in the body; notwithstanding all which, he stood very upright, and had a very graceful motion, a clear voice, and a charming delivery; and if he had not, according to the custom of his nation, (for he was a German,) too much indulged to the excess of wine, he had been one of the most excellent captains of that age. He professed great affection to the prince, and much commended the frigate he intended to send to him; which, for the swiftness of it, was called the Hare, and outsailed, as he said, all the vessels of that coast: and after he had treated them with a very excellent and a jovial dinner, about four of the clock in the afternoon he brought them to their boat, that put them on board their frigate; which was but a small vessel of twenty guns, much inferior to what they expected, by the description

the marshal had made of it. However, it was very proper for the use they were to make of it, to be delivered at the fleet; and so, the moon shining very fair, they weighed anchor about sunset, with a very small gale of wind.

The prince being master at sea, they had no manner of apprehension of an enemy; not knowing or considering that they were very near Ostend, and so, in respect of the vessel they were in, liable to be made a prize by those men of war; as it fell out: for about break of day, in a dead calm, they found themselves pursued by six or seven ships, which, as they drew nearer, were known by the seamen to be the frigates of Ostend. There was no hope to escape by the swiftness of the vessel, for there was not the least breath of wind; and it was to no purpose to resist; for, besides that the vessel was not half manned, four or five of the pursuers were stronger ships; so that it was thought best to let the sails fall, that they might see there was no purpose of resistance; and to send Carteret in the boat, to inform the ships who the persons were that were on board, and that they had a pass from the archduke: for an authentic copy of a pass the archduke had sent to the prince, had been sent to them. All the ships, though they had the king of Spain's commission, were freebooters, belonging to private owners, who observed no rules or laws of nations; but they boarded the vessel with their swords drawn and pistols cocked, and without any distinction plundered all the passengers with equal rudeness; save that they stripped some of the servants to their very shirts: they used not the rest with that barbarity, being satisfied with taking all they had in their pockets, and carefully examined all their valises and trunks, in which they found good booty.

The lord Cottington lost in money and jewels above one thousand pounds; the chancellor, in money about two hundred pounds, and all his clothes and linen; and sir George Ratcliff and Mr. Wansford, who were in the company, above five hundred pounds in money and jewels. And having pillaged them in this manner, they carried them all, with the frigate they had been in, prisoners to Ostend; where they arrived about two of the clock in the afternoon; all the men and women of the town being gathered together to behold the prize that was brought in within so few hours: for intelligence had been sent from Dunkirk the night before, (according to the custom and good intelligence observed in those places,) of the going out of this vessel, which had such persons on board. When they were on shore, they were carried through all the spectators to a common inn; from whence they sent to the magistrates, to inform them of what condition they were, and of the injuries they had received, by having been treated as enemies; and demanded restitution of ship and goods.

The magistrates, who were called the lords of the admiralty, came presently to them; and when they were fully informed of the whole matter, and had seen the archduke's pass, they seemed very much troubled; and with much civility assured them, that they should not only receive all that had been taken from them, but that the men should be severely punished for their transgression. They immediately discharged those guards that kept them as prisoners, and provided the



best lodgings in the town for them : and because it was growing towards the evening, and the frigates were not yet come in, they excused themselves that they could do no more that night, but promised to go themselves on board the ships the next morning early ; and desired that some of the gentlemen of their company might go with them, to the end that they might discover at least some of those who had been most rude towards them ; who should be sure to be imprisoned till full satisfaction were made by the rest.

As soon as the lords of the admiralty were gone, the governor, an old Spaniard, came to visit them, with all professions of civility and service, and seemed to abhor the barbarity with which they had been treated ; asked very particularly of the manner of them, and of every particular that had been taken from them ; and told them, they should be sure to have it all returned ; for that they did not trouble themselves in such cases to find out the seamen who were the plunderers, but resorted always to the owners of the ships, who lived in the town, and were substantial men, and bound to answer and satisfy for all misdemeanours committed by the company ; and said, he would be with them the next day, and take care that all should be done that was just. These professions and assurances made them believe that they should receive full reparation for the damages they had received ; and the lord Cottington began to commend the good order and discipline that was observed under the Spanish government, much different from that in other places ; and in how much better condition they were, after such usage, to be brought into Ostend, than if they had been so used by the French, and carried into any of their ports.

The next morning two of the lords of the admiralty called upon them in their way to the ships, retaining the same professions they had made the night before ; and sir George Ratcliff, Mr. Wansford, and some of their servants accompanied them according to their desire ; and as soon as they were on board the admiral's vessel, that had brought them in, and had taken them out of their own, they knew some of those seamen who had been most busy about them ; which were immediately seized on and searched ; and about some of them some pieces of chains of gold, and other things of value belonging to the lord Cottington were found ; and some mails, in which were linen and clothes ; all which were presently restored and delivered to some of the servants who were present, and brought them to their masters. The chancellor was more solicitous for some papers he had lost, than for his money ; and he was used to say, that he looked upon it as a singular act of Providence, that those officers prevailed with a seaman, who had taken it out of his pocket, to restore a little letter which he had lately received from the king whilst he was in the bands of the army ; which, for the grace and kindness contained in it, he did ever exceedingly value.

Those of the admiralty, though they had not yet found out either any of the jewels or money of which they had been robbed, thought they had done enough for the morning, and so returned to dinner ; declaring that they would return in the afternoon ; and directed the ships to be drawn nearer together, to the end they might visit them together : and they did return in the afternoon,

accompanied as before, but their reception by the seamen was not as in the morning. The captains answered those questions which were asked of them negligently and scornfully ; and those seamen who had been searched in the morning, and were appointed to be produced in the afternoon to be further examined, could not be found ; and instead of bringing the ships nearer together, some of them were gone more out to sea ; and the rest declared, that they would go all out to sea that night : and when the magistrates seemed to threaten them, they swore they would throw both them and all who came with them overboard ; and offered to lay hands upon them in order to it ; so that they were all glad to get off ; and returned to the town, talking loud what vengeance they would take upon the captains and seamen when they returned again into port, (for they already stood out to sea in their sight ; and in the mean time they would prosecute the owners of the vessels, who should satisfy for the damage received : but from this time the governor nor the lords of the admiralty cared to come near them ; and they quickly found that the reason of all the governor's civility the first night, and the many questions he had asked concerning all the particulars they had lost of any kind, was only to be the better informed, to demand his share from the seamen ; and that the lords of the admiralty were the owners of the several vessels, or had shares in them, and in the victualling, and so were to divide the spoil, which they pretended should be restored. So that after they had remained there four or five days, they were contented to receive one hundred pistoles for discharging the debts they had contracted in the town, (for there was not any money left amongst them,) and to carry them to the prince ; which those of the admiralty pretended to have received from some of the owners, and to wait for further justice when the ships should return, which they doubted not should be effectually called for by the commands of the archduke, when he should be informed : and so they prosecuted their journey to the prince, making their way by Bruges, and from thence by the way of Sluys to Flushing : and those hundred pistoles were the only recompense that they ever received for that affront and damage they had sustained, which in the whole amounted to two thousand pounds at the least ; though the king's resident, De Vic, at Brussels prosecuted the pretence with the archduke as long as there was any hope.

The chancellor was often used to relate an observation that was generally made and discoursed at Ostend at that time, that never any man who adventured in setting out those frigates of rapine, which are called men of war, or in victualling or bearing any share in them, died rich, or possessed of any valuable estate : and that as he walked one morning about the town and upon the quay with an English officer, who was a lieutenant in that garrison, they saw a poor old man walk by them, whom the lieutenant desired the chancellor to observe ; and when he was passed by, he told him, that he had known that man the richest of any man in the town ; that he had been the owner of above ten ships of war at one time, without any partner or sharer with him ; that he had had in his warehouses in the town as much goods and merchandise together as amounted to the value of one hundred thousand pounds, within seven years



before the time he was then speaking; and after the loss of two or three frigates, he insensibly decayed so fast, that having begun to build another frigate, which he shewed him as they walked, and which lay then not half finished, he was not able to go through with it; and that he was at that time so poor, that he had not wherewith to maintain him, but received the charity of those who had known him in a plentiful estate: and this relation he made in confirmation of that discourse and observation; and it made so deep an impression upon the chancellor, that afterwards, when the war was between England, and Holland, and France, and when many gentlemen thought it good husbandry to adventure in the setting out such ships of war, he always dissuaded his friends from that traffic, relating to them this story, of the truth whereof he had such evidence; and did in truth moreover in his own judgment believe, that all engagements of that kind were contrary to the rules of justice and a good conscience.

When they came to Flushing, they thought it best to stay there, as the most likely place to have commerce with the fleet; and they found there colonel William Vavasour, who had, by the prince's commission, drawn some companies of foot together, and expected some vessel to be sent from the fleet for their transportation; and Carteret was already despatched, to inform the prince of what had befallen the treasurer and chancellor, and that they waited his commands at Flushing: and because Middleburgh would be as convenient to receive intelligence, and more convenient for their accommodation, they removed thither, and took a private lodging; where, by having a cook, and other servants, they might make their own provisions. They had been at Middleburgh very few days, before the *Hind* frigate was sent by the prince to bring them to the fleet, with direction that they should make as much haste as was possible; and they had no occasion to delay, but the wind was so directly against them for two or three days, that they could not put themselves on board. It was now about the middle of July, when the wind appeared fair, and they presently embarked, and weighed anchor, and sailed all the night; but in the morning the wind changed, and blew so hard a gale, that they were compelled to turn about, and came before night again to Flushing; whence they endeavoured three times more to get into the Downs, from whence they might easily have got to the fleet; but as often as they put to sea, so often they were driven back, and once with so violent a storm that their ship was in danger, and was driven in under the Ramekins, a fort near the mouth of the river that goes to Middleburgh; whither they again repaired: and the winds were so long contrary, that they received order from the prince to repair into Holland; for that his highness resolved within very few days, it being now towards the end of August, to carry the fleet thither; as he shortly after did. And by this means the lord Cottington and the chancellor were not able to attend the prince whilst he remained with the fleet within the river of Thames; but were well informed, when they came to him, of all that had passed there.

The lord Cottington and the chancellor of the exchequer, as soon as they received advertisement at Middleburgh that the prince resolved to return with the fleet into Holland, made all the haste

they could to the Hague; it being then about the end of August; and came thither within one day after the prince's arrival there.

[The next morning after the lord Cottington and the chancellor of the exchequer came to the Hague, the prince appointed his council to meet together, to receive and deliberate upon a message the lord Lautherdale had brought from the parliament of Scotland, earnestly pressing him to repair forthwith to their army; which was already entered into England, under the command of the duke of Hamilton—the chancellor reproves the lord Lautherdale for his insolent behaviour before the council.]—(See p. 660.)

[The factions in the prince's family, and the great animosity which prince Rupert had against the lord Colepepper, infinitely disturbed the counsels, and perplexed the lord Cottington and the chancellor of the exchequer—Colepepper had passions and infirmities which no friends could restrain; and prince Rupert, though very well inclined to the chancellor, was absolutely governed by Herbert the attorney general, who industriously cultivated his prejudice to Colepepper.]—(See p. 670.)

[Whilst the prince was at the Hague, he received the shocking account of the murder of the king his father; and soon after, the queen wrote to him from Paris, advising him to repair into France as soon as possible, and desiring him not to swear any persons to be of his council, till she could speak with him: but before he received her letter, he had already caused those of his father's council who had attended him to be sworn of his privy council; adding only Mr. Long his secretary. He had no mind to go into France; and it was evident that he could not be long able to reside at the Hague, an agent from the parliament being there at that very time: so that it was time to think of some other retreat. Ireland was then thought most advisable; some favourable accounts having been received from thence of the transactions of the marquis of Ormond and lord Inchiquin, and of the arrival of prince Rupert at Kinsale with the fleet.]—(See p. 706.)

[The chancellor of the exchequer was sent to confer with the marquis of Mountrose in a village near the Hague upon the state of affairs in Scotland. The marquis came now into Holland to offer his service to his majesty; expecting that he would presently send him to Scotland with some forces, to prepare the way for his majesty to follow after.]—(See p. 708.)

[The king declared his resolution of going into Ireland, and preparations were made for that expedition; which however, from accidents that afterwards fell out, did not take effect. The lord Cottington, wishing to avoid the fatigue of such expeditions, took that occasion to confer with the chancellor of the exchequer upon the expediency of the king's sending an embassy into Spain; and proposed, that himself and the chancellor should be appointed ambassadors to that court; to which the chancellor consented: and upon the lord Cottington's representation of the matter to the king, his majesty soon after publicly declared his resolution to send those two, ambassadors extraordinary into Spain.]—(See p. 714.)

This was no sooner known, but all kind of people, who agreed in nothing else, murmured and complained of this counsel; and the more,

because it had never been mentioned or debated in council. Only the Scots were very glad of it, (Mountrose excepted,) believing that when the chancellor was gone, their beloved covenant would not be so irreverently mentioned; and that the king would be wrought upon to withdraw all countenance and favour from the marquis of Mountrose; and the marquis himself looked upon it as a deserting him, and complying with the other party: and from that time, though they lived with civility towards each other, he withdrew very much of his confidence, which he had formerly reposed in him. They who loved him were sorry for him and themselves; they thought he deserted a path he had long trod, and was well acquainted with; and was henceforward to move "*extra sphaeram activitatis*," in an office he had not been acquainted with; and then they should want his credit to support and confirm them in the king's favour and grace: and there were many who were very sorry when they heard it, out of particular duty to the king; who, being young, they thought might be without that counsel and advisement, which they knew well he would still administer to him.

No man was more angry and offended with the counsel than the lord Colepepper, who would have been very glad to have gone himself in the employment, if he could have persuaded the lord Cottington to have accepted his company; which he would by no means do; and though he and the chancellor were not thought to have the greatest kindness for each other, yet he knew he could agree with no other man so well in business; and was very unwilling he should be from the person of the king. But the chancellor himself, from the time that the king had signified his own pleasure to him, was exceedingly pleased with the commission; and did believe that he should in some degree improve his understanding, and very much refresh his spirits, by what he should learn by the one, and by his absence from being continually conversant with those wants which could never be severed from that court, and that company which would be always corrupted by those wants. And so he sent for his wife and children to meet him at Antwerp, where he intended they should reside whilst he continued in Spain, and where they were like to find some civilities in respect of his employment.

[The ambassadors took leave of the king before the middle of May, and went to Antwerp, where the chancellor's wife and family were arrived, who were to remain there during his embassy—After staying two or three days at Antwerp, they went to Brussels, to deliver their credentials to the archduke and to the duke of Lorraine, and to visit the Spanish ministers there, &c.]—(See p. 718.)

[When the ambassadors had despatched all their business at Brussels, they returned to Antwerp, to negotiate the remittance of their money to Madrid.]—(See p. 719.)

[The queen is much displeased that the king had taken any resolutions before she was consulted, and imputed all that had been done principally to the chancellor of the exchequer; suspecting he meant to exclude her from meddling in the affairs.]—(See p. 719.)

[Lord Cottington and the chancellor, hearing that the king was on his way to France, resolve to defer going to St. Germain's till the king's

first interview with the queen should be over.]—(See p. 730.)

[About a week after the king left Brussels, the two ambassadors prosecuted their journey to Paris; stayed only one day there, and then went to St. Germain's; where the king, and the queen his mother, with both their families, and the duke of York then were—They found that court full of jealousy and disorder—The queen much troubled at the king's behaviour to her, as if he had no mind that she should interfere in his affairs—She now attributes this reservedness of the king towards her, more to the influence of somebody else than to the chancellor of the exchequer—He had a private audience of the queen—She complained of the king's unkindness to her, and of the great credit Mr. Elliot (one of his majesty's grooms of the bedchamber) had with the king.]—(See p. 725.)

[About the middle of September, the king left St. Germain's, and began his journey towards Jersey, and the queen removed to Paris—The two ambassadors attended her majesty thither, and prepared for their journey into Spain.]—(See p. 725.)

During the time of their short stay at Paris, the queen used the chancellor very graciously; but still expressed trouble that he was sent on that embassy, which, she said, would be fruitless, as to any advantage the king would receive from it; and, she said, she must confess, that though she was not confident of his affection and kindness towards her, yet she believed that he did wish that the king's carriage towards her should be always fair and respectful; and that she did desire that he might be always about his majesty's person; not only because she thought he understood the business of England better than any body else, but because she knew that he loved the king, and would always give him good counsel towards his living virtuously; and that she thought he had more credit with him than any other, who would deal plainly and honestly with him.

There was a passage at that time, of which he used to speak often, and looked upon as a great honour to him. The queen one day, amongst some of her ladies in whom she had most confidence, expressed some sharpness towards a lord of the king's council, whom she named not; who, she said, always gave her the fairest words, and promised her every thing she desired, and had persuaded her to affect somewhat that she had before no mind to; and yet she was well assured, that when the same was proposed to the king on her behalf, he was the only man who dissuaded the king from granting it. Some of the ladies seemed to have the curiosity to know who it was; which the queen would not tell: one of them, who was known to have a friendship for him, said, she hoped it was not the chancellor; to which her majesty replied with some quickness, that she might be sure it was not he, who was so far from making promises, or giving fair words, and flattering her, that she did verily believe, that "if he thought her to be a whore, he would tell her of it;" which when that lady told him, he was not displeased with the testimony.

[The two ambassadors began their journey from Paris on Michaelmas day, and continued it without one day's rest to Bourdeaux.]—(See p. 725.)

[They continued their journey to Bayonne; and from thence to St. Sebastian's; where they were told by the corregidor that he had received direc-

tions from the secretary of state, to persuade them to remain there till the king's further pleasure might be known; and they received a packet from sir Benjamin Wright at Madrid, enclosing a pass for them, under the title of ambassadors from the prince of Wales. They immediately sent an express to the court, complaining of their treatment, and desiring to know whether their persons were unacceptable to his catholic majesty; and if otherwise, they desired they might be treated in the manner due to the honour and dignity of the king their master. They received an answer full of civility, imputing the error in the style of their pass to the negligence or ignorance of the secretary; and new passes were sent to them in the proper style; with assurance, that they should find a very good welcome from his majesty.—They left St. Sebastian's about the middle of November.]—(See p. 726.)

When they came to Alcavendas, within three leagues of Madrid, sir Benjamin Wright came to them, and informed them that all things were in the state they were when he writ to them at St. Sebastian's; that no house was yet prepared for their reception; and that there was an evident want of attention for them in the court; the Spanish ambassador in England having done them ill offices, lest their good reception in Spain might incense the parliament.—After a week's stay in that little town, they accepted of sir Benjamin Wright's invitation to his house at Madrid; they went privately thither, to reside *incognito*—The court knew of their arrival, but took no notice of it—Lord Cottington desired and obtained a private audience of don Lewis de Haro—Don Lewis excused the omissions towards the ambassadors, on pretence that the *fiestas* for their new queen's arrival had engrossed the whole attention of all the officers about the court; and promised immediate reparation—Lord Cottington returned home well satisfied—The ambassadors are invited to see the exercises of the *fiestas*; and the chancellor accordingly went to the place assigned.]—(See p. 727.)

The masquerade is an exercise they learned from the Moors, performed by squadrons of horse, seeming to charge each other with great fierceness, with bucklers in their left hands, and a kind of cane in their right; which, when they come within little more than a horse's length, they throw with all the strength they can; and against them they defend themselves with very broad bucklers; and as soon as they have thrown their darts, they wheel about in a full gallop, till they can turn to receive the like assault from those whom they had charged; and so several squadrons of twenty or five and twenty horse run round and charge each other. It hath at first the appearance of a martial exercise; the horses are very beautiful, and well adorned; the men richly clad, and must be good horsemen, otherwise they could not obey the quick motions and turns of their horses; all the rest is too childish, the darts being nothing else but plain bulrushes of the biggest growth. After this, they run the course; which is like our running at the ring; save that two run still together, and the swifter hath the prize; a post dividing them at the end: from the start they run their horses full speed about fifty paces, and the judges are at that post to determine who is first at the end. There the king and don

Lewis ran several courses, in all which don Lewis was too good a courtier to win any prize; though he always lost it by very little. The appearance of the people was very great, and the ladies in all the windows made a very rich show, otherwise the show itself had nothing wonderful. Here there happened to be some sudden sharp words between the admirante of Castile, a haughty young man, and the marquis de Liche, the eldest son of don Lewis de Haro; the which being taken notice of, they were both dismissed the squadrons wherein they were, and committed to their chambers.—(See p. 729.)

The next day, and so for two or three days together, both the ambassadors had a box prepared for them to see the *toros*; which is a spectacle very wonderful; different from what they had seen at Burgos, where the bulls were much tamer, and where they were not charged by men on horseback, and little harm done. Here the place was very noble, being the market-place, a very large square, built with handsome brick houses, which had all balconies, which were adorned with tapestry and very beautiful ladies. Scaffolds were built round to the first story; the lower rooms being shops, and for ordinary use; and in the division of those scaffolds, all the magistrates and officers of the town knew their places. The pavement of the place was all covered with gravel, which in summer time was upon those occasions watered by carts charged with hogsheads of water. As soon as the king comes, some officers clear the whole ground from the common people; so that there is no man seen upon the plain, but two or three alguazils, magistrates with their small white wands. Then one of the four gates which lead into the streets is opened; at which the torreadors enter, all persons of quality richly clad, and upon the best horses in Spain; every one attended by eight, or ten, or more lackeys, all clinquant with gold and silver lace; who carry the spears which their masters are to use against the bulls; and with this entry many of the common people break in, for which sometimes they pay very dear. The persons on horseback have all cloaks folded up upon their left shoulder; the least disorder of which, much more the letting it fall, is a very great disgrace; and in that grave order they march to the place where the king sits, and after they have made the reverences, they place themselves at a good distance from one another, and expect the bull.

The bulls are brought in the night before from the mountains, by people used to that work; who drive them into the town when nobody is in the streets, into a pen made for them, which hath a door that opens into that large space, the key whereof is sent to the king; which the king, when he sees every thing ready, throws to an alguazil, who carries it to the officer that keeps the door; and he causes it to be opened when a single bull is ready to come out. When the bull enters, the common people who sit over the door, or near it, strike him, or throw short darts with sharp points of steel, to provoke him to rage: he commonly runs with all his fury against the first man he sees on horseback; who watches him so carefully, and avoids him so dexterously, that when the spectators believe him to be even between the horns of the bull, he avoids him by the quick turn of his horse; and with his lance

strikes the bull upon a vein that runs through his pole, with which in a moment he falls down dead. But this fatal stroke can never be struck, but when the bull comes so near upon the turn of the horse, that his horn even touches the rider's leg; and so is at such a distance, that he can shorten his lance, and use the full strength of his arm in the blow; and they who are the most skilful in the exercise, do frequently kill the beast with such an exact stroke; insomuch as in a day, two or three fall in that manner: but if they miss the vein, it only gives a wound that the more enrages him.

Sometimes the bull runs with so much fierceness, (for if he escapes the first man, he runs upon the rest as they are in his way,) that he gores the horse with his horns, so that his guts come out, and he falls before the rider can get from his back. Sometimes, by the strength of his neck, he raises horse and man from the ground, and throws both down; and then the greatest danger is another gore upon the ground. In any of these disgraces, or any other by which the rider comes to be dismounted, he is obliged in honour to take his revenge upon the bull by his sword, and upon his head; towards which the standers-by assist him, by running after the bull, and hocking him, by which he falls upon his hinder legs; but before that execution can be done, a good bull hath his revenge upon many poor fellows. Sometimes he is so unruly that nobody dares to attack him; and then the king calls for the mastiffs, whereof two are let out at a time; and if they cannot master him, but are themselves killed, as frequently they are, the king then, as the last refuge, calls for the English mastiffs; of which they seldom turn out above one at a time, and he rarely misses taking the bull, and holding him by the nose till the men run in; and after they have hocked him, they quickly kill him.

In one of those days there were no fewer than sixteen horses, as good as any in Spain, the worst of which would that very morning have yielded three hundred pistoles, killed, and four or five men; besides many more of both hurt, and some men remained perpetually maimed: for after the horsemen have done as much as they can, they withdraw themselves, and then some accustomed nimble fellows, to whom money is thrown, when they perform their feats with skill, stand to receive the bulls, whereof the worst are reserved till the last; and it is a wonderful thing to see with what steadiness those fellows will stand a full career of the bull, and by a little quick motion upon one foot, avoid him, and lay a hand upon his horn, as if they guided him from them; but then the next standers-by, who have not the same activity, commonly pay for it; and there is no day without much mischief. It is a very barbarous exercise and triumph, in which so many men's lives are lost, and always ventured; but so rooted in the affections of that nation, that it is not in the king's power, they say, to suppress it; though if he disliked it enough, he might forbear to be present at it.

There are three festival days in the year, whereof midsummer is one, on which the people hold it to be their right to be treated with these spectacles; not only in great cities, where they are never disappointed, but in very ordinary towns, where there are places provided for it. Besides those ordinary annual days, upon any extraordinary accidents of

joy, as at this time for the arrival of the queen, upon the birth of the king's children, or any signal victory, these triumphs are repeated; which no ecclesiastical censures or authority can suppress or discountenance: for pope Pius the Fifth, in the time of Philip the Second, and very probably with his approbation, if not upon his desire, published a bull against the *toros* in Spain, which is still in force; in which he declared, that nobody should be capable of Christian burial who lost his life at those spectacles; and that every clergyman who should be present at them stood excommunicated *ipso facto*: and yet there is always one of the largest galleries assigned to the office of the inquisition, and the chief of the clergy, which is always filled; besides that many religious men in their habits get other places; only the Jesuits, out of their submission to the supreme authority of the pope, are never present there; but on those days do always appoint some such solemn exercise to be performed that obliges their whole body to be together.

Though it is not the course for the ambassadors to make their visits to those who come last, before they receive their first audience from the king; yet the very night they came to the town, the Venetian ambassador sent to congratulate their arrival, and to know what hour they would assign of the next day to receive a visit from him: to which they returned their acknowledgments; and that when they had obtained their audience of the king, they would be ready to receive that honour from him. However, the very next day he came to visit them; and he was no sooner gone, but the German ambassador, not sending notice till he was at the bottom of the stairs, likewise came to them; and then the other ambassadors and public ministers took their times to make their visits, without attending the audience.

There was one thing very notable, that all the foreign ministers residing then in Madrid (the English ambassadors and the resident of Denmark only excepted) were Italians; and all, but the Venetian, subjects of the great duke. Julio Rospigliosi, nuncio for the pope, was of Pistoja, and so a subject to the duke of Florence; a grave man, and at that time, save that his health was not good, like to come to be, what he was afterwards, pope, as he was Clement the Ninth. The emperor's ambassador, the marquis of Grana, was likewise an Italian, and a subject of Florence; he had been general of one of the emperor's armies, and was sent afterwards ambassador to Madrid; he was a man of great parts; and the removing the conde-duke Olivarez from court was imputed to his artifice. He made the match between the king and the present queen, for which he expected to have the cap of a cardinal; and had received it, if he had not died before the following creation; the cardinal of Hease being nominated by the emperor upon his death. He was a man of an imperious and insolent nature, and capable of any temptation; and nobody was more glad of his death than his own servants, over whom he was a great tyrant.

The ambassador of Venice, [Pietro Basadonna,] a noble Venetian, was a man, as all that nation is, of great civility, and much profession; he was the first who told the ambassadors that the king their master had a resident at Venice; which was

Mr. Killigrew; which they did not at first believe, having before they left St. Germain's dissuaded the king from that purpose; but afterwards his majesty was prevailed upon, only to gratify him, that in that capacity he might borrow money of English merchants for his own subsistence; which he did, and nothing to the honour of his master; but was at last compelled to leave the republic for his vicious behaviour; of which the Venetian ambassador complained to the king, when he came afterwards to Paris.

The ambassador of the king of Poland was likewise a Florentine, who was much in favour with the king Uladislaws, from whom he was sent; and continued by king Casimir. He had lived in great splendour; but by his vicious course of life, and some miscarriages, he fell very low, and was revoked with some circumstances of dishonour. He was a man of a great wit, if it had not served him to very ill purposes. The ambassador of Florence was a subject of his master, and an abbot, a grave man; and though he was frequently called ambassador, he was in truth but resident; which was discovered by a contest he had with the Denmark resident for place; who alleged, that the other was no more than resident; which was true, and made the discovery that the Florentines send no ambassadors to Madrid, because they are not suffered to cover, which they use to do in many other courts. The archduke of Inspruck's minister was likewise a Florentine, and had been bred in Spain, and was a knight of the order; and supported that character upon a small assignation from his master, for some benefit and advantage it gave him in negotiations and pretences he had in that court.

The resident of Denmark was don Henrique Williamson, (he was afterwards called Rosewell,) who came secretary to Hannibal Zested; who had been the year before ambassador in that court, and lived in extraordinary splendour, as all the northern ministers do; who have not their

allowance from the king, but from a revenue that is purposely set aside for that kind of service. When he went away, he left this gentleman to remain there as resident. He was a grave and a sober man, wiser than most of his nation; and lived with much more plenty, and with a better retinue than any other minister of that rank in that court.

They had not been many days in Madrid, when don Lewis sent them the news of the imprisonment of the prince of Condé, prince of Conti, and the duke of Longueville, and that marshal Turenne was fled into Flanders; so much the cardinal had improved his condition from the time that they had left Paris. There was yet no house provided for them, which they took very heavily; and believed that it might advance that business, if they had once a public reception as ambassadors; and therefore they resolved to demand an audience. Don Lewis came to be advertised that the ambassadors had prepared mourning for themselves, and all their train, against their audience; which was true; for they thought it the most proper dress for them to appear in, and to demand assistance to revenge the murder of their master, it being yet within the year: but don Lewis sent to them, that he hoped that when the whole court was *in gala*, upon the joy of the marriage of the king, and to give the queen a cheerful reception, they would not dishonour the festival by appearing *in luto*, which the king could not but take unkindly; which, he said, he thought fit to advertise them of, out of friendship, and without any authority. Whereupon, as well to comply in an affair which seemed to have somewhat of reason in it, as out of apprehension, that from hence they might take occasion to defer their audience, they changed their purpose, and caused new clothes to be made; and then sent to demand their audience: upon the subject whereof, and what followed of the negotiation, the relation shall be continued.

*Montpelier, March 1, 1670.*

## PART VI.

[THE ambassadors were conducted in form to their audience of the king of Spain; and afterwards of the queen and infanta; and at last a house was provided for them.]—(See p. 732.)

[They perceived that court was more inclined to cultivate a strict friendship with the new commonwealth of England, than with the king their master, from an opinion of his condition being irrecoverable—After all ceremonies were over, the ambassadors had a private audience of the king, to whom they delivered a memorial containing their propositions and demands—They received shortly after such an answer as was evidence enough to them, how little they were to expect from any avowed friendship of that crown—They rested for some time without giving the court any further trouble,] (see p. 735.) and enjoyed themselves in no unpleasant retreat from business, if

they could have put off the thought of the miserable condition of their master, and their own particular concerns in their own country. The chancellor betook himself to the learning their language, by reading their books; of which he made a good collection; and informing himself the best he could of their government, and the administration of their justice: and there began his Devotions upon the Psalms, which he finished in another banishment.

[Prince Rupert came upon the coast of Spain with the fleet under his command; and wrote to the chancellor, acquainting him, that he had brought away all the fleet from Ireland; and desiring him to procure orders from the court, that he might find a good reception in all the Spanish ports, if his occasions brought him thither—The news of a fleet of the king of England being on

their coast at a time when their galeons were expected home, occasioned great alteration in the behaviour of that court; and all that the ambassadors asked was easily granted: but that seeming favourable disposition was of short duration; for on the arrival afterwards of a strong fleet sent out by the parliament, and the commander thereof writing an insolent letter to the king of Spain, the ambassadors found themselves less regarded.] (See p. 735.)

[The king had now determined to go into Scotland, upon the invitation of the council and parliament of that kingdom; and the ambassadors, who in reality disapproved of that measure, notified it to the court of Spain as a happy turn in the king's affairs; setting forth, that his majesty was now master of that kingdom, and therefore might reasonably hope to be restored to the possession of the rest of his dominions—The court of Spain then began again to treat the ambassadors with more regard.] (See p. 753.)

[Upon the news of Cromwell's victory over the marquis of Argyll's army in Scotland, the ambassadors received a message from the king of Spain, desiring them to depart, since their presence in the court would be prejudicial to his affairs—They imagined this proceeded from the expectation of the arrival of an ambassador from the commonwealth of England, which was then reported; but they knew afterwards that the true cause of this impatience to get rid of them was, that their minister in England having purchased many of the king's pictures, and rich furniture, had sent them to the Groyne; from whence they were expected to arrive about that time at Madrid: which they thought could not decently be brought to the palace while the ambassadors remained at the court.] (See p. 752.)

[Lord Cottington resolves, and obtains leave to stay as a private man in Spain; but is not permitted to reside at Madrid.]—(See p. 753.)

The other ambassador made his journey by Alcalá; and stayed a day there to see that university; where the college and other buildings made by the cardinal Ximenes are well worth the seeing; and went through the kingdom of Navarre to Pampeluna, where the vice-king, the duke of Escalona, received him; and lodged him two days in the palace, and treated him with great civility. There he was seized upon with the gout; yet he continued his journey by mules, there being no passage by coach or litter, over the Pyrenees to Bayonne; where he was forced to keep his bed, and to bleed, for many days: but was so impatient of delay, that after a week's rest, and before he was fit for the journey, he put himself into a litter, and reached Bourdeaux; where he was forced to follow the prescription of Dr. Lopez, a very learned Jew and physician; and yet went too soon from thence too; so that when he came to Paris, he was cast into his bed by a new defluxion of the gout, more violent than ever.

As soon as he had recovered any strength, he waited upon the queen mother, who received him very graciously; complained very much to him of the duke of York; who having been left with her by the king when he parted with her majesty at Beauvais, had, expressly against her consent and command, transported himself to Brussels, upon imaginations which had no foundation, and upon some treaty with the duke of Lorraine, which

she was sure could produce no good effect. Her majesty seemed most offended with sir Edward Herbert, the attorney general, and sir George Ratcliff, as the two persons who prevailed with the duke, and had engaged him in that journey, and governed him in it, against the advice of the lord Byron, who was his governor; and that being disappointed of what they had unreasonably looked for at Brussels, they had carried his royal highness into Holland, to his sister; who suffered much by his presence, the States of Holland being resolved not to suffer him to reside within their province; the prince of Orange being lately dead of the smallpox, and his son, who was born after his death, being an infant, and depending so entirely upon the good-will of the States: and therefore the princess royal was much troubled that the coming of the duke her brother into those parts gave the States any occasion of offence. The queen said, that she had writ to the duke to return into France, but had received no answer; and therefore she desired the ambassador, as soon as he should come into those parts, (for he meant to go to Antwerp, where his wife and children then were,) that he would make a journey to the Hague, to reduce the duke, and to prevail with him to return into France; which the ambassador could not refuse to promise.

He found there the queen's own family in some disorder, upon some declaration she had made, that the protestant chaplain should be no more permitted to perform his function in the Louvre; where the queen's court resided, and where there was a lower room, which had been always used as a chapel, from the time of the princes first coming thither to that time; and where twice a day the common prayer was read to those who were protestants, in both families; and now the queen had signified to Dr. Cosins (who was the chaplain assigned by the late king to attend in her majesty's family, for the protestant part of it) that he should be no more permitted to have the use of that room.

The chancellor of the exchequer took this occasion to speak with the queen; and put her in mind of some promise she had made him, when he took his leave of her to go for Spain, that she would not withdraw her stipend which she allowed to Dr. Cosins; whereby he must be compelled to withdraw; and so the protestant part of her family would be deprived of their public devotions; which promise she had observed to that time: but if now the room should be taken from that use, it would be the same thing as if the chaplain was turned away. He put her majesty in mind of the ill impression it might make in the hearts of the protestants in England, who retained their respects and duty for her majesty; and of what pernicious consequence it might prove to the king, who was still in Scotland, in a hopeful condition, and depended most upon the affections of his protestant subjects of England; and in the last place, whether it might not prove a better argument to those who were suspected by her to mislead the duke of York, to dissuade him from returning to her, since she would not permit him to have the exercise of his religion. The queen seemed to think that what he said was not without reason, and confessed that she was not the author of this new resolution, which she did not believe to be seasonable.

Mr. Walter Mountague, who had some years ago changed his religion, and was become catholic, after he had sustained a long imprisonment in the Tower of London, procured his release from thence, upon assurance that he would no more return into England; and so came into France; where he was very well known in the French, as well as the English court, and in great reputation and esteem with both queens. He appeared a man wholly restrained from all the vanity and levity of his former life; and perfectly mortified to the pleasures of the world, which he had enjoyed in a very great measure and excess.

He dedicated himself to his studies with great austerity, and seemed to have no affection or ambition for preferment, but to live within himself upon the very moderate exhibition he had left to him by his father; and in this melancholic retreat he had newly taken the order of priesthood; which was, in truth, the most reasonable way to satisfy his ambition, if he had any left; for both the queen regent and the cardinal could not but liberally provide for his support in that profession; which they did very shortly after: and this devout profession and new function much improved the interest and credit he always had in his old mistress; who very much hearkened to him in cases of conscience: and she confessed to the chancellor, that he was a little too bigotted in this affair; and had not only pressed her very passionately to remove the scandal of having a protestant chapel in her house, as inconsistent with a good conscience, but had likewise inflamed the queen regent with the same zeal; who had very earnestly pressed and importuned her majesty no longer to permit that offence to be given to the catholic religion. And upon this occasion she lamented the death of her late confessor, father Phillips, who, she said, was a very discreet man, and would never suffer her to be troubled with such infusions and scruples. In conclusion, she wished him to confer with Mr. Mountague, and to try if he could withdraw him from that asperity in that particular; to which purpose the chancellor conferred with him, but without any effect.

He said, the house was the king of France's, who only permitted the queen to live there; and that the queen regent thought herself bound in conscience no longer to suffer that reproach, of which she had never had information till very lately: that if the duke of York came thither, there was no thought or purpose to deny him the exercise of his religion; he might have his chaplain say prayers to him in his own chamber, or in some room adjacent, which served likewise to all other purposes; but that the setting a room apart, as this was, for that service, was upon the matter dedicating it as a chapel for the exercise of a religion contrary to what was established in that kingdom; which the king of France would not suffer to be done in a house of his, though the king should return thither again. He undervalued all the considerations which were offered of England, or of a protestant interest, as if he thought them all, as no doubt he did, of no importance to the king's restoration, which could never be effected but by that interest which was quite opposite to it. When he gave the queen an account of this discourse, he prevailed so far with her, that she promised, in case she should be

compelled to take away that room, as she foresaw she should be, the family should be permitted to meet in some other room; and if the duke of York came, the place that should be appointed for his devotions, should serve for all the rest to resort to.

As soon as the chancellor had recovered his strength, he took leave of the queen, and pursued his journey for Flanders. At Brussels he stayed till he had an audience of the archduke, to whom he had letters from the king of Spain and don Lewis; by which the king signified his pleasure that he should reside any where in those provinces he best liked, until he could conveniently repair to the king his master; and that in the mean time he should enjoy all the privileges due to an ambassador: and so he had his audience in that quality. He spake in Latin; and the archduke, answering in the same, assured him of all the respects he could pay him whilst he stayed in those parts: and thereupon he went to his family at Antwerp, and kept that character till the king's coming into France, and his return to him; by means whereof he enjoyed many privileges and exemptions in the town; and had the freedom of his chapel, not only for his own devotions, but for the resort of all the protestants who were then in the town; whereof the marquis of Newcastle, the earl of Norwich, and sir Charles Cavendish were the principal; who came always on the Sundays, and frequently on the week days, to the common prayer, to the grief of many English and Irish Roman catholics; who used all the malicious artifices they could to procure that liberty to be restrained; and which could not have been enjoyed under any other concession than by the privilege of an ambassador.

Whilst he was preparing to make a journey to the Hague, to wait upon the duke of York, according to the promise he had made to the queen, he received information from the Hague, that his royal highness would be at Breda such a day; whereupon he was glad to shorten his journey, and at the day to kiss his hands there; where he found his highness newly arrived, and in an inclination enough to return to the queen; so that the chancellor had no great task to confirm him in that resolution; nor in truth did he know what else to do: however, all about him were very glad of the chancellor's presence, every body hoping to get him to their party, that he might be ready to make a fair report of their behaviour to the king; whom they knew the queen would endeavour to incense against them.

Never little family was torn into so many pieces and factions. The duke was very young, yet loved intrigues so well, that he was too much inclined to hearken to any men who had the confidence to make bold propositions to him. The king had appointed him to remain with the queen, and to obey her in all things, religion only excepted. The lord Byron was his governor, ordained to be so by his father, and very fit for that province; being a very fine gentleman; well bred both in France and Italy, and perfectly versed in both languages; of great courage and fidelity; and in all respects qualified for the trust; but his being absent in the king's service when the duke made his escape out of England, and sir John Berkley being then put about him, all pains had been taken to lessen his esteem of the lord Byron: and



sir John Berkley, knowing that he could no longer remain governor when the lord Byron came thither, and hearing that he was in his journey, infused into the duke's mind, that it was a great lessening of his dignity at that age (when he was not above fourteen years of age, and backward enough for that age) to be under a governor; and so, partly by disesteeming the person, and partly by reproaching the office, he grew less inclined to the person of that good lord than he should have been.

But what title soever any body had, the whole authority was in the queen, not only by the direction of the king, but by inevitable necessity; for there was no kind of fund assigned for the support of the duke; but he depended entirely upon the queen his mother's bounty, who had no more assigned for herself than they, to whom the management thereof was committed, knew well how to dispose of, nor was it enough to serve their occasions; so that her majesty herself certainly spent less upon her own person, or in any thing relating to herself, than ever any queen or lady of a very eminent degree did. This visible and total dependence of the duke upon his mother made her majesty the less apprehensive of his doing any thing contrary to her liking; and there was not that care for the general part of his education, nor that indulgence to his person, as ought to have been; and the queen's own carriage and behaviour towards him was at least severe enough, as it had been before to the king, in the time that he was prince; which then and now gave opportunity to those who were not themselves at ease, to make many infusions; which, how contrary soever to their duties, were not so unreasonable as to be easily rejected, or to make no impression.

The king, at his going from Beauvais in his voyage for Scotland, had given some recommendation to the duke his brother of sir George Ratcliff; to whose care his father had once designed to commit him, when he meant to have sent him into Ireland; and his majesty had likewise, at the same time at Beauvais, made some promise to sir George Ratcliff of some place about his brother, when his family should be settled, of which there was then little appearance: however, it was enough to entitle him to give his frequent attendance upon the duke; and the general reputation he had of having been the person of the nearest trust with the earl of Strafford, might well dispose the duke to think him a wise man, and the better to esteem any thing he said to him.

Sir Edward Herbert thought himself the wisest man that followed the king's fortune, and was always angry that he had no more to do; and now prince Rupert was absent, endeavoured all he could to get credit with the duke of York; and came very frequently to him, and held him in long whispers, which the duke easily indulged to him, out of a real belief that he was a man of great wisdom and experience. The queen liked neither of these two; which they well enough discerning, grew into a friendship, or rather a familiarity together, though they were of the most different natures and humours imaginable: Ratcliff being a man very capable of business; and if the prosperity of his former fortune had not raised in him some fumes of vanity and self-conceitdness, was very fit to be advised with, being of a nature constant and sincere; which the other

was not: yet they agreed well in the design of making the duke of York discontented and weary of his condition; which was not pleasant enough to be much delighted in.

The news from England, of the state of the king's affairs in Scotland, made most men believe that his majesty was irrecoverably lost; and there was for some time a rumour scattered abroad, and by many believed, that the king was dead. These two gentlemen, upon the fame of this, consulted together, whether, if the news were or should be true, the duke of York, who must succeed, were in a good place; and both concluded, that in that case it would not be fit that he should be with his mother. Hereupon they persuaded the duke, that it was not fit for him to remain idle in France, but to employ himself abroad; whereby his experience might be improved, and he might put himself into a posture to be able to assist the king his brother; or if any misfortune should befall him, in some degree to provide for himself; and proposed to him, that he would resolve to make a journey to Brussels, to advise and consult with the duke of Lorraine, who was a prince of great wisdom, wealth, and courage; and being driven out of his own country by too powerful and potent a neighbour, had yet, by his own activity and virtue, made himself so considerable, that Spain depended upon his army, and France itself would be glad of his friendship; that he was very rich, and would not be only able to give the duke good counsel, but assistance to make it effectual.

The duke, without further examining the probability of the design, which he concluded had been thought upon enough by two such wise men, gave his full consent to it; and they having likewise found credit for so much money as would defray the charges of the journey, and really believing that the king was dead, the duke one day told the queen, that he was resolved to make a journey to Brussels to see the duke of Lorraine; with which the queen being surprised, used both her reason and her authority to dissuade him from it, but could not prevail by either; his highness telling her very obstinately, that he would begin his journey within two days. She found that none of his servants were privy to the design, or were at all acquainted with the purpose; and quickly discovered the two counsellors; who, having no relation to his service that she knew, were prepared to wait on him, and had drawn Dr. Steward (who was dean of the chapel to the king, and left behind when his majesty went for Scotland, with direction to be with the duke of York) to be of their party.

The doctor was a very honest and learned gentleman, and most conversant in that learning which vindicated the dignity and authority of the church; upon which his heart was most entirely set; not without some prejudice to those who thought there was any other object to be more carefully pursued. Sir George Ratcliff seemed to be of his mind, and so was looked upon by him as one of the best friends of the church; which was virtue enough to cover many defects. He told him of the rumour of the death of the king, and what conference had been between him and the attorney general upon it, which they both believed; and how necessary they thought it was for the duke to be out of France when the cer-



tainty of that news should arrive: that they had spoken with the duke of it, who seemed very well disposed; yet they knew not how his mother's authority might prevail over his obedience; and therefore wished that he would speak with the duke, who had great reverence for him in all matters of conscience, and remove any scruples which might arise. The doctor did not think himself so much regarded by the queen as he expected to be, and did really believe the case to be such as the other had informed him; and confirmed the duke in his resolution, notwithstanding any thing his mother should say to the contrary; and the queen could neither say or do any thing to dissuade him from the journey.

The lord Byron his governor, and Mr. Bennet his secretary, both well liked by the queen, and of great confidence in each other, thought it their duty to attend upon him. Sir John Berkley stayed behind, as well to avoid the being inferior to another, which he always abhorred, as to prosecute an amour which he was newly embarked in; and sir George Ratcliff, and sir Edward Herbert, and the good doctor, were so to improve their interest, that neither the queen or any who depended on her might have any credit with the duke. Most of the inferior servants depended upon them, because they saw they had most interest with their master; and with these thoughts and resolutions they all set out for Brussels: and these wild notions were the true reasons and foundation of that journey, which many sober men so much wondered at then, and so much censured afterwards.

When his highness came to Brussels, he was accommodated in the house of sir Henry de Vic, the king's resident there: and he was no sooner there, but they began to model his house and regulate his family; towards which sir George Ratcliff was designed to manage all the affairs of money; the attorney contenting himself with having the greatest power in governing the councils; and all looking for other stations upon the arrival of the news from Scotland. But in a short time the intelligence from thence was quite contrary to what they expected; the king was not only in good health, but his affairs in no desperate condition; all factions seemed reconciled, and he was at the head of an army that looked Cromwell in the face.

Hereupon they were at a great stand in their councils. The duke of Lorrain had been civil to the duke, and had at his first coming lent him some money; but when he found he was without any design, and by what persons his counsels were directed, he grew colder in his respects; and they who had gone thus far, took upon them the presumption to propose a marriage between the duke of York and a natural daughter of the duke of Lorrain; his marriage with madame de Cantecroy, the mother of the said lady, being declared void in the court of Rome: but the duke of Lorrain was so wise as not to entertain the motion, except it should be made with the king's privacy. So apt are unexperienced men, when they are once out of the way, to wander into bogs and precipices, before they will be sensible of their false conduct. When they found there was nothing to be done at Brussels, they persuaded the duke to go to the Hague, with as little design; and when they had wearied all people there, they

came to Breda, where the chancellor had met them.

The duke himself was so young, that he was rather delighted with the journeys he had made, than sensible that he had not entered upon them with reason enough; and they had fortified him with a firm resolution, never to acknowledge that he had committed any error. But his counsellors had lost all the pleasure of their combination, and reproached each other of their follies and presumptions with all the animosity imaginable. The lord Byron and Mr. Bennet, who had comforted each other in their sufferings, were glad enough to see that there was some end put to their peregrinations, and that by returning to the queen they were like to find some rest again; and they entertained the chancellor with many ridiculous relations of the politics of the attorney and sir George Ratcliff, and of the pleasant discourses the duke of Lorrain made of the Latin orations sir George Ratcliff had entertained him with.

On the other hand, sir George was well pleased with the grace he had received from the duke of Lorrain, and with the testimony he had given of him to some men who had told him of it again, that he was a very grave and a wise man, and that he wished he had such another to look after his affairs. He and Dr. Steward continued their affections towards each other, and concurred in most bitter invectives against sir Edward Herbert, as a madman, and of that intolerable pride, that it was not possible for any man to converse with him; and the attorney as frankly reproached them all with being men of no parts, of no understanding, no learning, no principles, and no resolution; and was so just to them all, as to condemn every man alike; and in truth had rendered himself so grievous to them all, and behaved himself so insolently towards all, that there was not a man who desired to be in his company: yet by the knack of his talk, which was the most like reason, and not it, he retained still great credit with the duke; who being still confounded with his positive discourse, thought him to be wiser than those who were more easy to be understood.

The duke upon the receipt of the queen's letters, which the chancellor delivered to him, resolved upon his journey to Paris without further delay; and the chancellor waiting upon his highness as far as Antwerp, he prosecuted his journey with the same retinue he had carried with him; and was received by his mother without those expostulations and reprehensions which he might have expected; though her severity was the same towards all those who she thought had the credit and power to seduce him.

The chancellor was now at a little rest again with his own family in Antwerp; and had time to be vacant to his own thoughts and books; and in the interval to enjoy the conversation of many worthy persons of his own nation, who had chosen that place to spend the time of their banishment in. There was the marquis of Newcastle, who having married a young lady, confined himself most to her company; and lived as retired as his ruined condition in England obliged him to; yet with honour, and decency, and with much respect paid him by all men, as well foreigners as those of his own country. The conversation the chancellor took most delight in was that of sir Charles Cavendish, brother to the marquis; who was one of the

most extraordinary persons of that age, in all the noble endowments of the mind. He had all the disadvantages imaginable in his person; which was not only of so small a size that it drew the eyes of men upon him, but with such deformity in his little person, and an aspect in his countenance, that was apter to raise contempt than application: but in this unhandsome or homely habitation, there was a mind and a soul lodged that was very lovely and beautiful; cultivated and polished by all the knowledge and wisdom that arts and sciences could supply it with. He was a great philosopher, in the extent of it; and an excellent mathematician; whose correspondence was very dear to Gassendus and Descartes; the last of which dedicated some of his works to him. He had very notable courage; and the vigour of his mind so adorned his body, that being with his brother the marquis in all the war, he usually went out in all parties, and was present, and charged the enemy in all battles with as keen a courage as could dwell in the heart of man. But then the gentleness of his disposition, the humility and meekness of his nature, and the vivacity of his wit was admirable. He was so modest, that he could hardly be prevailed with to enlarge himself on subjects he understood better than other men, except he were pressed by his very familiar friends; as if he thought it presumption to know more than handsomer men use to do. Above all, his virtue and piety was such, that no temptation could work upon him to consent to any thing that swerved in the least degree from the precise rules of honour, or the most severe rules of conscience.

When he was exceedingly importuned by those whom he loved best to go into England, and compound for his estate, which was very good, that thereby he might be enabled to help his friends, who were reduced into great straits; he refused it, out of apprehension that he might be required to take the covenant or engagement, or to do somewhat else which his conscience would not permit him to do: and when they endeavoured to undervalue that conscience, and to persuade him not to be governed by it, that would expose him to famine, and restrain him from being charitable to his best friends; he was so offended with their argumentation, that he would no more admit any discourse upon the subject. Upon which they applied themselves to the chancellor; who they thought had most credit with him; and desired him to persuade him to make a journey into England; the benefit whereof to him and themselves was very intelligible; but informed him not of his refusal, and the arguments they had used to convert him.

The next time they met, which they usually did once a day, the chancellor told him, he heard he had a purpose to make a journey into England; to which he suddenly answered, that indeed he was desired to do so, but that he had positively refused; and thereupon, with much warmth and indignation, related what importunity and what arguments had been used to him, and what he had answered: and thereupon said, that his present condition was in no degree pleasant or easy to him, (as in truth it was not, he being in very visible want of ordinary conveniences,) but, he protested, that he would rather submit to nakedness, or starving in the street, than subscribe to

the covenant or engagement, or do any thing else that might reflect upon his honour or his conscience. To which the chancellor replied, that his resolution became him, and was worthy of his wisdom and honesty; and that if he found him inclined to do any thing that might trench upon either, he was so much his friend, that he would put him in mind of his obligations to both; that indeed the arguments which had been used to him could never prevail upon a virtuous mind: however, he told him, he thought the motion from his friends might be a little more considered before it was rejected; and confessed to him, that he was desired to confer with him about it, and to dispose him to it, without being informed that any attempt had been already made: and then asked him, whether he did in truth believe that his journey thither might probably produce those benefits to himself and his friends as they imagined; and then it would be fit to consider, whether those conveniences were to be purchased at a dearer price than they were worth.

He answered, there could be no doubt, but that if he could go thither with safety, and be admitted to compound for his estate, as others did, he could then sell it at so good a price, that he could not only provide for a competent subsistence for himself, when he returned, but likewise assist his friends for their better support; and that he could otherwise, out of lands that were in trust, and not known to be his, and so had not been yet sequestered, raise other sums of money, which would be attended with many conveniences; and he confessed nothing of all this could be done without his own presence. But then that which deprived him of all this was, in the first place, the apprehension of imprisonment; which, he said, his constitution would not bear; but especially, because by their own ordinance nobody was capable to compound till he had subscribed to the covenant and engagement; which he would not do to save his life; and that in what necessity soever he was, he valued what benefit he could possibly receive by the journey only as it might consist with his innocence and liberty to return; and since he could not reasonably presume of either, he had no thought of going.

The chancellor told him, that they were both of the same mind in all things which related to conscience and honour; but yet, since the benefits that might result from this journey were great, and very probable, and in some degree certain, and the mischiefs he apprehended were not certain, and possibly might be avoided, he thought he was not to lay aside all thoughts of the journey, which he was so importuned to undertake by those who were so dear to him. That he was of the few who had many friends, and no enemies; and therefore had no reason to fear imprisonment, or any other rigour extraordinary; which was seldom used, but to persons under some notable prejudice. That after he once came to London, he would not take much pleasure in going abroad; but might despatch his business by others, who would repair to him: and that for the covenant and engagement, they were so contrary, that both were rarely offered to the same person; and they had now so much justled and reviled each other, that they were neither in so much credit as they had been, and were not pressed but upon such persons against whom they had a particular de-

sign; however, he went well armed, as to that point, with a resolution not to submit to either; and the worst that could happen, was to return without the full effect of his journey. Whereas if those mischiefs could be avoided, which the skilful upon the place could only instruct him in, he would return with great benefit and satisfaction to himself and his friends; and if he were subjected to imprisonment, (which he ought not to apprehend, and could be but short,) even in that case his journey could not be without fruit, by the conference and transactions with his friends; though no composition could be made. Upon revolving these considerations, he resolved to undertake the journey; and performed it so happily, without those obstructions he feared, that he finished all he proposed to himself, and made a competent provision to support his brother during his distress; though when he had despatched it, he lived not to enjoy the repose he desired, but died before he could return to Antwerp: and the marquis ever after publicly acknowledged the benefit he received hereby to the chancellor's advice.

As soon as the chancellor had reposed himself at Antwerp, after so much fatigue, he thought it necessary to give some account of himself to the king; and though the prohibition before his going into Scotland, and the sending away many of the servants who attended him thither out of the kingdom, made it unfit for him to repair thither himself, he resolved to send his secretary, (a man of fidelity, and well known to the king,) to inform his majesty of all that had passed, and to bring back his commands; but when he was at Amsterdam, ready to embark, upon a ship bound for Scotland, the news arrived there of his majesty's being upon his march for England; upon which he returned to Antwerp; where he found the spirits of all the English exalted with the same advertisement.

[As soon as the king came to Paris, (after his wonderful deliverance from the battle of Worcester,) and knew that the chancellor of the exchequer was at Antwerp, his majesty sent to him to repair thither, which he accordingly did; and for the first four or five days after his arrival, the king spent many hours with him in private; and informed him of many particulars of the treatment he had met with in Scotland; of his march into England; of the confusion at Worcester; and all the circumstances of his happy escape and deliverance.] (See p. 772.)

The chancellor was yet looked upon with no ungracious eye by her majesty; only the lord Jermyn knew well he would never resign himself to be disposed of, which was the temper that could only endear any man to him: for besides former experience, an attempt had been lately made upon him by sir John Berkley; who told him, that the queen had a good opinion of him; and knew well in how ill a condition he must be, in respect of his subsistence; and that she would assign him such a competent maintenance, that he should be able to draw his family to him out of Flanders to Paris, and to live comfortably together, if she might be confident of his service, and that he would always concur with her in his advice to the king. To which he answered, that he

should never fail in performing his duty to the queen, whom he acknowledged to be his most gracious mistress, with all possible integrity: but as he was a servant and counsellor to the king, so he should always consider what was good for his service; and never decline that out of any compliance whatsoever; and that he did not desire to be supported from any bounty but the king's; nor more by his, than in proportion with what his majesty should be able to do for his other servants. And shortly after the queen herself speaking with him, and complaining that she had no credit with the king; the chancellor desired her not to think so; he knew well the king had great duty for her, which he would still preserve towards her; but as it would not be fit for her to affect such an interest as to be thought to govern, so nothing could be more disadvantageous to the king, and to his interest, than that the world should believe that he was absolutely governed by his mother; which he found (though she seemed to consent to it) was no acceptable declaration to her. However, she did often employ him to the king, upon such particulars as troubled or offended her; as once, for the removal of a young lady out of the Louvre, who had procured a lodging there without her majesty's consent; and with whom her majesty was justly offended, for the little respect she shewed towards her majesty: and when the chancellor had prevailed so far with the king, that he obliged the lady to remove out of the Louvre, to satisfy his mother, the queen was well content that the lady herself and her friends should believe, that she had undergone that affront merely by the malice and credit of the chancellor.

[The king remained at Paris till the year 1654; when, in the month of June, he left France; and passing through Flanders, went to Spa; where he proposed to spend two or three months with his sister, the princess royal. His stay at Spa was not so long as he intended, the smallpox breaking out there. His majesty and his sister suddenly removed to Aix-la-Chapelle.]—(See p. 815, &c.)

\* At this time there fell out an accident not pertinent to the public history of that time, but necessary to be inserted in the particular relation of the chancellor's life; which had afterwards an influence upon his fortune, and a very great one upon the peace and quiet of his mind, and of his family. Mr. O'Neile, who professed much kindness to the chancellor, and by his friendship with the lady Stanhope had much credit in the family of the princess, came to him and told him that the princess royal had a very good opinion of him, and kind purposes towards his family; which she knew suffered much for his fidelity to the king; and therefore that she was much troubled to find that her mother the queen had less kindness for him than he deserved; that by the death of Mrs. Killigrew there was a place now fallen, which very many would desire; and that it would no sooner be known at Paris, than the queen would undoubtedly recommend some lady to the princess; but he was confident that, if the chancellor would move the king to recommend his daughter, who was known to the princess, her highness would willingly receive her. He thanked

\* For a more circumstantial account of the entrance of the chancellor's daughter into the family of the princess royal, the reader is referred to p. 1007.

him for his particular kindness, but conjured him not to use his interest to promote any such pretence; and that "himself would not apply the king's favour to such a request; that he had "but one daughter, (for he had then no more,) "who was all the company and comfort her "mother had in her melancholic retirement, and "therefore he was resolved not to separate them, "nor to dispose his daughter to a court life;" which he did in truth perfectly detest. O'Neile, much disappointed with the answer, and believing that the proposition would have been very grateful to him, confessed, that the princess had been already moved in it by the lady Chesterfield; and that it was her own desire that the king should move it to her, to the end that she might be thereby sheltered from the reproach which she expected from the queen; but that the princess herself had so much kindness for his daughter, that she had long resolved to have her upon the first vacancy. The chancellor was exceedingly perplexed, and resolved nothing more, than that his daughter should not live from her mother; and therefore renewed his conjurations to Mr. O'Neile, that he would not further promote it, since it would never be acceptable to him; and concluded, that his making no application, and the importunity of others who desired the honour, would put an end to the pretence.

The king had heard of the matter from the princess, and willingly expected when the chancellor would move him for his recommendation; which when he saw he forbore to do, he spake himself to him of it, and asked him why he did not make such a suit to him: upon which the chancellor told him all that had passed between O'Neile and him; and that for many reasons he declined the receiving that obligation from the princess; and therefore he had no use of his majesty's favour in it. The king told him plainly, that "his sister, upon having seen his daughter "some days, liked her so well, that she desired "to have her about her person; and had herself "spoken to him to move it to her, for the reason "aforesaid, and to prevent any displeasure from "the queen; and he knew not how the chancellor "could, or why he should, omit such an opportunity of providing for his daughter in so "honourable a way." The chancellor told him, "he could not dispute the reasons with him; "only that he could not give himself leave to deprive his wife of her daughter's company, nor "believe that she could be more advantageously "bred than under her mother." Hereupon he went to the princess, and took notice of the honour she was inclined to do him; but, he told her, the honour was not fit for him to receive, nor the conjuncture seasonable for her royal highness to confer it; that she could not but know his condition, being deprived of his estate; and if her highness's bounty had not assigned a house at Breda, where his wife and family lived rent free, they had not known how to have subsisted: but by that her favour, the small supplies his friends in England secretly sent over to them sustained them in that private retirement in which they lived; so that it was not in his power to make his daughter such an allowance as would enable her to live in her court in that manner as would become her relation.

The princess would not permit him to enlarge;

but very generously told him, that she knew well the straitness of his condition, and how it came to be so low; and had no thought that he should be at the charge to maintain his daughter in her service; that he should leave that to her: and so used many expressions of esteem of him, and of kindness and grace to his daughter. He, foreseeing and expecting such generosity, replied to her, that since her goodness disposed her to such an act of charity and honour, it became his duty and gratitude to provide, that she should bring no inconvenience upon herself; that he had the misfortune (with all the innocence and integrity imaginable) to be more in the queen her mother's disfavour, than any gentleman who had had the honour to serve the crown so many years in some trust; that all the application he could make, nor the king's own interposition, could prevail with her majesty to receive him into her gracious opinion; and that he could not but know, that this unseasonable act of charity, which her highness would vouchsafe to so ungracious a family, would produce some resentment and displeasure from the queen her mother towards her highness, and increase the weight of her severe indignation against him, which so heavily oppressed him already; and therefore he resolved to prevent that mischief, which would undoubtedly befall her highness; and would not submit to the receiving the fruits of her favourable condescension.

To this the princess answered with some warmth, that she had always paid that duty to the queen her mother which was due to her, and would never give her a just cause to be offended with her: but that she was mistress of her own family, and might receive what servants she pleased; and that she should commit a great fault against the queen, if she should forbear to do a good and a just action, to which she was inclined, out of apprehension that her majesty would be offended at it. She said, she knew some ill offices had been done him to her mother, for which she was sorry; and doubted not, but her majesty would in due time discern that she had been misinformed and mistaken; and then she would like and approve of what her highness should now do. In the mean time she was resolved to take his daughter, and would send for her as soon as she returned into Holland. The chancellor, not in any degree converted, but confounded with the gracious and frank discourse of the princess royal, knew not what more to say; replied only, that he hoped her highness would think better of what she seemed to undervalue, and that he left his daughter to be disposed of by her mother, who he knew would be very unwilling to part with her; upon which her highness answered, "I'll warrant you, my lady and I "will agree upon the matter." To conclude this discourse, which, considering what fell out afterwards, is not impertinent to be remembered; he knew his wife had no inclination to have her daughter out of her own company; and when he had by letter informed her of all that had passed, he endeavoured to confirm her in that resolution: but when the princess, after her return into Holland, sent to her, and renewed her gracious offer, she, upon consultation with Dr. Morley, (who upon the old friendship between the chancellor and him, chose in his banishment, from the mur-

der of the king, to make his residence for the most part in his family, and was always perfectly kind to all his interests,) believed it might prove for her daughter's benefit, and writ to her husband her opinion, and that the doctor concurred in the same.

The chancellor looked upon the matter itself, and all the circumstances thereof, as having some marks of divine Providence, which he would not resist, and so referred it wholly to his wife; who when she had presented her daughter to the princess, came herself to reside with her husband, to his great comfort; and which he could not have enjoyed if the other separation had not been made; and possibly that consideration had the more easily disposed her to consent to the other. We have now set down all the passages and circumstances which accompanied or attended that lady's first promotion to the service of the princess royal; which the extreme averseness in her father and mother from embracing that opportunity, and the unusual grace and importunity from them who conferred the honour being considered, there may appear to many an extraordinary operation of Providence in giving the first rise to what afterwards succeeded; though of a nature so transcendent, as cannot be thought to have any relation to it.

[After an unsuccessful insurrection of some of the king's friends in England, Cromwell exercised the utmost severity and cruelty against them; putting many to death, and transporting others as slaves to Barbadoes; and by his own authority, and that of his council, made an order, that all persons who had ever borne arms for, or declared themselves of, the royal party, should be decimated; that is, pay a tenth part of all the estate they had left, to support the charge of the commonwealth; and published a declaration to justify his proceedings, (See p. 823-830.) which confidently set down such maxims, as made it manifest to all who had ever served the king, or would not submit to Cromwell's power and government, that they

had nothing that they could call their own, but must be disposed of at his pleasure; which as much concerned all other parties as the king's, in the consequence; though for the present none but that party underwent that insupportable burden of the decimation, which brought in a vast incredible sum of money into his coffers, the greater part whereof was raised upon those who never did, nor ever would have given his majesty the least assistance, and were only reputed to be of the king's party, because they had not assisted the rebels to any considerable proportion, but had a good mind to have sat neuters, and not to be at any charge with reference to either party.

This declaration, as soon as printed, was sent over to Cologne, [where the king then was,] and the chancellor was commanded by the king to write some discourse upon it, to awaken the people, and shew them their concernment in it; which he did by way of "a Letter to a Friend;" which was likewise sent into England, and there printed; and when Cromwell called his next parliament, it was made great use of to inflame the people, and make them sensible of the destruction that attended them; and was thought then to produce many good effects. And so we conclude this part.

*Montpelier, May 27, 1670.*

[The seventh and last part of the manuscript is dated at Montpelier, August 1, 1670, and continues the history from the king's residence at Cologne, to the restoration of the royal family in 1660; containing the substance of what is printed in the two last books of *The History of the Rebellion*. The only remarkable circumstance of the author's life during that period is, that in the year 1657, while the king was at Bruges, his majesty appointed the chancellor of the exchequer to be lord high chancellor of England; and delivered the great seal into his custody, upon the death of sir Edward Herbert, the last lord keeper thereof.] (See p. 831-910.)

THE  
CONTINUATION OF THE LIFE  
OF  
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

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*Moulins, June 8, 1672.*

Reflections upon the most material passages which happened after the king's restoration to the time of the chancellor's banishment; out of which his children, for whose information they are only collected, may add some important passages to his *Life*, as the true cause of his misfortunes.

THE easy and glorious reception of the king, in the manner that hath been mentioned, without any other conditions than what had been frankly offered by himself in his declaration and letters from Breda; the parliament's casting themselves in a body at his feet, in the minute of his arrival at Whitehall, with all the professions of duty and submission imaginable; and no man having authority there, but they who had either eminently served the late king, or who were since grown up out of their nonage from such fathers, and had thoroughly manifested their fast fidelity to his present majesty; the rest, who had been enough criminal, shewing more animosity towards the severe punishment of those, who having more power in the late times had exceeded them in mischief, than care for their own indemnity: this temper sufficiently evident, and the universal joy of the people, which was equally visible, for the total suppression of all those who had so many years exercised tyranny over them, made most men believe, both abroad and at home, that God had not only restored the king miraculously to his throne, but that he had, as he did in the time of Hezekiah, "prepared the people, for the thing was done suddenly." (2 Chron. xxix. 36.) in such a manner that his authority and greatness would have been more illustrious than it had been in any of his ancestors. And it is most true, and must never be denied, that the people were so admirably disposed and prepared to pay all the subjection, duty, and obedience, that a just and prudent king could expect from them, and had a very sharp aversion and detestation of all those who had formerly misled and corrupted them; so that, except the general, who seemed to be possessed entirely of the affection of the army, and whose fidelity was now above any misapprehension, there appeared no man whose power and interest could in any degree shake or endanger the peace and security the king was in; the congratulations for his return being so universal from all the counties of England, as well as from the parliament and city; from all those who had most signally disserved and disclaimed him, as well as from those of his own party, and those who were descended from them: insomuch as the king was wont merrily to say, as hath been mentioned be-

fore, "that it could be nobody's fault but his own" that he had stayed so long abroad, when all "mankind wished him so heartily at home." It cannot therefore but be concluded by the standers-by, and the spectators of this wonderful change and exclamation of all degrees of men, that there must be some wonderful miscarriages in the state, or some unheard of defect of understanding in those who were trusted by the king in the administration of his affairs; that there could in so short a time be a new revolution in the general affections of the people, that they grew even weary of that happiness they were possessed of and had so much valued, and fell into the same discontents and murmurings which had naturally accompanied them in the worst times. From what fatal causes these miserable effects were produced, is the business of this present disquisition to examine, and in some degree to discover; and therefore must be of such a nature, as must be as tenderly handled, with reference to things and persons, as the discovery of the truth will permit; and cannot be presumed to be intended ever for a public view, or for more than the information of his children of the true source and grounds from whence their father's misfortunes proceeded, in which nothing can be found that can make them ashamed of his memory.

The king brought with him from beyond the seas that council which had always attended him, and whose advice he had always received in his transactions of greatest importance; and his small family, that consisted of gentlemen who had for the most part been put about him by his father, and constantly waited upon his person in all his distresses, with as much submission and patience undergoing their part in it, as could reasonably be expected from such a people; and therefore had the keener appetites, and the stronger presumption to push on their fortunes (as they called it) in the infancy of their master's restoration, that other men might not be preferred before them, who had not "borne the heat of the day," as they had done.

Of the council were the chancellor, the marquis of Ormond, the lord Colepepper, and secretary Nicholas, who lived in great unity and concurrence in the communication of the most secret

counsels. There had been more of his council abroad with him, who, according to the motions he made, and the places he had resided in, were sometimes with him, but other remained in France, or in some parts of Holland and Flanders, for their convenience, ready to repair to his majesty when they should be called. The four nominated above were they who constantly attended, were privy to all counsels, and waited upon him in his return.

The chancellor was the highest in place, and thought to be so in trust, because he was most in private with the king, had managed most of the secret correspondence in England, and all despatches of importance had passed through his hands; which had hitherto been with the less envy, because the indefatigable pains he took were very visible, and it was as visible that he gained nothing by it. His wants and necessities were as great as any man's, nor was the allowance assigned to him by the king in the least degree more, or better paid, than every one of the council received. Besides, the friendship was so entire between the marquis of Ormond and him, that no arts that were used could dissolve it; and it was enough known, that as he had an entire and full confidence from the king, and a greater esteem than any man, so, that the chancellor so entirely communicated all particulars with him, that there was not the least resolution taken without his privy and approbation. The chancellor had been employed by the last king in all the affairs of the greatest trust and secrecy; had been made privy counsellor and chancellor of the exchequer in the very beginning of the troubles; and had been sent by that king into the west with his son, when he thought their interest would be best preserved and provided for by separating their persons. A greater testimony and recommendation a servant could not receive from his master, than the king gave of him to the prince, who from that time treated him with as much affection and confidence as any man, and which (notwithstanding very powerful opposition) he continued and improved to this time of his restoration; and even then rejected some intimations rather than propositions, which were secretly made to him at the Hague, that the chancellor was a man very much in the prejudice of the presbyterian party, as in truth he was, and therefore that his majesty would do best to leave him behind, till he should be himself settled in England: which the king received with that indignation and disdain, and answered the person, who privately presumed to give the advice, in such a manner, that he was troubled no more with the importunity, nor did any man ever own the advice. Yet the chancellor had besought the king, upon some rumours which had been spread, that if any exception or prejudice to his person should be so insisted on, as might delay his return one hour, he would decline giving him any protection, till he should find it more in his power, after his arrival in England: which desire of his, though it found no reception with the king, proceeded from so much sincerity, that it is well known the chancellor did positively resolve, that if any such thing had been urged by any authority, he would render the king's indulgence and grace of no inconvenience to his majesty, by his secret and voluntary withdrawing himself,

without his privy, and without the reach of his discovery for some time: so far he was from being biassed by his own particular benefit and advantage.

The marquis of Ormond was the person of the greatest quality, estate, and reputation, who had frankly engaged his person and his fortune in the king's service from the first hour of the troubles, and pursued it with that courage and constancy, that when the king was murdered, and he deserted by the Irish, contrary to the articles of the peace which they had made with him, and when he could make no longer defence, he refused all the conditions which Cromwell offered, who would have given him all his vast estate, if he would have been contented to have lived quietly in some of his own houses, without further concerning himself in the quarrel; and transported himself, without so much as accepting a pass from his authority, in a little weak vessel into France, where he found the king, from whom he never parted till he returned with him into England. And having thus merited as much as a subject can do from a prince, he had much more credit and esteem with the king than any other man: and the lustre the chancellor was in, was no less from the declared friendship the marquis had for him, than from the great trust his majesty reposed in him.

The lord Colepepper was a man of great parts, a very sharp and present wit, and an universal understanding; so that few men filled a place in council with more sufficiency, or expressed themselves upon any subject that occurred with more weight and vigour. He had been trusted by the late king (who had a singular opinion of his courage and other abilities) to wait upon the prince when he left his father, and continued still afterwards with him, or in his service, and in a good correspondence with the chancellor.

Secretary Nicholas was a man of general good reputation with all men, of unquestionable integrity and long experience in the service of the crown; whom the late king trusted as much as any man to his death. He was one of those who were excepted by the parliament from pardon or composition, and so was compelled to leave the kingdom shortly after Oxford was delivered up, when the king was in the hands of the Scots. The present king continued him in the office of secretary of state, which he had so long held under his father. He was a man of great gravity, and without any ambitious or private designs; and had so fast a friendship with the chancellor for many years, that he was very well content, and without any jealousy for his making many despatches and other transactions, which more immediately related to his office, and which indeed were always made with his privy and concurrence.

This was the state and constitution of the king's council and his family, when he embarked in Holland, and landed at Dover: the additions and alterations which were after made will be mentioned in their place.

It will be convenient here, before we descend to those particulars which had an influence upon the minds of men, to take a clear view of the temper and spirit of that time; of the nature and inclination of the army; of the disposition and interest of the several factions in religion; all which appeared in their several colours, without

disassembling their principles, and with equal confidence demanded the liberty of conscience they had enjoyed in and since the time of Cromwell; and the humour and the present purpose and design of the parliament itself, to whose judgment and determination the whole settlement of the kingdom, both in church and state, stood referred by the king's own declaration from Breda, which by God's inspiration had been the sole visible motive to that wonderful change that had ensued. And whosoever takes a prospect of all those several passions and appetites and interests, together with the divided affections, jealousies, and animosities of those who had been always looked upon as the king's party, which, if united, would in that conjuncture have been powerful enough to have balanced all the other; I say, whoever truly and ingenuously considers and reflects upon all this composition of contradictory wishes and expectations, must confess that the king was not yet the master of the kingdom, nor his authority and security such as the general noise and acclamation, the bells and the bonfires, proclaimed it to be; and that there was in no conjuncture more need, that the virtue and wisdom and industry of a prince should be evident, and made manifest in the preservation of his dignity, and in the application of his mind to the government of his affairs; and that all who were eminently trusted by him should be men of unquestionable sincerity, who with industry and dexterity should first endeavour to compose the public disorders, and to provide for the peace and settlement of the kingdom, before they applied themselves to make or improve their own particular fortunes. And there is little question, but if this good method had been pursued, and the resolutions of that kind, which the king had seriously taken beyond the seas, when he first discerned his good fortune coming towards him, had been executed and improved; the hearts and affections of all degrees of men were so prepared by their own natural inclinations and integrity, by what they had seen and what they had suffered, by their observations and experience, by their fears, or by their hopes; that they might have been all kneaded into as firm and constant an obedience and resignation to the king's authority, and to a lasting establishment of monarchic power, in all the just extents which the king could expect, or men of any public or honest affections could wish or submit to.

The first mortification the king met with was as soon as he arrived at Canterbury, which was within three hours after he landed at Dover; and where he found many of those who were justly looked upon, from their own sufferings or those of their fathers, and their constant adhering to the same principles, as of the king's party; who with joy waited to kiss his hand, and were received by him with those open arms and flowing expressions of grace, calling all those by their names who were known to him, that they easily assured themselves of the accomplishment of all their desires from such a generous prince. And some of them, that they might not lose the first opportunity, forced him to give them present audience, in which they reckoned up the insupportable losses undergone by themselves or their fathers, and some services of their own; and thereupon demanded the present grant or promise

of such or such an office. Some, for the real small value of one, though of the first classis, pressed for two or three with such confidence and importunity, and with such tedious discourses, that the king was extremely nauseated with their suits, though his modesty knew not how to break from them; that he no sooner got into his chamber, which for some hours he was not able to do, than he lamented the condition to which he found he must be subject; and did in truth from that minute contract such a prejudice against the persons of some of those, though of the greatest quality, for the indecency and incongruity of their pretences, that he never afterwards received their addresses with his usual grace or patience, and rarely granted any thing they desired, though the matter was more reasonable, and the manner of asking much more modest.

But there was another mortification, which immediately succeeded this, that gave him much more trouble, and in which he knew not how to comport himself. The general, after he had given all necessary orders to his troops, and sent a short despatch to the parliament of the king's being come to Canterbury, and of his purpose to stay there two days, till the next Sunday was passed, he came to the king in his chamber, and in a short secret audience, and without any preamble or apology, as he was not a man of a graceful elocution, he told him, "that he could not do "him better service, than by recommending to "him such persons who were most grateful to "the people, and in respect of their parts and "interests were best able to serve him;" and thereupon gave him a large paper full of names, which the king in disorder enough received, and without reading put it into his pocket, that he might not enter into any particular debate upon the persons; and told him, "that he would be "always ready to receive his advice, and willing "to gratify him in any thing he should desire, "and which would not be prejudicial to his service." The king, as soon as he could, took an opportunity, when there remained no more in his chamber, to inform the chancellor of the first assaults he had encountered as soon as he alighted out of his coach, and afterwards of what the general had said to him; and thereupon took the paper out of his pocket and read it. It contained the names of at least threescore and ten persons, who were thought fittest to be made privy counsellors; in the whole number whereof, there were only two who had ever served the king, or been looked upon as zealously affected to his service, the marquis of Hertford and the earl of Southampton; who were both of so universal reputation and interest, and so well known to have the very particular esteem of the king, that they needed no such recommendation. All the rest were either those counsellors who had served the king, and deserted him by adhering to the parliament; or of those who had most eminently deserved him in the beginning of the rebellion, and in the carrying it on with all fierceness and animosity, until the new model, and dismissing the earl of Essex: then, indeed, Cromwell had grown terrible to them, and disposed them to wish the king were again possessed of his regal power; and which they did but wish. There were then the names of the principal persons of the presbyterian party, to which the general was thought to be most



inclined, at least to satisfy the foolish and unruly inclinations of his wife. There were likewise the names of some who were most notorious in all the other factions; and of some who, in respect of their mean qualities and meaner qualifications, nobody could imagine how they could come to be named, except that by the very odd mixture any sober and wise resolutions and concurrence might be prevented.

The king was in more than ordinary confusion with the reading this paper, and knew not well what to think of the general, in whose absolute power he now was. However, he resolved in the entrance upon his government not to consent to such impositions, which might prove perpetual fetters and chains upon him ever after. He gave the paper therefore to the chancellor, and bade him "take the first opportunity to discourse the "matter with the general," (whom he had not yet saluted,) "or rather with Mr. Morrice, his most "intimate friend;" whom he had newly presented to the king, and "with both whom he presumed he would shortly be acquainted," though for the present both were equally unknown to him. Shortly after, when mutual visits had passed between them, and such professions as naturally are made between persons who are like to have much to do with each other, and Mr. Morrice being in private with him, the chancellor told him "how "much the king was surprised with the paper he "had received from the general, which at least "recommended (and which would have always "great authority with him) some such persons "to his trust, in whom he could not yet, till they "were better known to him, repose any confidence." And thereupon he read many of their names, and said, "that if such men were made "privy counsellors, it would either be imputed to "the king's own election, which would cause a "very ill measure to be taken of his majesty's "nature and judgment; or (which more probably "would be the case) to the inclination and power "of the general, which would be attended with as "ill effects." Mr. Morrice seemed much troubled at the apprehension, and said, "the paper was of "his handwriting, by the general's order, who, he "was assured, had no such intention; but that "he would presently speak with him and return;" which he did within less than an hour, and expressed "the trouble the general was in upon the "king's very just exception; and that the truth "was, he had been obliged to have much communication with men of all humours and inclinations, and so had promised to do them good "offices to the king, and could not therefore avoid "inserting their names in that paper, without any "imaginings that the king would accept them; "that he had done his part, and all that could be "expected from him, and left the king to do what "he had thought best for his own service, which "he would always desire him to do, whatever "proposition he should at any time presume to "make to his majesty, which he would not promise should be always reasonable. However, "he did still heartily wish that his majesty would "make use of some of those persons," whom he named, and said, "he knew most of them were "not his friends, and that his service would be "more advanced by admitting them, than by "leaving them out."

The king was abundantly pleased with this good

temper of the general, and less disliked those who he discerned would be grateful to him than any of the rest: and so the next day he made the general knight of the garter, and admitted him of the council; and likewise at the same time gave the signet to Mr. Morrice, who was sworn of the council, and secretary of state; and sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had been presented by the general under a special recommendation, was then too sworn of the council; and the rather, because having lately married the niece of the earl of Southampton, (who was then likewise present, and received the garter, to which he had been elected some years before,) it was believed that his slippery humour would be easily restrained and fixed by the uncle. All this was transacted during his majesty's stay at Canterbury.

Upon the 29th of May, which was his majesty's birthday, and now again the day of his restoration and triumph, he entered London the highway from Rochester to Blackheath, being on both sides so full of acclamations of joy, and crowded with such a multitude of people, that it seemed one continued street wonderfully inhabited. Upon Blackheath the army was drawn up, consisting of above fifty thousand men, horse and foot, in excellent order and equipage, where the general presented the chief officers to kiss the king's hands, which grace they seemed to receive with all humility and cheerfulness. Shortly after, the lord mayor of London, the sheriffs, and body of the aldermen, with the whole militia of the city, appeared with great lustre; whom the king received with a most graceful and obliging countenance, and knighted the mayor, and all the aldermen, and sheriffs, and the principal officers of the militia: an honour the city had been without near eighteen years, and therefore abundantly welcome to the husbands and their wives. With this equipage the king was attended through the city of London, where the streets were railed in on both sides, that the livery of all the companies of the city might appear with the more order and decency, till he came to Whitehall; the windows all the way being full of ladies and persons of quality, who were impatient to fill their eyes with a beloved spectacle, of which they had been so long deprived. The king was no sooner at Whitehall, but (as hath been said) the speakers and both houses of parliament presented themselves with all possible professions of duty and obedience at his royal feet, and were even ravished with the cheerful reception they had from him. The joy was universal; and whosoever was not pleased at heart, took the more care to appear as if he was; and no voice was heard but of the highest congratulation, of extolling the person of the king, admiring his condescensions and affability, raising his praises to heaven, and cursing and detesting the memory of those villains who had so long excluded so meritorious a prince, and thereby withheld that happiness from them, which they should enjoy in the largest measure they could desire or wish. The joy on all sides was with the greatest excess, so that most men thought, and had reason enough to think, that the king was even already that great and glorious prince which the parliament had wantonly and hypocritically promised to raise his father to be.

The chancellor took his place in the house of

peers with a general acceptance and respect; and all those lords who were alive and had served the king his father, and the sons of those who were dead and were equally excluded from sitting there by ordinances of parliament, together with all those who had been created by this king, took their seats in parliament without the least murmur or exception. The house of commons seemed equally constituted to what could be wished; for though there were many presbyterian members, and some of all other factions in religion, who did all promise themselves some liberty and indulgence for their several parties, yet they all professed great zeal for the establishing the king in his full power. And the major part of the house was of sober and prudent men, who had been long known to be very weary of all the late governments, and heartily to desire and pray for the king's return. And there were many who had either themselves been actual and active malignants and delinquents in the late king's time, or the sons of such, who inherited their fathers' virtues. Both which classes of men were excluded from being capable of being elected to serve in parliament, not only by former ordinances, but by express caution in the very writs which were sent out to summon this parliament; and were notwithstanding made choice of, and returned by the country, and received without any hesitation in the house, and treated by all men with the more civility and respect for their known malignity: so that the king, though it was necessary to have patience in the expectations of their resolutions in all important points, which could not suddenly be concluded in such a popular assembly, was very reasonably assured, that he should have nothing pressed upon him that should be ungrateful, with reference to the church or state.

It is true, the presbyterians were very numerous in the house, and many of them men of good parts, and had a great party in the army, and a greater in the city, and, except with reference to episcopacy, were desirous to make themselves grateful to the king in the settling all his interest, and especially in vindicating themselves from the odious murder of the king by loud and passionate inveighing against that monstrous parricide, and with the highest animosity denouncing the severest judgments not only against those who were immediately guilty of it, but against those principal persons who had most notoriously adhered to Cromwell in the administration of his government, that is, most eminently opposed them and their faction. They took all occasions to declare, "that the power and interest of their party had been the chief means to bring home the king;" and used all possible endeavours that the king might be persuaded to think so too, and that the very covenant had at last done him good and expedited his return, by the causing it to be hung up in churches, from whence Cromwell had cast it out; and their ministers pressing upon the conscience of all those who had taken it, "that they were bound by that clause which concerned the defence of the king's person, to take up arms, if need were, on his behalf, and to restore him to his rightful government;" when the very same ministers had obliged them to take up arms against the king his father by virtue of that covenant, and to fight against him

till they had taken him prisoner, which produced his murder. This party was much displeased that the king declared himself so positively on behalf of episcopacy, and would hear no other prayers in his chapel than those contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and that all those formalities and solemnities were now again resumed and practised, which they had caused to be abolished for so many years past. Yet the king left all churches to their liberty, to use such forms of devotion which they liked best; and such of their chief preachers who desired it, or were desired by their friends, were admitted to preach before him, even without the surplice, or any other habit than they made choice of. But this connivance would not do their business; their preaching made no proselytes who were not so before; and the resort of the people to those churches where the Common Prayer was again introduced, was evidence enough of their inclinations; and they saw the king's chapel always full of those who had used to possess the chief benches in their assemblies; so that it was manifest that nothing but the supreme authority would be able to settle their discipline: and therefore, with their usual confidence, they were very importunate in the house of commons, "that the ecclesiastical government might be settled and remain according to the covenant, which had been practised many years, and so the people generally well devoted to it; whereas the introducing the Common Prayer (with which very few had ever been acquainted or heard it read) would very much offend the people, and give great interruption to the composing the peace of the kingdom." This was urged in the house of commons by eminent men of the party, who believed they had the major part of their mind. And their preachers were as solicitous and industrious to inculcate the same doctrine to the principal persons who had returned with the king, and every day resorted to the court as if they presided there, and had frequent audiences of the king to persuade him to be of the same opinion; from whom they received no other condescensions than they had formerly had at the Hague, with the same gracious affability and expressions to their persons.

That party in the house that was in truth devoted to the king and to the old principles of church and of state, which every day increased, thought not fit so to cross the presbyterians, as to make them desperate in their hopes of satisfaction; but, with the concurrence with those who were of contrary factions, diverted the argument by proposing other subjects of more immediate relation to the public peace, (as the act of indemnity, which every man impatiently longed for, and the raising money towards the payment of the army and the navy, without which that insupportable charge could not be lessened,) to be first considered and despatched; and the model for religion to be debated and prepared by that committee which had been nominated before his majesty's return to that purpose; they not doubting to cross and puzzle any pernicious resolutions there, till time and their own extravagant follies should put some end to their destructive designs.

In the mean time there were two particulars which the king, with much inward impatience,

though with little outward communication, did most desire; the disbanding the army, and the settling the revenue, the course and receipt whereof had been so broken and perverted, and a great part extinguished by the sale of all the crown lands, that the old officers of the exchequer, auditors or receivers, knew not how to resume their administrations. Besides that the great receipt of excise and customs was not yet vested in the king; nor did the parliament make any haste to assign it, finding it necessary to reserve it in the old way, and not to divert it from those assignments which had been made for the payment of the army and navy; for which, until some other provision could be made, it was to no purpose to mention the disbanding the one or the other, though the charge of both was so vast and insupportable, that the kingdom must in a short time sink under the burden. For what concerned the revenue and raising money, the king was less solicitous; and yet there was not so much as any assignation made for the support of his household, which caused a vast debt to be contracted before taken notice of, the mischief of which is hardly yet removed. He saw the parliament every day doing somewhat in it; and it quickly dissolved all bargains, contracts, and sales, which had been of any of the crown lands, so that all that royal revenue (which had been too much wasted and impaired in those improvident times which had preceded the troubles) was entirely remitted to those to whom it belonged, the king and the queen his mother; but very little money was returned out of the same into the exchequer in the space of the first year: so difficult it was to reduce any payments, which had been made for so many years irregularly, into the old channel and order. And every thing else of this kind was done, how slowly soever, with as much expedition as [from] the nature of the affair, and the crowd in which it was necessary to be agitated, could reasonably be expected; and therefore his majesty was less troubled for those inconveniences which he foresaw must inevitably flow from thence.

But the delay in disbanding the army, how unavoidable soever, did exceedingly afflict him, and the more, because for many reasons he could not urge it nor complain of it. He knew well the ill constitution of the army, the distemper and murmuring that was in it, and how many diseases and convulsions their infant loyalty was subject to; that how united soever their inclinations and acclamations seemed to be at Blackheath, their affections were not the same: and the very countenances then of many officers as well as soldiers did sufficiently manifest, that they were drawn thither to a service they were not delighted in. The general, before he had formed any resolution to himself, and only valued himself upon the presbyterian interest, had cashiered some regiments and companies which he knew not to be devoted to his person and greatness; and after he found it necessary to fix his own hopes and dependence upon the king, he had dismissed many officers who he thought might be willing and able to cross his designs and purposes when he should think fit to discover them, and conferred their charges and commands upon those who had been disfavoured by the late powers; and after the parliament had declared

for and proclaimed the king, he cashiered others, and gave their offices to some eminent commanders who had served the king; and gave others of the loyal nobility leave to list volunteers in companies to appear with them at the reception of the king, who had all met and joined with the army upon Blackheath in the head of their regiments and companies: yet, notwithstanding all this providence, the old soldiers had little regard for their new officers, at least had no resignation for them; and it quickly appeared, by the select and affected mixtures of sullen and melancholic parties of officers and soldiers, that as ill-disposed men of other classes were left as had been disbanded; and that much the greater part so much abounded with ill humours, that it was not safe to administer a general purgation. It is true that Lambert was close prisoner in the Tower, and as many of those officers who were taken and had appeared in arms with him when he was taken were likewise there, or in some other prisons, with others of the same complexion, who were well enough known to have the present settlement that was intended in perfect detestation: but this leprosy was spread too far to have the contagion quickly or easily extinguished. How close soever Lambert himself was secured from doing mischief, his faction was at liberty, and very numerous; his disbanded officers and soldiers mingled and conversed with their old friends and companions, and found too many of them possessed with the same spirit; they concurred in the same reproaches and revilings of the general, as the man who had treacherously betrayed them, and led them into an ambuscade from whence they knew not how to disentangle themselves. They looked upon him as the sole person who still supported his own model, and were well assured that if he were removed, the army would be still the same, and appear in their old retrenchments; and therefore they entered into several combinations to assassinate him, which they resolved to do with the first opportunity. In a word, they liked neither the mien nor garb nor countenance of the court, nor were wrought upon by the gracious aspect and benignity of the king himself.

All this was well enough known to his majesty, and to the general, who was well enough acquainted and not at all pleased with the temper and disposition of his army, and therefore no less desired it should be disbanded than the king did. In the mean time, very diligent endeavours were used to discover and apprehend some principal persons, who took as much care to conceal themselves; and every day many dangerous or suspected men of all qualities were imprisoned in all counties: spies were employed, who for the most part had the same affections which they were to discover in others, and received money on both sides to do, and not to do, the work they were appointed to do. And in this melancholic and perplexed condition the king and all his hopes stood, when he appeared most gay and exalted, and wore a pleasantness in his face that became him, and looked like as full an assurance of his security as was possible to be put on.

There was yet added to this slippery and uneasy posture of affairs, another mortification, which made a deeper impression upon the king's spirit than all the rest, and without which the

worst of the other would have been in some degree remediable; that was, the constitution and disunion of those who were called and looked upon as his own party, which without doubt in the whole kingdom was numerous enough, and capable of being powerful enough to give the law to all the rest; which had been the ground of many unhappy attempts in the late time; that if any present force could be drawn together, and possessed of any such place in which they might make a stand without being overrun in a moment, the general concurrence of the kingdom would in a short time reduce the army, and make the king superior to all his enemies; which imagination was enough confuted, though not enough extinguished, by the dearbought experience in the woful enterprise at Worcester. However, it had been now a very justifiable presumption in the king, to believe as well as hope, that he could not be long in England without such an appearance of his own party, that wished all that he himself desired, and such a manifestation of their authority, interest, and power, that would prevent, or be sufficient to subdue, any froward disposition that might grow up in the parliament, or more extravagant demands in the army itself. An appearance there was of that people, great enough, who had all the wishes for the king which he entertained for himself. But they were so divided and disunited by private quarrels, factions, and animosities; or so unacquainted with each other; or, which was worse, so jealous of each other; the understandings and faculties of many honest men were so weak and shallow, that they could not be applied to any great trust; and others, who wished and meant very well, had a peevishness, frowardness, and opiniatry, that they would be engaged only in what pleased themselves, nor would join in any thing with such and such men whom they disliked. The severe and tyrannical government of Cromwell and the parliament had so often banished and imprisoned them upon mere jealousies, that they were grown strangers to one another, without any communication between them: and there had been so frequent betrayings and treacheries used, so many discoveries of meetings privately contrived, and of discourses accidentally entered into, and words and expressions rashly and unadvisedly uttered without any design, upon which multitudes were still imprisoned and many put to death; so that the jealousy was so universal, that few men who had never so good affections for the king, durst confer with any freedom together.

Most of those of the nobility who had with constancy and fidelity adhered to the last king, and had greatest authority with all men who professed the same affections, were dead; as the duke of Richmond, the earl of Dorset, the lord Capel, the lord Hopton, and many other excellent persons. And of that classis, that is, of a powerful interest and unsuspected integrity, (for there were some very good men, who were without any cause suspected then, because they were not equally persecuted upon all occasions,) there were only two who survived, the marquis of Hertford and earl of Southampton; who were both great and worthy men, looked upon with great estimation by all the most valuable men who could contribute most to the king's restoration, and with reverence by their greatest enemy, and had been courted by Crom-

well himself till he found it to no purpose. And though the marquis had been prevailed with once and no more to give him a visit, the other, the earl, could never be persuaded so much as to see him; and when Cromwell was in the New Forest, and resolved one day to visit him, he being informed of it or suspecting it, removed to another house he had at such a distance as exempted him from that visitation. But these two great persons had for several years withdrawn themselves into the country, lived retired, sent sometimes such money as they could raise out of their long-sequestered and exhausted fortunes, by messengers of their own dependence, with advice to the king, "to sit still, and expect a reasonable revolution," "without making any unadvised attempt;" and industriously declined any conversation or commerce with any who were known to correspond with the king: so that now, upon his majesty's return, they were totally unacquainted with any of those persons, who now looked as men to be depended upon in any great action and attempt. And for themselves, as the marquis shortly after died, so the other with great abilities served him in his most secret and important councils, but had been never conversant in martial affairs.

There had been six or eight persons of general good and confessed reputation, and who of all who were then left alive had had the most eminent charges in the war, and executed them with great courage and discretion; so that few men could with any reasonable pretence refuse to receive orders from them, or to serve under their commands. They had great affection for and confidence in each other, and had frankly offered by an express of their own number, whilst the king remained in France, "that if they were approved" and qualified by his majesty, they would by "joint advice intend the care of his majesty's service; and as they would not engage in any" "absurd and desperate attempt, but use all their credit and authority to prevent and discountenance the same, so they would take the first" "rational opportunity, which they expected from" "the divisions and animosities which daily grew" "and appeared in the army, to draw their friends" "and old soldiers who were ready to receive their" "commands together, and try the utmost that" "could be done, with the loss or hazard of their" "lives:" some of them having, beside their experience in war, very considerable fortunes of their own to lose, and were relations to the greatest families in England. And therefore they made it their humble suit, "that this secret correspondence might be carried on, and known to none" "but to the marquis of Ormond and to the chancellor; and that if any other counsels were set" "on foot in England by the activity of particular" "persons, who too frequently with great zeal and" "little animadversion embarked themselves in" "impossible undertakings, his majesty upon advertisement thereof would first communicate" "the motives or pretences which would be offered" "to him, to them; and then they would find" "opportunity to confer with some sober man of" "that fraternity," (as there was no well-affected person in England, who at that time would not willingly receive advice and direction from most of those persons,) "and thereupon they would" "present their opinion to his majesty; and if the" "design should appear practicable to his majesty,

"they would cheerfully embark themselves in it, "otherwise use their own dexterity to divert it." These men had been armed with all necessary commissions and instructions, according to their own desires; the king consented to all they proposed; and the cyphers and correspondence were committed to the chancellor, in whose hands, with the privacy only of the marquis of Ormond, all the intelligence with England, of what kind soever, was intrusted.

Under this conduct, for some years all things succeeded well; many unseasonable attempts were prevented, and thereby the lives of many good men preserved: and though (upon the cursory jealousy of that time, and the restless apprehension of Cromwell, and the almost continual commitments of all who had eminently served the king, and were able to do it again) these persons who were thus trusted, or the major part of them, were seldom out of prison, or free from the obligation of good sureties for their peaceable behaviour; yet all the vigilance of Cromwell and his most diligent inquisitors could never discover this secret intercourse between those confidants and the king, which did always pass and was maintained by expresses made choice of by them, and supported at their charge out of such monies as were privately collected for public uses, of which they who contributed most knew little more than the integrity of him who was intrusted, who did not always make skilful contributions.

It fell out unfortunately, that two of these principal persons fell out, and had a fatal quarrel, upon a particular less justifiable than any thing that could result from or relate to the great trust they both had from the king, which ought to have been of influence enough to have suppressed or diverted all passions of that kind: but the animosities grew suddenly irreconcilable, and if not divided the affections of the whole knot, at least interrupted or suspended their constant intercourse and confidence in each other, and so the diligent accounts which the king used to receive from them. And the cause growing more public and notorious, though not known in a long time after to the king, exceedingly lessened both their reputations with the most sober men; insomuch as they withdrew all confidence in their conduct, and all inclination to embark in the business which was intrusted in such hands. And which was worse than all this, one person amongst them, of as unblemished a reputation as either of them, and of much better abilities and faculties of mind, either affected with this untoward accident, or broken with frequent imprisonments and despair of any resurrection of the king's interest, about this time yielded to a foul temptation; and for large supplies of money, which his fortune stood in need of, engaged to be a spy to Cromwell, with a latitude which he did not allow to others of that ignominious tribe, undertaking only to impart enough of any design to prevent the mischief thereof, without exposing any man to the loss of his life, or ever appearing himself to make good and justify any of his discoveries. The rest of his associates neither suspected their companion, nor lessened their affection or utmost zeal for the king; though they remitted some of their diligence in his service by the other unhappy interruption.

This falling out during his majesty's abode in

Cologne, he was very long without notice of the grounds of that jealousy which had obstructed his usual correspondence; and the matter of infidelity being not in the least degree suspected, he could not avoid receiving advice and propositions from other honest men, who were of known affection and courage, and who conversed much with the officers of the army, and were unskilfully disposed to believe that all they, who they had reason to believe did hate Cromwell, would easily be induced to serve the king: and many of the officers in their behaviour, discourses, and familiarity, contributed to that belief; some of them, not without the privacy and allowance of Cromwell, or his secretary Thurlow. And upon overtures of this kind, and wonderful confidence of success, even upon the preparations which were in readiness, of and by his own party, several messengers were sent to the king; and by all of them sharp and passionate complaints against those persons, who were so much and still in the same confidence with him, as men who were at ease, and uninclined to venture themselves upon dangerous or doubtful enterprises. They complained, "that "when they imparted to them or any one of them," (for they knew not of his majesty's reference to them, but had of themselves resorted to them as men of the greatest reputation for their affections and experience,) "a design which had been well "consulted and deliberated by those who meant "to venture their own lives in the execution of it, "they made so many excuses and arguments and "objections against it, as if it were wholly unadvisable and unpracticable; and when they proposed the meeting and conferring with some of "the officers, who were resolved to serve his majesty, and were willing to advise with them, as "men of more interest and who had managed "greater commands, upon the places of rendezvous, and what method should be observed in "the enterprises, making no scruple themselves "to receive orders from them, or to do all things "they should require which might advance his "majesty's service, these gentlemen only wished "them to take heed they were not destroyed, and "positively refused to meet or confer with any of "the officers of the army: and hereupon," they said, "all the king's party was so incensed against "them, that they no more would have recourse "to them, or make any conjunction with them." They informed his majesty at large of the animosity that was grown between two of the principal persons, and the original cause thereof, and therefore desired "that some person might be sent, to "whom they might repair for orders, until the "king himself discerned that all preparations were "in such a readiness, that he might reasonably "venture his royal person with them."

Though he was not at all satisfied with the grounds of their expectation and proceedings, and therefore could not blame the wariness and reservedness of the other, and thought their apprehension of being betrayed, (which in the language of that time was called *trepanded*,) which befell some men every day, very reasonable; yet the confidence of many honest men, who were sure to pay dear for any rash undertaking, and their presumption in appointing a peremptory day for a general rendezvous over the kingdom, but especially the division of his friends, and sharpness against those upon whom he principally relied, was

the cause of his sending over the lord Rochester, and of his own concealment in Zealand; the success whereof, and the ill consequence of those precipitate resolutions, in the slaughter of many worthy and gallant gentlemen with all the circumstances of insolence and barbarity, are mentioned in their proper places.

But these unhappy and fatal miscarriages, and the sad spectacles which ensued, made not those impressions upon the affections and spirits of the king's friends as they ought to have done; nor rendered the wariness and discretion of those who had dissuaded the enterprise, and who were always imprisoned upon suspicion, how innocent soever, the more valued and esteemed: on the contrary, it increased the reproaches against the knot, as if their lâcheté and want of appearance and engaging had been the sole cause of the misfortune. And after some short fits of dejection and acquiescence, upon the shedding so much blood of their friends and confederates, and the notorious discovery of being betrayed by those, who had been trusted by them, of the army; they began again to resume courage, to meet and enter upon new counsels and designs, imputing the former want of success to the want of skill and conduct in the undertakers, not to the all-seeing vigilance of Cromwell and his instruments, or to the formed strength of his government, not to be shaken by weak or ill-seconded conspiracies. Young men were grown up, who inherited their fathers' malignity, and were too impatient to revenge their death, or to be even with their oppressors, and so entered into new combinations as unskilful, and therefore as unfortunate as the former; and being discovered even before they were formed, Cromwell had occasion given him to make himself more terrible in new executions, and to exercise greater tyranny upon the whole party, in imprisonments, penalties, and sequestrations; making those who heartily desired to be quiet, and who as much abhorred any rash and desperate insurrection, to pay their full shares for the folly of the other, as if all were animated by the same spirit. And this unjust and unreasonable rigour increased the reproaches and animosities in the king's friends against each other: the wiser and more sober part, who had most experience, and knew how impossible it was to succeed in such enterprises, and had yet preserved or redeemed enough of their fortunes to sit still and expect some hopeful revolution, were unexpressibly offended, and bitterly inveighed against those, who without reason disturbed their peace and quiet, by provoking the state to fresh persecutions of them who had given them no offence: and the other stirring and enraged party, with more fierceness and public disdain, protested against and reviled those who refused to join with them, as men who had spent all their stock of allegiance, and meant to acquiesce with what they had left under the tyranny and in the subjection of Cromwell. And thus they who did really wish the same things, and equally the overthrow of that government, which hindered the restoration of the king, grew into more implacable jealousies and virulencies against each other, than against that power that oppressed them both, and "poured out their blood like water." And either party conveyed their apologies and accusations to the king: one insisting upon the impertinency of

all such attempts; and the other insisting that they were ready for a very solid and well-grounded enterprise, were sure to be possessed of good towns, if, by his majesty's positive command, the rest, who professed such obedience to him, would join with them.

It was at this time, and upon these reasons, that the king sent the marquis of Ormond into England, to find out and discover whether in truth there were any sober preparations and readiness for action, and then to head and conduct it; or if it was not ripe, to compose the several distempers, and unite, as far as was possible, all who wished well, to concur in the same patience for the present, and in the same activity when it should be seasonable. And he, upon full conference with the principal persons of the most contradictory judgments, quickly found that they who were accused to be lazy and unactive were in truth discreet men, and as ready vigorously to appear as the other, when the season should be advisable, which he clearly discerned it was not then; and that the presumption of the other, upon persons as well as places, was in no degree to be depended upon. And so, after he had done what was possible towards making a good intelligence between tempers and understandings so different, the marquis had the same good fortune to retire from thence and bring himself safe to the king; which was the more wonderful preservation, in that, during the whole time of his abode in London, he had trusted no man more, nor conferred with any man so much, as with that person of the select knot, who had been corrupted to give all intelligence to Cromwell: and as he had now blasted and diverted some ill laid designs, so he had discovered the marquis's arrival to him, but could not be prevailed with to inform him of his lodging, which was particularly known to him upon every change, or to contrive any way for his apprehension: on the contrary, as in all his conferences with him he appeared a man of great judgment and perspicacity, and the most ready to engage his person in any action that might be for his majesty's advantage, so he seemed bent to understand the temper of the time, and the parts, faculties, and interest of all the king's party; and left the marquis abundantly satisfied with him, and of the general good reputation he had with all men: which had afterwards an ill effect, for it kept the king and those who were trusted by him from giving credit to the first information he received, from a person who could not be deceived, of his tergiversation; his late fidelity to the marquis of Ormond weighing down with them all the intimations, until the evidence was so pregnant that there was no room for any doubt.

After all these endeavours by the king to discountenance and suppress all unreasonable action amongst his party, and to infuse into them a spirit of peace and quiet till he himself could appear in the head of some foreign forces, which he looked upon as the only reasonable encouragement that could animate his friends to declare for him, the generous distemper and impatience of their nature was incorrigible. They thought the expectation of miracles from God Almighty was too lazy and stupid a confidence, and that God no less required their endeavours and activity, than they hoped for his benediction in their success. New hopes were entertained, and counsels suitable entered upon.

Mr. Mordaunt, the younger son and brother to the earls of Peterborough, who was too young in the time of the late war to act any part in it, had lately undergone, after Cromwell himself had taken great pains in the examination of him, a severe trial before the high court of justice; where by his own singular address and behaviour, and his friends having wrought by money upon some of the witnesses to absent themselves, he was by one single voice acquitted; and after a longer detention in prison by the indignation of Cromwell, who well knew his guilt, and against the rules and forms of their own justice, he was discharged, after most of his associates were publicly and barbarously put to several kinds of death. And he no sooner found himself at liberty, than he engaged in new intrigues, how he might destroy that government that was so near destroying him. The state of the kingdom was indeed altered, and he had encouragement to hope well, which former undertakers, and himself in his, had been without. Cromwell had entered into a war with Spain; and the king was received and permitted to live in Flanders, with some exhibition from that king for his support, and assurance of an army to embark for England, (which made a great noise, and raised the broken hearts of his friends after so many distresses,) which his majesty was contented should be generally reputed to be greater and in more forwardness than there was cause for. He had likewise another advantage, much superior and of more importance than the other, by the death of Cromwell, which fell out without or beyond expectation, which seemed to put an end to all his stratagems, and to dissolve the whole frame of government in the three kingdoms, and to open many doors to the king to enter upon that which every body knew to be his own. And though this reasonable hope was, sooner than could be imagined, blasted and extinguished by an universal submission to the declaration that Cromwell had made at his death, "that his son Richard should succeed him;" upon which he was declared protector by the council, army, navy, with the concurrence of the forces of the three kingdoms, and the addresses of all the counties in England, with vows of their obedience; inasmuch as he appeared in the eyes of all men as formidably settled as his father had been: yet Mr. Mordaunt proceeded with alacrity in his design, contrary to the opinion and advice of those with whom he was obliged to consult, who thought the conjuncture as unfavourable as any that was past, and looked upon Mr. Mordaunt as a rash young man, of a daring spirit, without any experience in military affairs, and upon themselves as unkindly treated by those about the king, in being exposed to the importunity of a gentleman who was a stranger to them, and who was equally qualified with them for the forming any resolution which they could not concur in.

But the intermission of the severe persecution which had been formerly practised against the royal party, in this nonage of Richard's government, gave more liberty to communication; and the Presbyterian party grew more discontented and daring, and the Independent less concerned to prevent any inconvenience or trouble to the weak son of Oliver, whom they resolved not to obey. Mr. Mordaunt, who had gained much re-

putation by his steady carriage in his late mortification, and by his so brisk carriage so soon after, found credit with many persons of great fortune and interest; as sir George Booth and sir Thomas Middleton, the greatest men in Cheshire and North Wales, who were reputed Presbyterians, and had been both very active against the king, and now resolved to declare for him; sir Horatio Townsend, who was newly become of age, and the most powerful person in Norfolk, where there were many gallant men ready to follow him; and many others the most considerable men in most of the counties of England: who all agreed, in so many several counties of England, to appear upon a day, in such bodies as they could draw together; many considerable places being prepared for their reception, or too weak to oppose them. And Mr. Mordaunt secretly transported himself and waited upon the king at Brussels, with that wariness that he was known to none but to them with whom he was to consult. The king received by him a full information of the engagement of all those persons to do him service with the utmost hazard, and of the method they meant to proceed in, and the probability, most like assurance, of their being to be possessed of Gloucester, Chester, Lynne, Yarmouth, all Kent, and the most considerable places in the west, where indeed his own friends were very considerable.

Upon the whole matter the king thought it so reasonable to approve the whole design, that he appointed the day, with a promise to be himself, with his brother the duke of York, concealed at Calais or thereabout, that they might divide themselves to those parts which should be thought most proper for the work in hand. Mr. Mordaunt lamented the wariness and want of confidence in those persons upon whom the king depended, and acknowledged them most worthy of that trust, and of much reputation in the nation; and imputed their much reservation to the troubles and imprisonments which they had been seldom free from, and their observation how little ground there had been for former enterprises, without the least suspicion of want of affection and resolution in any one of them, and less of integrity. But the king was by this time fully convinced where the treachery was, without any blemish to any one of the rest, who needed not to be ashamed of being deceived by a man whom all the kingdom would have trusted. The ridiculous dethroning of Richard by the army, and the reassembling that part of the old parliament which was called the Rump, and which was more terrible than any single person could be, because they presently returned into their old track, and renewed their former rigour against their old more than their new enemies, rather advanced than restrained this combination; too much being known to too many to be secure any other way than by pursuing it. So the king and duke, according to their former resolution, went to Calais and Boulogne, and prepared as well to make a descent into Kent with such numbers of men as the condition they were in would permit. How many of those designs came to be wonderfully and even miraculously disappointed, and sir George Booth defeated by Lambert, are particularly set down by those who have taken upon them to mention the transactions of those times. And from thence the universality



of all who were, or were suspected to be, of the king's party, were, according to custom, imprisoned, or otherwise cruelly entreated; and thereupon a new fire kindled amongst themselves: they who had done nothing reproaching them who had brought that storm upon them; and they who had been engaged more loudly and bitterly cursing the other, as deserters of the king, and the cause of the ruin of his cause through their want of courage, or, what was worse, of affection. And so all men's mouths were opened wider to accuse and defame each other, than to defend their own integrity and their lives.

I have thought myself obliged to renew the memory of all these particulars, that the several vicissitudes and stages may be known, by which the jealousies, murmurs, and disaffections in the royal party amongst themselves, and against each other, had mounted to that height which the king found them at when he returned; when in truth very few men of active minds, and upon whom he could depend in any sudden occasion that might probably press him, can be named, who had any confidence in each other. All men were full of bitter reflections upon the actions and behaviour of others, or of excuses and apologies for themselves for what they thought might be charged upon them. The woful vice of drinking, from the uneasiness of their fortune, or the necessity of frequent meetings together, for which taverns were the most secure places, had spread itself very far in that class of men, as well as upon other parts of the nation, in all counties; and had exceedingly weakened the parts, and broken the understandings of many, who had formerly competent judgments, and had been in all respects fit for any trust; and had prevented the growth of parts in many young men, who had good affections, but had been from their entering into the world so corrupted with that excess, and other license of the time, that they only made much noise, and, by their extravagant and scandalous debauches, brought many calumnies and disestimation upon that cause which they pretended to advance. They who had suffered much in their fortunes, and by frequent imprisonments and sequestrations and compositions, expected large recompenses and reparations in honours which they could not support, or offices which they could not discharge, or lands and money which the king had not to give; as all dispassioned men knew the conditions which the king was obliged to perform, and that the act of indemnity discharged all those forfeitures which could have been applied to their benefit: and therefore they who had been without comparison the greatest sufferers in their fortunes, and in all respects had merited most, never made any inconvenient suits to the king, but modestly left the memory and consideration of all they had done or undergone, to his majesty's own gracious reflections. They were observed to be most importunate, who had deserved least, and were least capable to perform any notable service; and none had more esteem of themselves, and believed preferment to be more due to them, than a sort of men, who had most loudly began the king's health in taverns, especially if for any disorders which had accompanied it other pretence of merit, or running any other

they had suffered imprisonment, without any hazard.

Though it was very evident, humanly speaking, that the late combination entered into, and the brave attempt and engagement of sir George Booth, how unsuccessful soever in the instant, had contributed very much to the wonderful change that had since ensued, by the discovery of the general affections and disposition of the kingdom, and their aversion from any kind of government that was not founded upon the old principles; and the public or private engagement of very many persons, who had never been before suspected, whereof, though many of the most considerable persons had been, by the treachery heretofore mentioned, committed to several prisons, yet many others of equal interest remained still in liberty, and had a great influence upon the counsels both in the parliament and army: yet, I say, notwithstanding this was notorious, a greater animosity had been kindled in the royal party, and was still pursued and improved amongst them from that combination and engagement, than from all the other accidents and occasions, and gave the king more trouble and perplexity. It had introduced a great number of persons, who had formerly no pretence of merit from the king, rather might have been the objects of his justice, to a just title to the greatest favours the king could confer; and which, from that time, they had continually improved by repeated offices and services, which, being of a later date, might be thought to cloud and eclipse the lustre of those actions, which had before been performed by the more ancient cavaliers, especially of those who had been observed to be remiss in that occasion: and therefore they were the more solicitous in undervaluing the undertaking, and the persons of the undertakers, whom they mentioned under such characters, and to whom they imputed such weakness and levities as they had collected from the several parts of their lives, as might render them much disadvantage; and would by no means admit, "that any of the good that afterwards befell the king, resulted in any degree from that rash enterprise; but that thereby the king's friends were so weakened, and more completely undone, that they were disabled to appear in that conjuncture when the army was divided, and in which they might otherwise have been considerable enough to have given the law to all parties."

Mr. Mordaunt, whom the king had created a viscount before his return into England, and who had been most eminent in the other contrivances, in a time when a general consternation had seized upon the spirits of those who wished best to his majesty; for when he resumed his former resolutions, so soon after his head was raised from the block, and when the blood of his confederates watered so many streets in the city and the suburbs, the most trusted by the king had totally withdrawn their correspondence, and desired, that for some time no account or information might be expected from them; and therefore it must not be denied, that his vivacity, courage, and industry, revived the hearts which were so near broken before Cromwell's death, and afterwards prevailed with many to have more active spirits than they had before appeared to have: this gentleman, I say, most unjustly underwent the heavi-



est weight of all their censures and reproaches. He was the butt, at which all their arrows of envy, malice, and jealousy, were aimed and shot; he was the object and subject of all their scurrilous jests, and depraving discourses and relations; and they, who agreed in nothing else, were at unity and of one mind, in telling ridiculous stories to the king himself of his vanity and behaviour; and laying those aspersions upon him, as were most like to lessen the king's opinion of him; and to persuade him, that the recompenses he had already received were abundantly more than the services he had performed: which kind of insinuations from several persons, who seemed not to do it by concert, together with some prejudice the noble person did himself by some unseasonable importunities, as if he thought he had deserved very much, did for some time draw a more ungracious countenance from the king towards him, than his own nature disposed him to, or than the other's singular and useful activity, though liable to some levity or vanity, did deserve; and which the same persons, who procured it, made use of against those who were in most trust about the king, as arguments of the little esteem they had of those who had done the king most service, when a man of so eminent merit as Mr. Mordaunt was so totally neglected; and did all they could to infuse the same apprehensions into him. When the truth is, most men were affected, and more grieved and discontented for any honour and preferment which they saw conferred upon another man, than for being disappointed in their own particular expectations; and looked upon every obligation bestowed upon another man, how meritorious soever, as upon a reproach to them, and an upbraiding of their want of merit.

This unhappy temper and constitution of the royal party, with whom he had always intended to have made a firm conjunction against all accidents and occurrences which might happen at home or from abroad, did wonderfully displease and trouble the king; and, with the other perplexities, which are mentioned before, did so break his mind, and had that operation upon his spirits, that finding he could not propose any such method to himself, by which he might extricate himself out of those many difficulties and labyrinths in which he was involved, nor expedite those important matters which depended upon the goodwill and despatch of the parliament, which would proceed by its own rules, and with its accustomed formalities, he grew more disposed to leave all things to their natural course, and God's providence; and by degrees unbent his mind from the knotty and ungrateful part of his business, grew more remiss in his application to it, and indulged to his youth and appetite that license and satisfaction that it desired, and for which he had opportunity enough, and could not be without ministers abundant for any such negotiations; the time itself, and the young people thereof of either sex having been educated in all the liberty of vice, without reprehension or restraint. All relations were confounded by the several sects in religion, which discountenanced all forms of reverence and respect, as relics and marks of superstition. Children asked not blessing of their parents; nor did they concern themselves in the education of their children; but were well content that they should take any course to maintain

themselves, that they might be free from that expense. The young women conversed without any circumspection or modesty, and frequently met at taverns and common eatinghouses; and they who were stricter and more severe in their comportment, became the wives of the seditious preachers, or of officers of the army. The daughters of noble and illustrious families bestowed themselves upon the divines of the time, or other low and unequal matches. Parents had no manner of authority over their children, nor children any obedience or submission to their parents; but "every one did that which was good in his own eyes." This unnatural antipathy had its first rise from the beginning of the rebellion, when the fathers and sons engaged themselves in the contrary parties, the one choosing to serve the king, and the other the parliament; which division and contradiction of affections was afterwards improved to mutual animosities and direct malice, by the help of the preachers and the several factions in religion, or by the absence of all religion: so that there were never such examples of impiety between such relations in any age of the world, Christian or heathen, as that wicked time, from the beginning of the rebellion to the king's return; of which the families of Hotham and Vane are sufficient instances; though other more illustrious houses may be named, where the same accursed fruit was too plentifully gathered, and too notorious to the world. The relation between masters and servants had been long since dissolved by the parliament, that their army might be increased by the prentices against their masters' consent, and that they might have intelligence of the secret meetings and transactions in those houses and families which were not devoted to them; from whence issued the foulest treacheries and perfidiousness that were ever practised: and the blood of the master was frequently the price of the servant's villany.

Cromwell had been most strict and severe in the forming the manners of his army, and in chastising all irregularities; insomuch that sure there was never any such body of men so without rapine, swearing, drinking, or any other debauchery, but the wickedness of their hearts: and all persons cherished by him, were of the same leaven, and to common appearance without the practice of any of those vices which were most infamous to the people, and which drew the public hatred upon those who were notoriously guilty of them. But then he was well pleased with the most scandalous lives of those who pretended to be for the king, and wished that all his were such, and took all the pains he could that they might be generally thought to be such; whereas in truth the greatest part of those who were guilty of those disorders were young men, who had never seen the king, and had been born and bred in those corrupt times, "when there was no king in Israel." He was equally delighted with the luxury and voluptuousness of the presbyterians, who, in contempt of the thrift, sordidness, and affected ill-breeding of the independents, thought it became them to live more generously, and were not strict in restraining or mortifying the unruly and inordinate appetite of flesh and blood, but indulged it with too much and too open scandal, from which he reaped no small advantage; and wished all those, who were not his friends, should not only

be infected, but given over to the practice of the most odious vices and wickedness.

In a word, the nation was corrupted from that integrity, good nature, and generosity, that had been peculiar to it, and for which it had been signal and celebrated throughout the world; in the room whereof the vilest craft and dissembling had succeeded. The tenderness of the bowels, which is the quintessence of justice and compassion, the very mention of good nature was laughed at and looked upon as the mark and character of a fool; and a roughness of manners, or hardheartedness and cruelty was affected. In the place of generosity, a vile and sordid love of money was entertained as the truest wisdom, and any thing lawful that would contribute towards being rich. There was a total decay, or rather a final expiration of all friendship; and to dissuade a man from any thing he affected, or to reprove him for any thing he had done amiss, or to advise him to do any thing he had no mind to do, was thought an impertinence unworthy a wise man, and received with reproach and contempt. These dilapidations and ruins of the ancient candour and discipline were not taken enough to heart, and repaired with that early care and severity that they might have been; for they were not then incorrigible; but by the remissness of applying remedies to some, and the unweariness in giving a kind of countenance to others, too much of that poison insinuated itself into minds not well fortified against such infection: so that much of the malignity was transplanted, instead of being extinguished, to the corruption of many wholesome bodies, which, being corrupted, spread the diseases more powerfully and more mischievously.

That the king might be the more vacant to those thoughts and diversions which pleased him best, he appointed the chancellor and some others to have frequent consultations with such members of the parliament who were most able and willing to serve him; and to concert all the ways and means by which the transactions in the houses might be carried with the more expedition, and attended with the best success. These daily conferences proved very beneficial to his majesty's service; the members of both houses being very willing to receive advice and direction, and to pursue what they were directed; and all things were done there in good order, and succeeded well. All the courts of justice in Westminster hall were presently filled with grave and learned judges, who had either deserted their practice and profession during all the rebellious times, or had given full evidence of their affection to the king and the established laws, in many weighty instances: and they were then quickly sent in their several circuits, to administer justice to the people according to the old forms of law, which was universally received and submitted to with all possible joy and satisfaction. All commissions of the peace were renewed, and the names of those persons inserted therein, who had been most eminent sufferers for the king, and were known to have entire affections for his majesty and the laws; though it was not possible, but some would get and continue in, who were of more doubtful inclinations, by their not being known to him, whose province it was to depute them. Denied it cannot be, that there appeared, sooner than was thought possible, a general settlement in the civil

justice of the kingdom; that no man complained without remedy, and "every man dwelt again "under the shadow of his own vine," without any complaint of injustice and oppression.

The king exposed himself with more condescension than was necessary to persons of all conditions, heard all that they had a mind to say to him, and gave them such answers as for the present seemed full of grace. He was too well pleased to hear both the men and the women of all factions and fancies in religion discourse in their own method, and enlarged himself in debate with them; which made every one believe that they were more favoured by him than they had cause: which kind of liberty, though at first it was accompanied with acclamations, and acknowledgment of his being a prince of rare parts and affability, yet it was attended afterwards with ill consequences, and gave many men opportunity to declare and publish, that the king had said many things to them which he had never said; and made many concessions and promises to them which he had never uttered or thought upon.

The chancellor was generally thought to have most credit with his master, and most power in the counsels, because the king referred all matters of what kind soever to him. And whosoever repaired to him for his direction in any business was sent to the chancellor, not only because he had a great confidence in his integrity, having been with him so many years, and of whose indefatigable industry he and all men had great experience; but because he saw those men, whom he was as willing to trust, and who had at least an equal share in his affections, more inclined to ease and pleasure, and willing that the weight of the work should lie on the chancellor's shoulders, with whom they had an entire friendship, and knew well that they should with more ease be consulted by him in all matters of importance. Nor was it possible for him, at the first coming, to avoid the being engaged in all the counsels, of how distinct a nature soever, because he had been best acquainted with all transactions whilst the king was abroad; and therefore communication with him in all things was thought necessary by those, who were to have any part in them. Besides that, he continued still chancellor of the exchequer, by virtue of the grant formerly made to him by the last king, during whose time he executed that office, but resolved to surrender it into the king's hand as soon as his majesty should resolve on whom to confer it; he proposing nothing to himself, but to be left at liberty to intend only the discharge of his own office, which he thought himself unequal to, and hoped only to improve his talent that way by a most diligent application, well knowing the great abilities of those, who had formerly sat in that office, and that they found it required their full time and all their faculties. And therefore he did most heartily desire to meddle with nothing but that province, which though in itself and the constant perquisites of it is not sufficient to support the dignity of it, yet was then, upon the king's return; and, after it had been so many years without a lawful officer, would unquestionably bring in money enough to be a foundation to a future fortune, competent to his ambition, and enough to provoke the envy of many, who believed they deserved better than he. And that this was the temper and resolution he

brought with him into England, and how unwillingly he departed from it, will evidently appear by two or three instances, which shall be given in their proper place. However, he could not expect that freedom till the council should be settled, (into which the king admitted all who had been counsellors to his father, and had not eminently forfeited that promotion by their revolt, and many of those who had been and still were recommended by the general, amongst whom there were some who would not have been received upon any other title,) and until those officers could be settled, who might take particular care of their several provinces.

The king had upon great deliberation whilst he was beyond the seas, after his return appeared in view, firmly resolved to reform those excesses which were known to be in great offices, especially in those of his household, whilst the places were vacant, and to reform all extravagant expenses there; and first himself to gratify those, who had followed and served him, in settling them in such inferior offices and places, as custom had put in the disposal of the great officers, when they should become vacant after their admission. And of this kind he had made many promises, and given many warrants under his sign manual to persons, who to his own knowledge had merited those obligations. But most of those predeterminations, and many other resolutions of that kind, vanished and expired in the jollity of the return, and new inclinations and affections seemed to be more seasonable. The general, who was the sole pillar of the king's confidence, had by the parliament been invested (before the king's return) in all the offices and commands which Cromwell had enjoyed. He was lieutenant of Ireland, and general of all the armies and forces raised, or to be raised, in the three kingdoms; and it was not fit that he should be degraded from either upon his majesty's arrival: therefore all diligence was used in despatching grants of all those commands to him under the great seal of England. And that he might be obliged to be always near his majesty's person, he was presently sworn gentleman of the bedchamber; and might choose what office he liked best in the court, whilst titles of honour were preparing by the attorney, and particulars of lands inquired after by the auditors and receivers, which in all respects might raise him to that height which would most please him. He made choice to be master of the horse, and was immediately gratified with it; and thereby all those poor gentlemen, who had promises and warrants for several places, depending upon that great officer, were disappointed, and offered the king's sign manual to no purpose for their admission. The general in his own nature was an immoderate lover of money, and yet would have gratified some of the pretenders upon his majesty's recommendation, if the vile good housewifery of his wife had not engrossed that province, and preferred him, who offered most money, before all other considerations or motives. And hereby, not only many honest men, who had several ways served the king, and spent the fortunes they had been masters of, were denied the recompenses the king had designed to them; but such men, who had been most notorious in the malice against the crown from the beginning of the rebellion, or had been employed in all the active offices to affront and oppress his party, were for money preferred and

admitted into those offices, and became the king's servants very much against his will, and with his manifest regret on the behalf of the honest men, who had been so unworthily rejected. And this occasioned the first murmur and discontent, which appeared after the king's return, amongst those who were not inclined to it, yet found every day fresh occasions to nourish and improve it.

The settling this great officer in the stables made it necessary to appoint a lord steward of the household, who was a necessary officer for the parliament, being by the statute appointed to swear all the members of the house of commons; and to this charge the marquis of Ormond had been long designed, and was then sworn. And they had both their tables erected according to the old models, and all those excesses, which the irregular precedents of former times had introduced, and which the king had so solemnly resolved to reform, before it could be said to trench upon the rights of particular persons. But the good humour the king was in, and the plenty which generally appeared, how much soever without a fund to support it, and especially the natural desire his majesty had to see every body pleased, banished all thoughts of such providence; instead whereof, he resolved forthwith to settle his house according to former rules, or rather without any rule, and to appoint the officers, who impatiently expected their promotion. He directed his own table to be more magnificently furnished than it had ever been in any time of his predecessors; which example was easily followed in all offices.

That he might give a lively instance of his grace to those who had been of the party which had been faulty, according to his declaration from Breda, he made of his own free inclination and choice the earl of Manchester (who was looked upon as one of the principal heads of the presbyterian party) lord chamberlain of his house; who, continuing still to perform all good offices to his old friends, complied very punctually with all the obligations and duties which his place required, never failed being at chapel, and at all the king's devotions with all imaginable decency; and, by his extraordinary civilities and behaviour towards all men, did not only appear the fittest person the king could have chosen for that office in that time, but rendered himself so acceptable to all degrees of men, that none, but such who were implacable towards all who had ever disserved the king, were sorry to see him so promoted. And it must be confessed, that as he had expressed much penitence for what he had done amiss, and was mortally hated and persecuted by Cromwell, even for his life, and had done many acts of merit towards the king; so he was of all men, who had ever borne arms against the king, both in the gentleness and justice of his nature, in the sweetness and evenness of his conversation, and in his real principles for monarchy, the most worthy to be received into the trust and confidence in which he was placed. With his, the two other white staves were disposed of to those, to whom they were designed, when the king was prince of Wales, by his father: and all other inferior officers were made, who were to take care of the expenses of the house, and were a great part of it.

And thus the king's house quickly appeared in its full lustre, the eating and drinking very grate-

ful to all men, and the charge and expense of it much exceeding the precedents of the most luxurious times; and all this before there was any provision of ready money, or any assignation of a future fund to discharge or support it. All men were ready to deliver their goods upon trust, the officers too remiss in computing the disbursements; insomuch as the debts contracted by those excesses in less than the first year broke all the measures in that degree, that they could not suddenly be retrenched for the future; and the debt itself was not discharged in many years.

The king had in his purpose, long before his return, to make the earl of Southampton (who was the most valued and esteemed of all the nobility, and generally thought worthy of any honour or office) lord high treasurer of England; but he desired first to see some revenue settled by the parliament, and that part of the old, which had been sold and dispersed by extravagant grants and sales, reduced into the old channel, and regularly to be received and paid, and the customs to be put in such order, (which were not yet granted, and only continued by orders as illegal as the late times had been accustomed to, and to the authority whereof he had no mind to administer,) before he was willing to receive the staff. And so the office of the treasury was by commission executed by several lords of the council, whereof the chancellor, as well by the dignity of his place, as by his still being chancellor of the exchequer, was one; and so engaged in the putting the customs likewise into commissioners' hands, and settling all the other branches of the revenue in such manner as was thought most reasonable; in all debates whereof his majesty himself was still present, and approved the conclusion. But after a month or two spent in this method, in the crowd of so much business of several natures, the king found so little expedition, that he thought it best to determine that commission, and so gave the staff to the earl of Southampton, and made him treasurer. And the chancellor at the same time surrendering his office of chancellor of the exchequer into the king's hands, his majesty, upon the humble desire of the earl, conferred that office upon sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had married his niece, and whose parts well enough qualified him for the discharge thereof; though some other qualities of his, as well known, brought no advantage to his majesty by that promotion. And from this time the chancellor would never intermeddle in the business of the exchequer, nor admit any applications to him in it: however, the friendship was so great between the treasurer and him, and so notorious from an ancient date, and from a joint confidence in each other in the service of the last king, that neither of them concluded any matter of importance without consulting with the other. And so the treasurer, marquis of Ormond, the general, with the two secretaries of state, were of that secret committee with the chancellor; which, under the notion of foreign affairs, were appointed by the king to consult all his affairs before they came to a public debate; and in which there could not be a more united concurrence of judgments and affections.

Yet it was the chancellor's misfortune to be thought to have the greatest credit with the king, for the reasons mentioned before, and which for some time seemed to be without envy, by reason

of his many years service of the crown, and constant fidelity to the same, and his long attendance upon the person of his majesty, and the friendship he had with the most eminent persons who had adhered to that interest. Yet he foresaw, and told many of his friends, "that the credit he was thought to have with the king, and which he knew was much less than it was thought to be, and his being obliged by the king to conduct many affairs, which were foreign to those which principally concerned and related to his office, would in a short time raise such a storm of envy and malice against him, that he should not be able to stand the shock." All men's impatience to get, and immodesty in asking, when the king had nothing to give, with his majesty's easiness of access, and that "imbecillitas frontis" which kept him from denying, together with rescuing himself from the most troublesome importunities by sending men to the chancellor, could not but in a short time make him be looked upon as the man that obstructed all their pretences; in which they were confirmed by his own carriage towards them, which, though they could not deny to be full of civility, yet he always dissuaded them from pursuing the suits they had made to the king, as unfit or unjust for his majesty to grant, how inclinable soever he had seemed to them. And so, instead of promising to assist them, he positively denied so much as to endeavour it, when the matter would not bear it; but where he could do courtesies, no man proceeded more cheerfully and more unasked, which very many of all conditions knew to be true; nor did he ever receive recompense or reward for any such offices. Of which temper of his there will be occasion to say more hereafter.

The first matter of general and public importance, and which resulted not from any debate in parliament, was the discovery of a great affection that the duke had for the chancellor's daughter, who was a maid of honour to the king's sister, the princess royal of Orange, and of a contract of marriage between them: with which nobody was so surprised and confounded as the chancellor himself, who being of a nature free from any jealousy, and very confident of an entire affection and obedience from all his children, and particularly from that daughter, whom he had always loved dearly, never had in the least degree suspected any such thing; though he knew afterwards, that the duke's affection and kindness had been much spoken of beyond the seas, but without the least suspicion in any body that it could ever tend to marriage. And therefore it was cherished and promoted in the duke by those, and only by those, who were declared enemies to the chancellor, and who hoped from thence, that some signal disgrace and dishonour would befall the chancellor and his family; in which they were the more reasonably confirmed by the manner of the duke's living towards him, which had never any thing of grace in it, but very much of disfavour, to which the lord Berkley, and most of his other servants to please the lord Berkley, had contributed all they could; and the queen's notorious prejudice to him had made it part of his duty to her majesty, which had been a very great discomfort to the chancellor, in his whole administration beyond the seas. But now, upon this discovery and the consequence thereof, he looked upon himself

as a ruined person, and that the king's indignation ought to fall upon him as the contriver of that indignity to the crown, which as himself from his soul abhorred, and would have had the presumption of his daughter to be punished with the utmost severity, so he believed the whole kingdom would be inflamed to the punishment of it, and to prevent the dishonour which might result from it. And the least calamity that he expected upon himself and family, how innocent soever, was an everlasting banishment out of the kingdom, and to end his days in foreign parts in poverty and misery. All which undoubtedly must have come to pass upon that occasion, if the king had either had that indignation which had been just in him; or if he had withdrawn his grace and favour from him, and left him to be sacrificed by the envy and rage of others; though at this time he was not thought to have many enemies, nor indeed any who were friends to any other honest men. But the king's own knowledge of his innocence, and thereupon his gracious condescension and interposition diverting any rough proceeding, and so a contrary effect to what hath been mentioned having been produced from thence; the chancellor's greatness seemed to be thereby confirmed, his family established above the reach of common envy, and his fortune to be in a growing and prosperous condition not like to be shaken. And since after many years possession of this prosperity, an unexpected gust of displeasure took again its rise from this original, and overwhelmed him with variety and succession of misfortunes; it is very reasonable to relate from before this time all the passages and circumstances, which accompanied or attended that lady's first promotion in the service of the princess royal, in which the extreme averseness in her father and mother from embracing that opportunity, and the unusual grace and importunity from them who conferred the honour, being considered, there may appear to many an extraordinary operation of Providence, in giving the first rise to what afterwards succeeded, though of a nature so transcendent as cannot be thought to have any relation to it.

When the king resolved, immediately after the murder of his father, to send the chancellor his ambassador into Spain, the chancellor, being to begin his journey from the Hague, sent for his wife and children to meet him at Antwerp; and had at that time only four children, one daughter and three sons; all of so tender years, that their own discretions could contribute little to their education. These children, under the sole direction of a very discreet mother, he left at Antwerp, competently provided for, for the space of a year or more; hoping in that time to be able to send them some further supply; and having removed them out of England, to prevent any inconvenience that might befall them there, upon any accident that might result from his negotiation in Spain; it being in those times no unusual thing for the parliament, when it had conceived any notable displeasure against a man who was out of their reach, to seize upon his wife and children, and to imprison them in what manner and for what time seemed reasonable to them; and from this hazard he was willing to preserve his. The king was in Scotland when the chancellor returned from his embassy to Antwerp, where his family

had still remained; his children being grown as much as usually attends the space of two years, which was the time he had been absent. The fatal success at Worcester about this time had put a period to all his majesty's present designs; and he had no sooner made his wonderful escape into France, than he sent for the chancellor; who left his family, as he had done formerly, and as meanly supplied, and made all haste to Paris, where he found the king; with whom he remained till his majesty was even compelled to remove from thence into Germany; which was above three years.

During that time the princess royal had, out of her own princely nature and inclination, cultivated by the civility and offices of the lady Stanhope, conferred a very seasonable obligation upon him, by assigning a house, that was in her disposal at Breda, to his wife and children; who had thereupon left Antwerp; and, without the payment of any house-rent, were more conveniently, because more frugally, settled in their new mansion at Breda; where he got liberty to visit them for four or five days, whilst the king continued his journey to the Spa, and after another absence of near four years; finding his children grown and improved after that rate. The gracious inclination in the princess royal towards the chancellor's wife and children, (not without some reprehension from Paris,) and the civilities in the lady Stanhope, had proceeded much from the good offices of Daniel O'Neile, of the king's bedchamber; who had for many years lived in very good correspondence with the chancellor, and was very acceptable in the court of the princess royal, and to those persons who had the greatest influence upon her councils and affections.

The princess met the king her brother at the Spa, rather for the mutual comfort they took in each other, than for the use either of them had of the waters; yet the princess engaged herself to that order and diet that the waters required; and after near a month's stay there, they were forced suddenly to remove from thence, by the sickness of some of the princess's women of the smallpox, and resided at Aix-la-Chapelle; where they had been but one whole day, when notice came from the Spa, that Mrs. Killigrew, one of the maids of honour to the princess, was dead of the smallpox.

O'Neile came in the instant to the chancellor with very much kindness, and told him, that if he desired the king to speak to his sister to receive his daughter into the place of Mrs. Killigrew, he was most confident she would do it very willingly, but that she expected the king should speak to her, because the queen had writ to bestow the place that should first fall vacant to another; and when he found him not inclined to move the king in it, saying, he would not be any occasion to increase the jealousies which were already between their majesties, nor to dispose the princess to displease her mother, he frankly offered to move the king without the other's appearing in it. Whereupon the chancellor thought it necessary to deal freely with him, and told him, that his daughter was the only company and comfort that her mother had, and who he knew could not part with her; and that for himself he was resolved, whilst the king's condition continued so low, he would not have his daughter in that gaiety, which was necessary for the court of so young a princess; and therefore he conjured him by all

the friendship he had for him, since he saw to what resolution he was fixed, to use all his dexterity and address to divert the princess from the thought of a bounty that would prove so inconvenient to her, and to engage the lady Stanhope in the same office. O'Neile on the contrary used many arguments to him for his compliance with an opportunity that offered itself so much for [his] daughter's advantage, and which would probably, by the generosity of such a mistress, be attended with benefits and advantages which might absolve him from any further charges for her preferment. He remained not to be shaken, and the other desisted from his importunity. Shortly after, the king took notice of the vacant place in his sister's family, which he said he thought might in many respects be convenient for his daughter, and therefore offered to move his sister in it on her behalf. The chancellor, after he had acknowledged his majesty's goodness, with all humility besought him not to interpose his authority with his royal sister; made him a full relation of all that had passed between O'Neile and him, and of his resolution not to separate his daughter from his wife, and that one should not live in lustre, whilst the other must be necessitated to continue in so much security; and thereupon humbly entreated the king to refuse to interpose in that affair. The king told him with a very gracious freedom, that his sister had directly spoken to him to move in it, because of the letter she had received from the queen; that she herself had seen his daughter, and was so well pleased with her nature and her humour, which she had opportunity to observe a week together, that she had taken a resolution within herself, and communicated it to the lady Stanhope, that she would take her into her service when there should be opportunity; and therefore his majesty wished him to consider, whether he would not accept a benefit with all these circumstances; however advised him to wait upon his sister, and acknowledge so much grace, if he did not intend to make use of it. Though the chancellor was exceedingly perplexed with the knowledge of all these particulars, and understood to what misinterpretation and disadvantages this obstinacy might make him liable, yet he changed nothing of his resolution, and waited upon the princess with hope that he might convert her purely upon the inconvenience that might follow upon the conferring a grace, in that conjuncture, upon a family so inconsiderable to her service.

After he had attended the princess, and with all the expressions which his gratitude could suggest to him magnified the many favours he had received from her, and the gracious inclination he was informed she had now for his daughter; and he knew no better way (he told her) to return his most dutiful acknowledgments, than by taking care that she should undergo the least prejudice by her bounty to him, and therefore that he was resolved not to receive the honour she was inclined to bestow upon his daughter: that he had the misfortune to be ill understood by the queen her mother, who would be the more incensed against him, and offended with her highness, if the recommendation she had given on the behalf of another lady should be rejected on his behalf, and that in truth he was not able to maintain his daughter in such a condition as that relation did require; and concluded how inconvenient it would

be to separate her from her mother, who would be desolate without her. Her royal highness, who heard him with great patience till he had alleged all the arguments why she should not persist in her gracious disposition, and why he could not receive the obligations, answered, "that she knew well the long and faithful service he had performed towards the king her father, and the confidence his majesty had in him at his death; that he had continued the same fidelity to the king her brother, who was very sensible of it, and that she was the more troubled, that her mother had entertained any prejudice towards him, which she was assured proceeded from some false information, which would shortly appear to be so; that for her own part, she had always paid all duty to her, and would be ready to gratify any worthy person who came recommended by her majesty, but that she would not exclude her own judgment, and be bound to have no servants about her person but such who should be recommended by her mother, who she could not believe could ever be offended with her for taking the daughter of a person who had been of so eminent fidelity to the crown: that for the maintenance of his daughter he should take no further care; she well enough knew his condition, and how it came to be such, and that she took the care of that upon herself: for what related to his wife's unwillingness to part with her daughter, her highness said, she was contented to refer it entirely to her; as soon as she came home she would send for her to Breda, and if her mother would not permit her to come to her, she had done her part, and would acquiesce." There remained nothing for the chancellor to reply, and he remained still confident that his wife (to whom he had written to confirm her in her former resolution of having her daughter still with her) would continue of the mind she had been of; but when she was informed of all that had passed, she concluded that all those unusual circumstances in an affair of that nature were not without some instinct of Providence; and so when the princess royal sent for her daughter, she went herself likewise, and presented her to her highness; to which possibly it was some motive, that there would then remain no objection against her own residence with her husband; and so she presently removed to him to Cologne, where the king then was, and remained for some years. Having now set down (not improperly I think) the true rise and story of his daughter's going into that court, with all the particulars which preceded it, I shall now return to that place from whence this digression led us, of the public discovery of the duke's affection, and shall continue the relation till an end was put to that great affair, by the consent and approbation of the royal family, and, for ought appeared to the contrary, to the general satisfaction of the kingdom.

The chancellor, as soon as the king was at Whitehall, had sent for his daughter, having a design presently to marry her; to which purpose he had an overture from a noble family, on the behalf of a well-bred hopeful young gentleman, who was the heir of it. His daughter quickly arrived at her father's house, to his great joy, having always had a great affection for her; and she being his eldest child, he had more acquaintance

with her, than with any of his children; and being now of an age fit for marriage, he was well pleased that he had an opportunity to place her in such a condition, as with God's blessing was like to yield her much content. She had not been long in England, when the duke informed the king "of the affection and engagement that had been long between them; that they had been long contracted, and that she was with child;" and therefore with all imaginable importunity he begged his majesty's leave and permission upon his knees, "that he might publicly marry her, in such a manner as his majesty thought necessary for the consequence thereof." The king was much troubled with it, and more with his brother's passion, which was expressed in a very wonderful manner and with many tears, protesting, "that if his majesty should not give his consent, he would immediately leave the kingdom, and must spend his life in foreign parts." His majesty was very much perplexed to resolve what to do: he knew the chancellor so well, that he concluded that he was not privy to it, nor would ever approve it; and yet that it might draw much prejudice upon him, by the jealousy of those who were not well acquainted with his nature. He presently sent for the marquis of Ormond and the earl of Southampton, who he well knew were his bosom friends, and informed them at large, and of all particulars which had passed from the duke to him, and commanded them presently to see for the chancellor to come to his own chamber at Whitehall, where they would meet him upon a business of great importance, which the king had commended to them for their joint advice. They no sooner met, than the marquis of Ormond told the chancellor, "that he had a matter to inform him of, that he doubted would give him much trouble;" and therefore advised him to compose himself to hear it: and then told him, "that the duke of York had owned a great affection for his daughter to the king, and that he much doubted that she was with child by the duke, and that the king required the advice of them and of him what he was to do."

The manner of the chancellor's receiving this advertisement made it evident enough that he was struck with it to the heart, and had never had the least jealousy or apprehension of it. He broke out into a very immoderate passion against the wickedness of his daughter, and said with all imaginable earnestness, "that as soon as he came home he would turn her out of his house, as a strumpet, to shift for herself, and would never see her again." They told him, "that his passion was too violent to administer good counsel to him, that they thought that the duke was married to his daughter, and that there were other measures to be taken than those which the disorder he was in had suggested to him." Whereupon he fell into new commotions, and said, "if that were true, he was well prepared to advise what was to be done: that he had much rather his daughter should be the duke's whore than his wife: in the former case nobody could blame him for the resolution he had taken, for he was not obliged to keep a whore for the greatest prince alive; and the indignity to himself he would submit to the good pleasure of God. But if there were any reason to suspect the other, he was ready to give a positive judg-

ment, in which he hoped their lordships would concur with him; that the king should immediately cause the woman to be sent to the Tower, and to be cast into a dungeon, under so strict a guard, that no person living should be admitted to come to her; and then that an act of parliament should be immediately passed for the cutting off her head, to which he would not only give his consent, but would very willingly be the first man that should propose it:" and whoever knew the man, will believe that he said all this very heartily.

In this point of time the king entered the room, and sat down at the table; and perceiving by his countenance the agony the chancellor was in, and his swollen eyes from whence a flood of tears were fallen, he asked the other lords, "what they had done, and whether they had resolved on any thing." The earl of Southampton said, "his majesty must consult with soberer men; that he" (pointing to the chancellor) "was mad, and had proposed such extravagant things, that he was no more to be consulted with." Whereupon his majesty, looking upon him with a wonderful benignity, said, "Chancellor, I knew this business would trouble you, and therefore I appointed your two friends to confer first with you upon it, before I would speak with you myself: but you must now lay aside all passion that disturbs you, and consider that this business will not do itself; that it will quickly take air; and therefore it is fit that I first resolve what to do, before other men uncalled presume to give their counsel: tell me therefore what you would have me do, and I will follow your advice." Then his majesty enlarged upon the passion of his brother, and the expressions he had often used, "that he was not capable of having any other wife, and the like." Upon which the chancellor arose, and with a little composedness said, "Sir, I hope I need make no apology to you for myself, and of my own in this matter; upon which I look with so much detestation, that though I could have wished that your brother had not thought it fit to have put this disgrace upon me, I had much rather submit and bear it with all humility, than that it should be repaired by making her his wife; the thought whereof I do so much abominate, that I had much rather see her dead, with all the infamy that is due to her presumption." And then he repeated all that he had before said to the lords, of sending her presently to the Tower, and the rest; and concluded, "Sir, I do upon all my oaths which I have taken to you to give you faithful counsels, and from all the sincere gratitude I stand obliged to you for so many obligations, renew this counsel to you; and do beseech you to pursue it, as the only expedient that can free you from the evils that this business will otherwise bring upon you." And observing by the king's countenance, that he was not pleased with his advice, he continued and said, "I am the dullest creature alive, if, having been with your majesty so many years, I do not know your infirmities better than other men. You are of too easy and gentle a nature to contend with those rough affronts, which the iniquity and license of the late times is like to put upon you, before it be subdued and reformed. The presumption all kind of men have upon your temper is too noto-



“rious to all men, and lamented by all who wish you well : and, trust me, an example of the highest severity in a case that so nearly concerns you, and that relates to the person who is nearest to you, will be so seasonable, that your reign, during the remaining part of your life, will be the easier to you, and all men will take heed how they impudently offend you.”

He had scarce done speaking, when the duke of York came in ; whereupon the king spake of some other business, and shortly after went out of the room with his brother, whom (as was shortly known) he informed of all that the chancellor had said, who, as soon as he came to his house, sent his wife to command his daughter to keep her chamber, and not to admit any visits ; whereas before she had always been at dinner and supper, and had much company resorting to her : which was all that he thought fit to do upon the first assault, and till he had slept upon it, (which he did very unquietly,) and reflected upon what was like to be the effect of so extravagant a cause. And this was quickly known to the duke, who was exceedingly offended at it, and complained to the king, “as of an indignity offered to him.” And the next morning the king chid the chancellor for proceeding with so much precipitation, and required him “to take off that restraint, and to leave her to the liberty she had been accustomed to.” To which he replied, “that her having not discharged the duty of a daughter ought not to deprive him of the authority of a father ; and therefore he must humbly beg his majesty not to interpose his commands against his doing any thing that his own dignity required : that he only expected what his majesty would do upon the advice he had humbly offered to him, and when he saw that, he would himself proceed as he was sure would become him :” nor did he take off any of the restraint he had imposed. Yet he discovered after, that even in that time the duke had found ways to come to her, and to stay whole nights with her, by the administration of those who were not suspected by him, and who had the excuse, “that they knew that they were married.”

This subject was quickly the matter of all men’s discourse, and did not produce those murmurs and discontented reflections which were expected. The parliament was sitting, and took not the least notice of it ; nor could it be discerned that many were scandalized at it. The chancellor received the same respects from all men which he had been accustomed to : and the duke himself, in the house of peers, frequently sat by him upon the wool sack, that he might the more easily confer with him upon the matters which were debated, and receive his advice how to behave himself ; which made all men believe that there had been a good understanding between them. And yet it is very true, that, in all that time, the duke never spake one word to him of that affair. The king spake every day about it, and told the chancellor, “that he must behave himself wisely, for that the thing was remediless ; and that his majesty knew that they were married, which would quickly appear to all men, who knew that nothing could be done upon it.” In this time the chancellor had conferred with his daughter, without any thing of indulgence, and not only discovered that they were unquestionably married, but by whom,

and who were present at it, who would be ready to avow it ; which pleased him not, though it diverted him from using some of that rigour which he intended. And he saw no other remedy could be applied, but that which he had proposed to the king, who thought of nothing like it.

At this time there was news of the princess royal’s embarkation in Holland, which obliged the king and the duke of York to make a journey to Dover to receive her, who came for no other reason, but to congratulate with the king her brother, and to have her share in the public joy. The morning that they began their journey, the king and the duke came to the chancellor’s house ; and the king, after he had spoken to him of some business that was to be done in his absence, going out of the room, the duke stayed behind, and whispered the chancellor in the ear, because there were others at a little distance, “that he knew that he had heard of the business between him and his daughter, and of which he confessed he ought to have spoken with him before ; but that when he returned from Dover, he would give him full satisfaction : in the mean time,” he desired him, “not to be offended with his daughter.” To which the chancellor made no other answer, than “that it was a matter too great for him to speak of.”

When the princess royal came to the town, there grew to be a great silence in that affair. The duke said nothing to the chancellor, nor came nor sent to his daughter, as he had constantly used to do : and it was industriously published about the town, that that business was broken off, and that the duke was resolved never to think more of it. The queen had before written a very sharp letter to the duke, full of indignation, that he should have so low thoughts as to marry such a woman ; to whom he shewed the letter, as not moved by it. And now she sent the king word, “that she was on the way to England, to prevent, with her authority, so great a stain and dishonour to the crown ;” and used many threats and passionate expressions upon the subject. The chancellor sat unconcerned in all the rumours which were spread, “that the queen was coming with a purpose to complain to the parliament against the chancellor, and to apply the highest remedies to prevent so great a mischief.”

In the mean time it was reported abroad, that the duke had discovered some disloyalty in the lady, which he had never suspected, but had now so full evidence of it, that he was resolved never more to see her ; and that he was not married. And all his family, whereof the lord Berkley and his nephew were the chief, who had long hated the chancellor, spake very loudly and scandalously of it. The king carried himself with extraordinary grace towards the chancellor, and was with him more, and spake upon all occasions and before all persons more graciously of him, than ever. He told him with much trouble, “that his brother was abused ; and that there was a wicked conspiracy set on foot by villains, which, in the end, must prove of more dishonour to the duke than to any body else.”

The queen was now ready to embark, inflamed and hastened by this occasion ; and it was fit for the king and the duke to wait on her at the shore. But before his majesty’s going, he resolved of himself to do a grace to the chancellor, that should



publish how far he was from being shaken in his favour towards him, and to do it with such circumstances as gave it great lustre. From the time of his coming into England, he had often offered the chancellor to make him a baron, and told him, "that he was assured by many of the lords, that it was most necessary for his service in the parliament. But he had still refused it, and besought his majesty not to think of it; that it would increase the envy against him if he should confer that honour upon him so soon; but that hereafter, when his majesty's affairs should be settled, and he, out of the extraordinary perquisites of his office, should be able to make some addition to his small fortune, he would, with that humility that became him, receive that honour from him." The king, in few days after, coming to him, and being alone with him in his cabinet, at going away gave him a little billet into his hand, that contained a warrant of his own handwriting to sir Stephen Fox, to pay to the chancellor the sum of twenty thousand pounds; which was part of the money which the parliament had presented to the king at the Hague, and for which he had been compelled to take bills of exchange again from Amsterdam upon London; which was only known to the king, the chancellor, and sir Stephen Fox, who was intrusted to receive it, as he had done all the king's monies for many years beyond the seas. This bounty flowing immediately from the king at such a melancholic conjuncture, and of which nobody could have notice, could not but much raise the spirits of the chancellor. Nor did the king's goodness rest here; but the night before he began his journey towards the queen, he sent for the attorney general, whom he knew to be most devoted to the chancellor, and told him, "that he must intrust him in an affair that he must not impart to the chancellor;" and then gave him a warrant signed for the creation of him a baron, which he commanded "to be ready to pass the seal against the hour of his majesty's return, and he would then see it sealed himself; but if the chancellor came first to know it, he would use great importunity to stop it." The attorney said, "it would be impossible to conceal it from him, because, without his privacy and direction, he knew not what title to give him for his barony." The king replied with warmth, "that he should confer with some of his friends of the way; but that he would take it ill of him, if there were any delay in it, and if it were not ready for the seal at the time of his return, which would be in few days." The attorney came to the chancellor and told him, "he would break a trust to do him a service; and therefore he presumed, that he would not be so unjust to let him suffer by it;" and then told him all that had passed between the king and him. And the chancellor confessed, "that the king's manner of proceeding was so obliging, and the conjuncture in which this honour was given," though he had before refused it with obstinacy, "made it now very grateful to him;" and so without hesitation he told him what title he would assume. And all was ready against the king's return, and signed by him, and sealed the same night.

The queen had expressed her indignation to the king and duke, with her natural passion, from the time of their meeting; and the duke had asked

her pardon "for having placed his affection so unequally, of which he was sure there was now an end; that he was not married, and had now such evidence of her unworthiness, that he should no more think of her." And it was now avowedly said, that sir Charles Berkley, who was captain of his guard, and in much more credit and favour with the duke than his uncle, (though a young man of a dissolute life, and prone to all wickedness in the judgment of all sober men,) had informed the duke, "that he was bound in conscience to preserve him from taking to wife a woman so wholly unworthy of him; that he himself had lain with her; and that for his sake he would be content to marry her, though he knew well the familiarity the duke had with her." This evidence, with so solemn oaths presented by a person so much loved and trusted by him, made a wonderful impression in the duke; and now confirmed by the commands of his mother, as he had been before prevailed upon by his sister, he resolved to deny that he was married, and never to see the woman again, who had been so false to him. And the queen being satisfied with this resolution, they came all to London, with a full hope that they should prevail to the utter overthrow of the chancellor; the king having, without any reply or debate, heard all they said of the other affair, and his mother's bitterness against him. But when, the very next morning after their arrival at London, they saw the chancellor (who had not seen the king) appear in the parliament in the robes of a peer; they thought it to no purpose to prosecute their design against him, whom his majesty was resolved to protect from any unjust persecution. But the other resolution was pursued with noise and much defamation.

The next day after the queen's arrival, all the privy council in a body waited upon the queen to congratulate her return into England; and the chancellor was obliged to go in the head of them, and was received with the same countenance that the rest were, which was very cheerful, and with many gracious expressions. And from this time he put not himself in her majesty's presence, nor appeared at all concerned at the scandalous discourses against his daughter. The earl of St. Alban's, and all who were near the queen in any trust, and the lord Berkley and his faction about the duke, lived in defiance of the chancellor; and so imprudently, that they did him no harm, but underwent the reproach of most sober men. The king continued his grace towards him without the least diminution, and not only to him, but to many others who were trusted by him; which made it evident that he believed nothing of what sir Charles Berkley avowed, and looked on him as a fellow of great wickedness: which opinion the king was long known to have of him before his coming into England, and after.

In the mean time, the season of his daughter's delivery was at hand. And it was the king's chance to be at his house with the committee of council, when she fell in labour: of which being advertised by her father, the king directed him "to send for the lady marchioness of Ormond, the countess of Sunderland, and other ladies of known honour and fidelity to the crown, to be present with her;" who all came, and were present till she was delivered of a son. The

bishop of Winchester, in the interval of her greatest pangs, and sometimes when they were upon her, was present, and asked her such questions as were thought fit for the occasion; "whose the child was of which she was in labour," whom she averred, with all protestations, to be the duke's; "whether she had ever known any other man;" which she renounced with all vehemence, saying, "that she was confident the duke did not think she had;" and being asked "whether she were married to the duke," she answered, "she was, and that there were witnesses enough, who in due time, she was confident, would avow it." In a word, her behaviour was such as abundantly satisfied the ladies who were present, of her innocence from the reproach; and they were not reserved in the declaration of it, even before the persons who were least pleased with their testimony. And the lady marchioness of Ormond took an opportunity to declare it fully to the duke himself, and perceived in him such a kind of tenderness, that persuaded her that he did not believe any thing amiss. And the king enough published his opinion and judgment of the scandal.

The chancellor's own carriage, that is, his doing nothing, nor saying any thing from whence they might take advantage, exceedingly vexed them. Yet they undertook to know, and informed the duke confidently, "that the chancellor had a great party in the parliament;" and that "he was resolved within few days to complain there, and to produce the witnesses, who were present at the marriage, to be examined, that their testimony might remain there; which would be a great affront to him;" with many other particulars, which might incense his highness. Whereupon the duke, who had been observed never to have spoken to him in the house of peers, or any where else, since the time of his going to meet his sister, finding the chancellor one day in the privy lodgings, whispered him in the ear, "that he would be glad to confer with him in his lodging," whither he was then going. The other immediately followed; and being come thither, the duke sent all his servants out of distance; and then told him with much warmth, "what he had been informed of his purpose to complain to the parliament against him, which he did not value or care for: however, if he should prosecute any such course, it should be the worse for him;" implying some threats, "what he would do before he would bear such an affront;" adding then, "that for his daughter, she had behaved herself so foully, (of which he had such evidence as was as convincing as his own eyes, and of which he could make no doubt,) that nobody could blame him for his behaviour towards her;" concluding with some other threats, "that he should repent it, if he pursued his intention of appealing to the parliament."

As soon as the duke discontinued his discourse, the chancellor told him, "that he hoped he would discover the untruth of other reports which had been made to him by the falsehood of this, which had been raised without the least ground or shadow of truth. That though he did not pretend to much wisdom, yet no man took him to be such a fool, as he must be, if he intended to do such an act as he was informed. That if his highness had done any thing towards or against him, which he ought not to have done,

"there was one who is as much above him, as his highness was above him, and who could both censure and punish it. For his own part, he knew too well whose son he was, and whose brother he is, to behave himself towards him with less duty and submission than was due to him, and should be always paid by him." He said, "he was not concerned to vindicate his daughter from any the most improbable scandals and aspersions: she had disobliged and deceived him too much, for him to be over-confident that she might not deceive any other man: and therefore he would leave that likewise to God Almighty, upon whose blessing he would always depend, whilst himself remained innocent, and no longer." The duke replied not, nor from that time mentioned the chancellor with any displeasure; and related to the king, and some other persons, the discourse that had passed, very exactly.

There did not after all this appear, in the discourses of men, any of that humour and indignation which was expected. On the contrary, men of the greatest name and reputation spake of the foulness of the proceeding with great freedom, and with all the detestation imaginable against sir Charles Berkley, whose testimony nobody believed; not without some censure of the chancellor, for not enough appearing and prosecuting the indignity: but he was not to be moved by any instances, which he never afterwards repented. The queen's implacable displeasure continued in the full height, doing all she could to keep the duke firm to his resolution, and to give all countenance to the calumny. As before the discovery of this engagement of the duke's affection, the duke of Gloucester had died of the smallpox, to the extraordinary grief of the king and the whole kingdom; so at this time it pleased God to visit the princess royal with the same disease, and of which she died within few days; having in her last agonies expressed a dislike of the proceedings in that affair, to which she had contributed too much. The duke himself grew melancholic and dispirited, and cared not for company, nor those diversions in which he formerly delighted: which was observed by every body, and which in the end wrought so far upon the conscience of the lewd informer, that he, sir Charles Berkley, came to the duke, and clearly declared to him, "that the general discourse of men, of what inconvenience and mischief, if not absolute ruin, such a marriage would be to his royal highness, had prevailed with him to use all the power he had to dissuade him from it; and when he found he could not prevail with him, he had formed that accusation, which he presumed could not but produce the effect he wished; which he now confessed to be false, and without the least ground; and that he was very confident of her virtue:" and therefore besought his highness "to pardon a fault, that was committed out of pure devotion to him; and that he would not suffer him to be ruined by the power of those, whom he had so unworthily provoked; and of which he had so much shame, that he had not confidence to look upon them." The duke found himself so much relieved in that part that most afflicted him, that he embraced him, and made a solemn promise, "that he should not suffer in the least degree in his own affec-

"tion, for what had proceeded so absolutely from his good-will to him; and that he would take so much care of him, that in the compounding that affair he should be so comprehended, that he should receive no disadvantage."

And now the duke appeared with another countenance, writ to her whom he had injured, "that he would speedily visit her," and gave her charge "to have a care of his son." He gave the king a full account of all, without concealing his joy; and took most pleasure in conferring with them, who had seemed least of his mind when he had been most transported, and who had always argued against the probability of the testimony which had wrought upon him. The queen was not pleased with this change, though the duke did not yet own to her that he had altered his resolution. She was always very angry at the king's coldness, who had been so far from that aversion which she expected, that he found excuses for the duke, and endeavoured to divert her passions; and now pressed the discovery of the truth by sir Charles Berkley's confession, as a thing that pleased him. They about her, and who had most inflamed and provoked her to the sharpest resentment, appeared more calm in their discourses, and either kept silence, or spake to another tune than they had done formerly, and wished that the business was well composed; all which mightily increased the queen's passion. And having come to know that the duke had made a visit at the place she most abhorred, she brake into great passion, and publicly declared, "that whenever that woman should be brought into Whitehall by one door, her majesty would go out of it by another door, and never come into it again." And for several days her majesty would not suffer the duke to be in her presence; at least, if he came with the king, she forbore to speak to him, or to take any notice of him. Nor could they, who had used to have most credit with her, speak to her with any acceptance; though they were all weary of the distances they had kept, and discerned well enough where the matter must end. And many desired to find some expedient, how the work might be facilitated, by some application and address from the chancellor to the queen: but he absolutely refused to make the least advance towards it, or to contribute to her indignation by putting himself into her majesty's presence. He declared, "that the queen had great reason for the passion she expressed for the indignity that had been done to her, and which he would never endeavour to excuse; and that as far as his low quality was capable of receiving an injury from so great a prince, he had himself to complain of a transgression that exceeded the limits of all justice, divine and human."

The queen had made this journey out of France into England much sooner than she intended, and only, upon this occasion, to prevent a mischief she had great reason to deprecate. And so, upon her arrival, she had declared, "that she would stay a very short time, being obliged to return into France for her health, and to use the waters of Bourbon, which had already done her much good, that the ensuing season would with God's blessing make perfect." And the time was now come, that orders were sent for the ships to attend her embarkation at Portsmouth; and the day was

appointed for the beginning her journey from Whitehall: so that the duke's affair, which he now took to heart, was (as every body thought) to be left in the state it was, at least under the renunciation and interdiction of a mother. When on a sudden, of which nobody then knew the reason, her majesty's countenance and discourse was changed; she treated the duke with her usual kindness, and confessed to him, "that the business that had offended her so much, she perceived was proceeded so far, that no remedy could be applied to it; and therefore that she would trouble herself no further in it, but pray to God to bless him, and that he might be happy:" so that the duke had now nothing to wish, but that the queen would be reconciled to his wife, who remained still at her father's, where the king had visited her often; to which the queen was not averse, and spake graciously of the chancellor, and said, "she would be good friends with him." But both these required some formalities; and they who had behaved themselves the most disobligingly, expected to be comprehended in any atonement that should be made. And it was exceedingly laboured, that the chancellor would make the first approach, by visiting the earl of St. Alban's; which he absolutely refused to do: and very well acquainted with the arts of that court, whereof dissimulation was the soul, did not believe that those changes, for which he saw no reasonable motive, could be real, until abbot Mountague (who had so far complied with the faction of that court as not to converse with an enemy) visited him with all openness, and told him, "that this change in the queen had proceeded from a letter she had newly received from the cardinal, in which he had plainly told her, that she would not receive a good welcome in France, if she left her sons in her displeasure, and professed an animosity against those ministers who were most trusted by the king. He extolled the services done by the chancellor, and advised her to comply with what could not be avoided, and to be perfectly reconciled to her children, and to those who were nearly related to them, or were intrusted by them: and that he did this in so powerful a style, and with such powerful reasons, that her majesty's passions were totally subdued. And this," he said, "was the reason of the sudden change that every body had observed; and therefore that he ought to believe the sincerity of it, and to perform that part which might be expected from him, in compliance with the queen's inclinations to have a good intelligence with him."

The chancellor had never looked upon the abbot as his enemy, and gave credit to all he said, though he did little understand from what fountain that good-will of the cardinal had proceeded, who had never been propitious to him. He made all those professions of duty to the queen that became him, and "how happy he should think himself in her protection, which he had need of, and did with all humility implore; and that he would gladly cast himself at her majesty's feet, when she would vouchsafe to admit it." But for the adjusting this, there was to be more formality; for it was necessary that the earl of St. Alban's (between whom and the chancellor there had never been any friendship) should have some part in this composition, and do many good offices to-

wards it, which were to precede the final conclusion. The duke had brought sir Charles Berkley to the duchess, at whose feet he had cast himself, with all the acknowledgment and penitence he could express; and she, according to the command of the duke, accepted his submission, and promised to forget the offence. He came likewise to the chancellor with those professions which he could easily make; and the other was obliged to receive him civilly. And then his uncle, the lord Berkley, waited upon the duchess; and afterwards visited her father, like a man (which he could not avoid) who had done very much towards the bringing so difficult a matter to so good an end, and expected thanks from all; having that talent in some perfection, that after he had crossed and puzzled any business, as much as was in his power, he would be thought the only man who had untied all knots, and made the way smooth, and removed all obstructions.

The satisfaction the king and the duke had in this disposition of the queen was visible to all men. And they both thought the chancellor too reserved in contributing his part towards, or in meeting, the queen's favour, which he could not but discern was approaching towards him; and that he did not entertain any discourses, which had been by many entered upon to him upon that subject, with that cheerfulness and serenity of mind that might justly be expected. And of this the duke made an observation, and a kind of complaint, to the king, who thereupon came one day to the chancellor's house; and being alone with him, his majesty told him many particulars which had passed between him and the queen, and the good humour her majesty was in; "that the next day the earl of St. Alban's would visit him, and offer him his service in accompanying him to the queen; which he conjured him to receive with all civility, and expressions of the joy he took in it; in which," he told him, "he was observed to be too sullen, and that when all other men's minds appeared to be cheerful, his alone appeared to be more cloudy than it had been, when that affair seemed most desperate; which was the more taken notice of, because it was not natural to him."

The chancellor answered, "that he did not know that he had failed in any thing, that in good manners or decency could be required from him: but he confessed, that lately his thoughts were more perplexed and troublesome to himself, than they had ever been before; and therefore it was no wonder, if his looks were not the same they had used to be. That though he had been surprised to amazement, upon the first notice of that business, yet he had been shortly able to recollect himself; and, upon the testimony of his own conscience, to compose his mind and spirits, and without any reluctance to abandon any thought of his daughter, and to leave her to that misery she had deserved and brought upon herself. Nor did the vicissitudes which occurred after in that transaction, or the displeasure and menaces of the duke, make any other impression upon him, than to know how unable he was to enter into any contest in that matter, (which in all respects was too difficult and superior to his understanding and faculties,) and to leave it entirely to the direction and disposal of God Almighty: and in this

"acquiescence he had enjoyed a repose with much tranquillity of mind, being prepared to undergo any misfortune that might befall him from thence. But that now he was awakened by other thoughts and reflections, which he could less range and govern. He saw those difficulties removed, which he had thought insuperable; that his own condition must be thought exalted above what he thought possible; and that he was far less able to bear the envy, that was unavoidable, than the indignation and contempt, that alone had threatened him. That his daughter was now received in the royal family, the wife of the king's only brother, and the heir apparent of the crown, whilst his majesty himself remained unmarried. The great trust his majesty reposed in him, infinitely above and contrary to his desire, was in itself liable to envy; and how insupportable that envy must be, upon this new relation, he could not but foresee; together with the jealousies which artificial men would be able to insinuate into his majesty, even when they seemed to have all possible confidence in the integrity of the chancellor, and when they extolled him most; and that how firm and constant soever his majesty's grace and favour was to him at present, (of which he had lately given such lively testimony,) and how resolved soever he was to continue it, his majesty himself could not know how far some jealousies, cunningly suggested by some men, might by degrees be entertained by him. And therefore that, upon all the revolvings he had with himself, he could not think of any thing that could contribute equally to his majesty's service, and his quiet, and to the happiness and security of himself, as for him to retire from the active station he was in, to an absolute solitude, and visible inactivity in all matters relating to the state: and which he thought could not be so well, under any retirement into the country, or any part of the kingdom, as by his leaving the kingdom, and fixing himself in some place beyond the seas remote from any court." And having said all this, or words to the same effect, he fell on his knees; and with all possible earnestness desired the king, that he would consent to his retirement, as a thing most necessary for his service, and give his pass, to go and reside in any such place beyond the seas as his majesty would make choice of."

The king heard him patiently, yet with evidence enough that he was not pleased with what he said; and when he kneeled, took him up with some passion; "He did not expect this from him, and that he had so little kindness for him, as to leave him in a time, when he could not but know that he was very necessary for his service. That he had reason to be very well assured, that it could never be in any man's power to lessen his kindness towards him, or confidence in him; and if any should presume to attempt it, they would find cause to repent their presumption." He said, "there were many reasons, why he could never have designed or advised his brother to this marriage; yet since it was past, and all things so well reconciled, he would not deny that he was glad of it, and promised himself much benefit from it." He told him, "his daughter was a woman of a great wit and excel-

"lent parts, and would have a great power with his brother; and that he knew that she had an entire obedience for him, her father, who he knew would always give her good counsel; by which," he said, "he was confident, that naughty people, which had too much credit with his brother, and which had so often misled him, would be no more able to corrupt him; but that she would prevent all ill and unreasonable attempts: and therefore he again confessed that he was glad of it;" and so concluded with many gracious expressions; and conjured the chancellor, never more to think of those unreasonable things, but to attend and prosecute his business with his usual alacrity, since his kindness could never fail him."

The next morning, which was of the last day that the queen was to stay, the earl of St. Alban's visited the chancellor with all those compliments, professions, and protestations, which were natural, and which he did really believe every body else thought to be very sincere; for he had that kindness for himself, that he thought every body did believe him. He expressed "a wonderful joy, that the queen would now leave the court united, and all the king's affairs in a very hopeful condition, in which the queen confessed that the chancellor's counsels had been very prosperous, and that she was resolved to part with great and a sincere kindness towards him; and that he had authority from her to assure him so much, which she would do herself when she saw him:" and so offered "to go with him to her majesty, at such an hour in the afternoon as she should appoint." The other made such returns to all the particulars as were fit, and "that he would be ready to attend the queen at the time she should please to assign:" and in the afternoon the earl of St. Alban's came again to him; and they went together to Whitehall, where they found the queen in her bedchamber, where many ladies were present, who came then to take their leave of her majesty, before she begun her journey.

The duke of York had before presented his wife to his mother, who received her without the least show of regret, or rather with the same grace as if she had liked it from the beginning, and made her sit down by her. When the chancellor came in, the queen rose from her chair, and received him with a countenance very serene. The ladies, and others who were near, withdrawing, her majesty told him, "that he could not wonder, much less take it ill, that she had been much offended with the duke, and had no inclination to give her consent to his marriage; and if she had, in the passion that could not be condemned in her, spake any thing of him that he had taken ill, he ought to impute it to the provocation she had received, though not from him. She was now informed by the king, and well assured, that he had no hand in contriving that friendship, but was offended with that passion that really was worthy of him. That she could not but confess, that his fidelity to the king her husband was very eminent, and that he had served the king her son with equal fidelity and extraordinary success. And therefore, as she had received his daughter as her daughter, and heartily forgave the duke and her, and was resolved ever after to live with all the affection of a mother towards them; so she

"resolved to make a friendship with him, and hereafter to expect all the offices from him, which her kindness should deserve." And when the chancellor had made all those acknowledgments which he ought to do, and commended her wisdom and indignation in a business, "in which she could not shew too much anger and aversion, and had too much forgotten her own honour and dignity, if she had been less offended;" and magnified her mercy and generosity, "in departing so soon from her necessary severity, and pardoning a crime in itself so unpardonable;" he made those professions of duty to her which were due to her, and "that he should always depend upon her protection as his most gracious mistress, and pay all obedience to her commands." The queen appeared well pleased, and said "she should remain very confident of his affection," and so discoursed of some particulars; and then opening a paper that she had in her hand, she recommended the despatch of some things to him, which immediately related to her own service and interest, and then some persons, who had either some suits to the king, or some controversies depending in chancery. And the evening drawing on, and very many ladies and others waiting without to kiss her majesty's hand, he thought it time to take his leave; and after having repeated some short professions of his duty, he kissed her majesty's hand: and from that time there did never appear any want of kindness in the queen towards him, whilst he stood in no need of it, nor until it might have done him good.

Thus an intrigue, that without doubt had been entered into and industriously contrived by those who designed to affront and bring dishonour upon the chancellor and his family, was, by God's good pleasure, turned to their shame and reproach, and to the increase of the chancellor's greatness and prosperity. And so we return to the time from whence this digression led us, and shall take a particular view of all those accidents, which had an influence upon the quiet of the kingdom, or which were the cause of all the chancellor's misfortunes; which, though the effect of them did not appear in many years, were discerned by himself as coming and unavoidable, and foretold by him to his two bosom-friends, the marquis of Ormond and the earl of Southampton, who constantly adhered to him with all the integrity of true friendship.

The greatness and power of the chancellor, by this marriage of his daughter, with all the circumstances which had accompanied and attended it, seemed to all men to have established his fortune, and that of his family; I say, to all men but to himself, who was not in the least degree exalted with it. He knew well upon how slippery ground he stood, and how naturally averse the nation was from approving an exorbitant power in any subject. He saw that the king grew every day more inclined to his pleasures, which involved him in expense, and company that did not desire that he should intend his business, or be conversant with sober men. He knew well that the servants who were about the duke were as much his enemies as ever, and intended their own profit only, by what means soever, without considering his honour; that they formed his household, officers, and equipage, by the model of France,

and against all the rules and precedents of England for a brother of the crown; and every day put into his head, "that if he were not supplied for all those expenses, it was the chancellor's fault, who could effect it if he would." Nor was he able to prevent those infusions, nor the effects of them, because they were so artificially administered, as if their end was to raise a confidence in him of the chancellor, not to weaken it; though he knew well that their design was to create by degrees in him a jealousy of his power and credit with the king, as if it eclipsed his. But this was only in their own dark purposes, which had been all blasted, if they had been apparent; for the duke did not only profess a very great affection for the chancellor, but gave all the demonstration of it that was possible, and desired nothing more, than that it should be manifest to all men, that he had an entire trust from the king in all his affairs, and that he would employ all his interest to support that trust: whilst the chancellor himself declined all the occasions, which were offered for the advancement of his fortune, and desired wholly to be left to the discharge of his office, and that all other officers might diligently look to their own provinces, and be accountable for them; and detested nothing more than that title and appellation, which he saw he should not always be able to avoid, of principal minister or favourite, and which was never cast on him by any designation of the king, (who abhorred to be thought to be governed by any single person,) but by his preferring his pleasures before his business, and so sending all men to the chancellor to receive advice. And hereby the secretaries of state, not finding a present access to him, when the occasions pressed, resorted to the chancellor, with whom his majesty spent most time, to be resolved by him; which method exceedingly grieved him, and to which he endeavoured to apply a remedy, by putting all things in their proper channel, and by prevailing with the king, when he should be a little satiated with the diversions he affected, to be vacant to so much of his business, as could not be managed and conducted by any body else.

And here it may be seasonable to insert at large some instances, which I promised before, and by which it will be manifest, how far the chancellor was from an immoderate appetite to be rich, and to raise his fortune, which he proposed only to do by the perquisites of his office, which were considerable at the first, and by such bounty of the king as might hereafter, without noise or scandal, be conferred on him in proper seasons and occurrences; and [that he was] as far from affecting such an unlimited power as he was believed afterwards to be possessed of, (and of which no footsteps could ever be discovered in any of his actions, or in any one particular that was the effect of such power,) or that he did desire any other extent of power than was agreeable to the great office he held, and which had been enjoyed by most of those who had been his predecessors in that trust.

The king had not been many weeks in England, when the marquis of Ormond came to him with his usual friendship, and asked him, "Whether it would not be now time to think of making a fortune, that he might be able to leave to his wife and children, if he should

"die?" And when he found that he was less sensible of what he proposed than he expected, and that he only answered, "that he knew not which way to go about it," the marquis told him, "that he thought he could commend a proper suit for him to make to the king; and if his modesty would not permit him to move the king for himself, he would undertake to move it for him, and was confident that the king would willingly grant it:" and thereupon shewed him a paper, which contained the king's just title to ten thousand acres of land in the Great Level of the Fens, which would be of a good yearly value; or they, who were unjustly possessed of it, would be glad to purchase the king's title with a very considerable sum of money. And, in the end, he frankly told him, "that he made this overture to him with the king's approbation, who had been moved in it, and thought at the first sight, out of his own goodness, that it might be fit for him, and wished the marquis to propose it to him."

When the chancellor had extolled the king's generosity, that he could, in so great necessities of his own, think of dispensing so great a bounty upon a poor servant, who was already recompensed beyond what he could be ever able to deserve, he said, "that he knew very well the king's title to that land, of which he was in possession before the rebellion began, which the old and new adventurers now claimed by a new contract, confirmed by an ordinance of parliament, which could not deprive the crown of its right; which all the adventurers (who for the greatest part were worthy men) well knew, and would for their own sakes not dispute, since it would inevitably produce a new inundation, which all their unity and consent in maintaining the banks would and could with difficulty enough but prevent. That he would advise his majesty to give all the countenance he could to the carrying on and perfecting that great work, which was of great benefit as well as honour to the public, at the charge of private gentlemen, who had paid dear for the land they had recovered; but that he would never advise him to begin his reign with the alienation of such a parcel of land from the crown to any one particular subject, who could never bear the envy of it. That his majesty ought to reserve that revenue to himself, which was great, though less than it was generally reputed to be; at least till the value thereof should be clearly understood, (and the detaining it in his own hands for some time would be the best expedient towards the finishing all the banks, when the season should be fit, which else would be neglected by the discord among the adventurers,) and the king knew what he gave. He must remember, that he had two brothers," (for the duke of Gloucester was yet alive,) "who were without any revenue, and towards whom his bounty was to be first extended; and that this land would be a good ingredient towards an appanage for them both. And that till they were reasonably provided for, no private man in his wits would be the object of any extraordinary bounty from the king, which would unavoidably make him the object of an universal envy and hatred. That, for his own part, he held by the king's favour the greatest office of the kingdom in

"place; and though it was not near the value it was esteemed to be, and that many other offices were more profitable, yet it was enough for him, and would be a good foundation to improve his fortune: so that," he said, "he had made a resolution to himself, which he thought he should not alter, not to make haste to be rich. That it was the principal part or obligation of his office, to dissuade the king from making any grants of such a nature, (except where the necessity or convenience was very notorious,) and even to stop those which should be made of that kind, and not to suffer them to pass the seal, till he had again waited upon the king, and informed him of the evil consequence of those grants; which discharge of his duty could not but raise him many enemies, who should not have that advantage, to say that he obstructed the king's bounty towards other men, when he made it very profuse towards himself. And therefore, that he would never receive any crown lands from the king's gift, and did not wish to have any other honour or any advantage, but what his office brought him, till seven years should pass; in which all the distractions of the kingdom might be composed, and the necessities thereof so provided for, that the king might be able, without hurting himself, to exercise some liberality towards his servants who had served him well." How he seemed to part from this resolution in some particulars afterwards, and why he did so, may be collected out of what hath been truly set down before.

When the marquis of Ormond had given the king a large account of the conference between him and the chancellor, and "that he absolutely refused to receive that grant;" his majesty said, "he was a fool for his labour, and that he would be much better in being envied than in being pitied." And though the inheritance of those lands was afterwards given to the duke, yet there were such estates granted for years to many particular persons, most whereof had never merited by any service, that half the value thereof never came to his highness.

As soon as the king and duke returned from Portsmouth, where they had seen the queen embarked for France, the king had appointed a chapter, for the electing some knights of the garter into the places vacant. Upon which the duke desired him to "nominate the chancellor," which his majesty said "he would willingly do, but he knew not whether it would be grateful to him; for he had refused so many things, that he knew not what he would take;" and therefore wished him "to take a boat to Worcester house, and propose it to him, and he would not go to the chapter till his highness returned." The duke told the chancellor what had passed between the king and him, and "that he was come only to know his mind, and could not imagine but that such an honour would please him." The chancellor, after a million of humble acknowledgments of the duke's grace and of the king's condescension, said, "that the honour was indeed too great by much for him to sustain; that there were very many worthy men, who well remembered him of their own condition, when he first entered into his father's service, and believed that he was advanced too

"much before them." He besought his highness, "that his favours and protection might not expose him to envy, that would break him to pieces." He asked "what knights the king meant to make;" the duke named them, all persons very eminent: the chancellor said, "no man could except against the king's choice; many would justly, if he were added to the number." He desired his highness "to put the king in mind of the earl of Lindsey, lord high chamberlain of England," (with whom he was known to have no friendship; on the contrary, that there had been disgusts between them in the last king's time;) "that his father had lost his life with the garter about his neck, when this gentleman, his son, endeavouring to relieve him, was taken prisoner; that he had served the king to the end of the war with courage and fidelity, being an excellent officer: for all which, the king his father had admitted him a gentleman of his bedchamber, which office he was now without: and not to have the garter now, upon his majesty's return, would in all men's eyes look like a degradation, and an instance of his majesty's disesteem; especially if the chancellor should supply the place, who was not thought his friend;" and, upon the whole matter, entreated the duke "to reserve his favour towards him for some other occasion, and excuse him to the king for the declining this honour, which he could not support." The duke replied, with an offended countenance, "that he saw he would not accept any honour from the king, that proceeded by his mediation;" and so left him in apparent displeasure. However, at that chapter the earl of Lindsey was created knight of the garter, with the rest; and coming afterwards to hear by what chance it was, he ever lived with great civility towards the chancellor to his death.

And when the chancellor afterwards complained to his majesty "of his want of care of him, in his so easily gratifying his brother in a particular that would be of so much prejudice to him," and so enlarged upon the subject, and put his majesty in mind of Solomon's interrogation, "Who can stand against envy?" the king said no more, than "that he did really believe, when he sent his brother, that he would refuse it;" and added, "I tell you, chancellor, that you are too strict and apprehensive in those things; and trust me, it is better to be envied than pitied." The duke did not dissemble his resentment, and told his wife, "that he took it very ill; that he desired that the world might take notice of his friendship to her father, and that, after former unkindness, he was heartily reconciled to him; but that her father cared not to have that believed, nor would have it believed that his interest in the king was not enough, to have no need of good offices from the duke:" which discourse he used likewise to the marquis of Ormond and others, who he thought would inform the chancellor of it. And the duchess was much troubled at it, and took it unkindly of her father, who thought himself obliged to wait upon his royal highness, and to vindicate himself from that folly he was charged with; in which he protested to him, "that he so absolutely and entirely depended upon his protection, that he would never receive any favour



"from the king, but by his mediation and interposition:" to which the duke answered, "that he should see whether he would have that deference to him shortly."

And it was not long before the day for the coronation was appointed, when the king had appointed to make some barons, and to raise some who were barons to higher degrees of honour; most of whom were men not very grateful, because they had been faulty, though they had afterwards redeemed what was past, by having performed very signal services to his majesty, and were able to do him more: upon which the king had resolved to confer those honours upon them, and in truth had promised it to them, or to some of their friends, before he came from beyond the seas. At this time the duke came to the chancellor, and said, "he should now discover whether he would be as good as his word;" and so gave him a paper, which was a warrant under the king's sign manual to the attorney general, to prepare a grant, by which the chancellor should be created an earl. To which, upon the reading, he began to make objections; when the duke said, "My lord, I have thought fit to give you this earnest of my friendship; you may reject it, if you think fit;" and departed. And the chancellor, upon recollection, and conference with his two friends, the treasurer and the marquis of Ormond, found he could not prudently refuse it. And so, the day or two before the coronation, he was with the others created an earl by the king in the banqueting-house; and, in the very minute of his creation, had an earnest of the envy that would ensue, in the murmurs of some, who were ancienter barons, at the precedence given to him before them, of which he was totally ignorant, it being resolved by the king upon the place, and the view of the precedents of all times, when any officers of state were created with others. Yet one of the lords concerned swore in the ears of two or three of his friends, at the same time, "that he would be revenged for that affront;" which related not to the chancellor's precedence, for the other was no baron, but for the precedence given to another, whom he thought his inferior, and imputed the partiality to his power, who had not the least hand in it, nor knew it before it was determined. Yet the other was as good as his word, and took the very first opportunity that was offered for his revenge.

I will add one instance more, sufficient, if the other were away, to convince all men how far he was from being transported with that ambition, of which he was accused, and for which he was condemned. After the firm conjunction in the royal family was notorious, and all the neighbour princes had sent their splendid embassies of congratulation to the king, and desired to renew all treaties with this crown, and the parliament proceeded, how slowly soever, with great duty and reverence towards the king; the marquis of Ormond (whom the king had by this time made duke of Ormond) came one day to him, and, being in private, said, "he came to speak to him of himself, and to let him know, not only his own opinion, but the opinion of his best friends, with whom he had often conferred upon the argument; and that they all wondered, that he so much affected the post he was in, as to con-

tinue in the office of chancellor, which took up most of his time, especially all the mornings, in business that many other men could discharge as well as he. Whereas he ought to leave that to such a man as he thought fit for it, and to betake himself to that province, which nobody knew so well how to discharge. That the credit he had with the king was known to all men, and that he did in truth remit that province to him, which he would not own, and could not discharge, by the multiplicity of the business of his office, which was not of that moment. That the king every day took less care of his affairs, and affected those pleasures most, which made him averse from the other. That he spent most of his time with confident young men, who abhorred all discourse that was serious, and, in the liberty they assumed in drollery and raillery, preserved no reverence towards God or man, but laughed at all sober men, and even at religion itself; and that the custom of this license, that did yet only make the king merry for the present, yet by degrees would grow acceptable to him; and that these men would by degrees have the presumption (which yet they had not, nor would he in truth then suffer it) to enter into his business, and by administering to those excesses, to which his nature and constitution most inclined him, would not only powerfully foment those inclinations, but intermeddle and obstruct his most weighty counsels. That, for the prevention of all this mischief, and the preserving the excellent nature and understanding of the king from being corrupted by such lewd instruments, who had only a scurrilous kind of wit to procure laughter, but had no sense of religion, or reverence for the laws; there was no remedy in view, but his giving up his office, and betaking himself wholly to wait upon the person of the king, and to be with him in those seasons, when that loose people would either abstain from coming, or, if they were present, would not have the confidence to say or do those things which they had been accustomed to do before the king. By this means, he would find frequent opportunities to inform the king of the true state of his affairs, and the danger he incurred, by not thoroughly understanding them, and by being thought to be negligent in the duties of religion, and settling the distractions in the church; at least, he would do some good in all these particulars, or keep the license from spreading further, which in time it would do, to the robbing him of the hearts of his people. That the king, from the long knowledge of his fidelity, and the esteem he had of his virtue, received any advertisements and animadversions, and even suffered reprehensions, from him, better than from any other man; therefore he would be able to do much good, and to deserve more than ever he had done from the whole kingdom. And he did verily [believe], that this would be acceptable to the king himself, who knew he could not enough [attend to] the many things, which, being left undone, must much disorder the whole machine of his government, or, being ill done, would in time dissolve it; and that his majesty would assign such a liberal allowance for this service, that he should find himself well rewarded, and



"a great gainer by accepting it and putting off his office."

He concluded, "that was the desire and advice of all his friends; and that the duke was so far of the same judgment, that he resolved to be very instant with him upon it, and only wished that he should first break the matter to him, that he might not be surprised when his royal highness entered upon the discourse." And he added, "that this province must inevitably at last be committed to some one man, who probably would be without that affection to the king's person, that experience in affairs, and that knowledge of the laws and constitution of the kingdom, as all men knew to be in the chancellor."

When the marquis had ended, with the warmth of friendship which was superior to any temptation, and in which no man ever excelled him, nor delivered what he had a mind to say more clearly, or with a greater weight of words; the chancellor said, "that he did not much wonder that many of his friends, who had not the opportunity to know him enough, and who might propose to themselves some benefit from his unlimited greatness, might in truth, out of their partiality to him, and by their not knowing the king's nature, believe, that his wariness and integrity, and his knowledge of the constitution of the government and the nature of the people, would conduct the king's counsels in such a way, as would lead best to his power and greatness, and to the good and happiness of the nation, which would be the only secure support of his power and authority. But that he, who knew both the king and him so well, that no man living knew either of them so well, should be of that opinion he had expressed, was matter of admiration and surprisal to him." He appealed to him, "how often he had heard him say to the king in France, Germany, and Flanders, when they two took all the pains they could to fix the king's mind to a lively sense of his condition; that he must not think now to recover his three kingdoms by the dead title of his descent and right, which had been so notoriously baffled and dishonoured, but by the reputation of his virtue, courage, piety, and industry; that all these virtues must centre in himself, for that his fate depended upon his person; and that the English nation would sooner submit to the government of Cromwell, than to any other subject who should be thought to govern the king. That England would not bear a favourite, nor any one man, who should out of his ambition engross to himself the disposal of the public affairs."

He said, "he was more now of the same mind, and was confident that no honest man, of a competent understanding, would undertake that province; and that for his own part, if a gallows were erected, and if he had only the choice to be hanged or to execute that office, he would rather submit to the first than the last. In the one, he should end his life with the reputation of an honest man; in the other, he should die with disgrace and infamy, let his innocence be what it would." He put the marquis in mind, how far the king was from observing the rules he had prescribed to himself, before he came from beyond the seas; and was so totally un-

bent from his business, and addicted to pleasures, that the people generally began to take notice of it; that there was little care taken to regulate expenses, even when he was absolutely without supply; that he would on a sudden be overwhelmed with such debts, as would disquiet him, and dishonour his counsels;" of which the lord treasurer was so sensible, that he was already weary of his staff, before it had been in his hands three months. "That the confidence the king had in him, besides the assurance he had of his integrity and industry, proceeded more from his aversion to be troubled with the intricacies of his affairs, than from any violence of affection, which was not so fixed in his nature as to be like to transport him to any one person: and that as he could not, in so short a time, be acquainted with many men, whom in his judgment he could prefer before the chancellor for the managery of his business, who had been so long acquainted with it; so he would, in a short time, be acquainted with many, who would, by finding fault with all that was done, be thought much wiser men; it being one of his majesty's greatest infirmities, that he was apt to think too well of men at the first or second sight."

He said, "whilst he kept the office he had, (which could better bear the envy of the bulk of the affairs, than any other qualification could,) and that it supported him in the execution of it, the king felt not the burden of it; because little of the profit of it proceeded out of his own purse, and, if he were dead to-morrow, the place still must be conferred upon another. Whereas, if he gave over that administration, and had nothing to rely upon for the support of himself and family, but an extraordinary pension out of the exchequer, under no other title or pretence but of being first minister, (a title so newly translated out of French into English, that it was not enough understood to be liked, and every man would detest it for the burden it was attended with,) the king himself, who was not by nature immoderately inclined to give, would be quickly weary of so chargeable an officer, and be very willing to be freed from the reproach of being governed by any, (the very suspicion whereof he doth exceedingly abhor,) at the price and charge of the man, who had been raised by him to that inconvenient height above other men. That whilst he had that seal, he could have admission to his majesty as often as he desired, because it was more ease to receive an account of his business from him, than to be present at the whole debate of it; and he well knew, the chancellor had too much business to desire audiences from his majesty without necessary reason. But if the office were in another hand, and he should haunt his presence with the same importunity as a spy upon his pleasures, and a disturber of the jollities of his meetings; his majesty would quickly be nauseated with his company, which for the present he liked in some seasons; and they, who for the present had submitted to some constraint by the gravity of his countenance, would quickly discover that their talents were more acceptable, and by degrees make him appear grievous to his majesty, and soon after ridiculous. That all his hope was, that the

"king would shortly find some lady fit to be his wife, which all honest men ought to persuade him to, and that being married, he made no doubt he would decline many of those delights to which he was yet exposed, and which exposed him too much; and till that time he could not think that his best servants could enjoy any pleasant lives. That he presumed the parliament would, after they had raised money enough to disband the armies, and to pay off the seamen," (towards both which somewhat was every day done, and both which amounted to an incredible and insupportable charge,) settle such a revenue upon the crown, as the king might conform his expense to; and that it should not be in any body's power to make that revenue be esteemed by him to be greater, than in truth it would be. That when these two things should be brought to pass, he did hope, that the king would take pleasure in making himself master of every part of his business, and not charge any one man with a greater share of it than he can discharge, or than will agree with his own dignity and honour. In the mean time," he besought the marquis, "that he would convert the duke of York and all other persons from that opinion, which could not but appear erroneous to himself, by the reasons he had heard; and that if he could be brought to consent to what had been proposed to him, (and which rather than he would do, he would suffer a thousand deaths,) as it would inevitably prove his own ruin and destruction, so it would bring an irreparable damage to the king." And therefore he conjured him "to invite the king by his own example, and by assuming his own share of the work," which for some time he had declined since the return into England; and by being himself constantly with his majesty, to whom he was acceptable at all hours, he would obstruct the operation of that ill company, which neither knew how to behave themselves, nor could reasonably propose so much benefit to themselves, as by the propagation of their follies and villanies, and by degrees induce his majesty more proportionably to mingle his business with his pleasures, which he could not yet totally abandon."

The marquis could not deny, but that many of the reasons alleged by the chancellor were of that weight as ought to prevail with him; and therefore forbore ever after to press him upon the same particular. And the duke of York shortly undertook a conference with him upon the same argument, upon which the other durst not enlarge with the same freedom as he had done to the marquis; both because his eyes could not bear the prospect of so many things at once, as likewise that he knew he communicated with some persons, who, whatever they pretended, had nothing like good affection for him: so that he rather pacified his royal highness upon that subject, and diverted him from urging it, than satisfied him with his grounds. And others who wished well to him, and better to the public, acquiesced with his peremptory resolution, without believing that he resolved well either for his own particular, or the king's affairs; and did always think that he might have prevented his own fate, if he had at that time submitted to the

judgment of his best friends; though himself remained so positive to the contrary, that he often said, "that he would not have redeemed himself by that expedient; and that he could never have borne that fate with that tranquillity of mind, which God enabled him to do, if he had passed to it through that province."

Whilst the general affairs of England, by the long debates in parliament, remained thus unsettled, the king was no less troubled and perplexed how to compose his two other kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland; from both which there were several persons of the best condition of either kingdom sent, with the tender and presentation of their allegiance to his majesty, and expected his immediate direction to free them from the distractions they were in; and by taking the government upon himself, into his own hands, to be freed from those extraordinary commissions, under which they had been both governed with a rod of iron by the late powers; the shifting of which from one faction to another had administered no kind of variety to them, but they had remained still under the same full extent of tyranny.

The whole frame of the ancient government of Scotland had been so entirely confounded by Cromwell, and new modelled by the laws and customs of England, that is, those laws and customs which the commonwealth had established; that he had hardly left footsteps by which the old might be traced out again. The power of the nobility was so totally suppressed and extinguished, that their persons found no more respect or distinction from the common people, than the acceptance they found from Cromwell, and the credit he gave them by some particular trust, drew to them. Their beloved presbytery was become a term of reproach, and ridiculous; the pride and activity of their preachers subdued, and reduced to the lowest contempt; and the standard of their [religion] remitted to the sole order and direction of their commander in chief. All criminal cases (except where the general thought it more expedient to proceed by martial law) were tried and punished before judges sent from England, and by the laws of England; and matters of civil interest before itinerant judges, who went twice a year in circuits through the kingdom, and determined all matters of right by the rules and customs which were observed in England. They had liberty to send a particular number, that was assigned to them, to sit in the parliament of England, and to vote there with all liberty; which they had done. And in recompense thereof, all such monies were levied in Scotland, as were given by the parliament of England, by which such contributions were raised, as were proportionable to the expense, which the army and garrisons which subdued them put the kingdom of England to. Nor was there any other authority to raise money in Scotland, but what was derived from the parliament or general of England.

And all this prodigious mutation and transformation had been submitted to with the same resignation and obedience, as if the same had been transmitted by an uninterrupted succession from king Fergus: and it might well be a question, whether the generality of the nation was not better contented with it, than to return into the old road of subjection. But the king would not build according to Cromwell's models, and had

many reasons to continue Scotland within its own limits and bounds, and sole dependance upon himself, rather than unite it to England, with so many hazards and dangers as would inevitably have accompanied it, under any government less tyrannical than that of Cromwell. And the resettling that kingdom was to be done with much less difficulty, than the other of Ireland, by reason that all who appeared concerned in it or for it, as a committee for that kingdom, were united between themselves, and did, or did pretend to desire the same things. They all appeared under the protection and recommendation of the general; and their dependance was the more upon him, because he still commanded those garrisons and forces in Scotland, which kept them to their obedience. And he was the more willing to give them a testimony of their affection to the king, and that without their help he could not have been able to have marched into England against Lambert, that they might speak the more confidently, "that they gave him that assistance, because they were well assured that his intention was to serve the king:" whereas they did indeed give him only what they could not keep from him, nor did they know any of his intentions, or himself at that time intend any thing for the king. But it is very true, they were all either men who had merited best from the king, or had suffered most for him, or at least had acted least against him, and (which they looked upon as the most valuable qualification) they were all, or pretended to be, the most implacable enemies to the marquis of Argyle; which was the "shibboleth" by which the affections of that whole nation were best distinguished.

The chief of the commissioners was the lord Selkirk, a younger son of the marquis of Douglass, who had been known to the king in France, where he had been bred a Roman catholic, which was the religion of his family, but had returned into Scotland after it had been subdued by Cromwell; and being a very handsome young man, was easily converted from the religion of his father, in which he had been bred, to that of his elder brother the earl of Angus, that he might marry the daughter and heir of James duke Hamilton, who from the battle of Worcester, where her uncle duke William was killed, had inherited the title of duchess, with the fair seat of Hamilton, and all the lands which belonged to her father. And her husband now, according to the custom of Scotland, assumed the same title with her, and appeared in the head of the commissioners under the style of duke Hamilton, with the merit of having never disserved the king, and with the advantage of whatsoever his wife could claim by the death of her father, which deserved to wipe out the memory of whatever had been done amiss in his life.

The earl of Glencarne was another of the commissioners, a man very well born and bred, and of very good parts. As he had rendered himself very acceptable to the king, during his being in Scotland, by his very good behaviour towards him, so even after that fatal blow at Worcester he did not dissemble his affection to his majesty; but withdrawing himself into the Highlands, during the time that Cromwell remained in Scotland, he sent over an express to assure the king

of his fidelity, and that he would take the first opportunity to serve him. And when upon his desire Middleton was designed to command there, he first retired into the Highlands, and drew a body of men together to receive him. He was a man of honour, and good principles as well with reference to the church as to the state, which few others, even of those which now appeared most devoted to the king, avowed to be; for the presbytery was yet their idol. From the time that he had received a protection and safeguard from general Monk, after there was little hope of doing good by force, he lived quietly at his house, and was more favoured by the general than any of those who spoke most loudly against the king, and was most trusted by him when he was at Berwick upon his march into England; and was now presented by him to the king, as a man worthy of his trust in an eminent post of that kingdom.

With these there were others of less name, but of good affections and abilities, who came together from Scotland as commissioners; but they found others in London as well qualified to do their country service, and whose names were wisely inserted in their commission by those who assumed the authority to send the other. The earl of Lautherdale, who had been very eminent in contriving and carrying on the king's service, when his majesty was crowned in Scotland, and thereby had wrought himself into a very particular esteem with the king, had marched with him into England, and behaved himself well at Worcester, where he was taken prisoner; had, besides that merit, the suffering an imprisonment from that very time with some circumstances of extreme rigour, being a man against whom Cromwell had always professed a more than ordinary animosity. And though the scene of his imprisonment had been altered, according to the alteration of the governments which succeeded, yet he never found himself in complete liberty till the king was proclaimed by the parliament, and then he thought it not necessary to repair into Scotland for authority or recommendation; but sending his advice thither to his friends, he made haste to transport himself with the parliament commissioners to the Hague, where he was very well received by the king, and left nothing undone on his part that might cultivate those old inclinations, being a man of as much address and insinuation, in which that nation excels, as was then amongst them. He applied himself to those who were most trusted by the king with a marvellous importunity, and especially to the chancellor, with whom, as often as they had ever been together, he had a perpetual war. He now magnified his constancy with loud elogiums, as well to his face as behind his back; remembered "many sharp expressions formerly used by the chancellor, which he confessed had then made him mad, though upon recollection afterwards he had found them to be very reasonable." He was very polite in all his discourses; called himself and his nation, "a thousand traitors and rebels;" and in his discourses frequently said, "when I was a traitor," or "when I was in rebellion;" and seemed not equally delighted with any argument, as when he scornfully spake of the covenant, upon which he brake a hundred jests. In sum,

all his discourses were such as pleased all the company, who commonly believed all he said, and concurred with him. He renewed his old acquaintance and familiarity with Middleton, by all the protestations of friendship; assured him "of the unanimous desire of Scotland to be under his command;" and declared to the king, "that he could not send any man into Scotland, who would be able to do him so much service in the place of commissioner as Middleton; and that it was in his majesty's power to unite that whole kingdom to his service as one man." All which pleased the king well: so that, by the time that the commissioners appeared at London, upon some old promise in Scotland, or new inclination upon his long sufferings, which he magnified enough, the king gave him the signet, and declared him to be secretary of state of that kingdom; and at the same time declared that Middleton should be his commissioner; the earl of Glenearne his chancellor; the earl of Rothes, who was likewise one of the commissioners, and his person very agreeable to the king, president of the council; and conferred all other inferior offices upon men most notable for their affection to the old government of church and state.

And the first proposition that the commissioners made after their meeting together, and before they entered upon debate of the public, was, "that his majesty would add to the council of Scotland, which should reside near his person, the chancellor and treasurer of England, the general, the marquis of Ormond, and secretary Nicholas, who should be always present when any thing should be debated and resolved concerning that kingdom:" which desire, so different from any that had been in times past, persuaded the king that their intentions were very sincere. Whatever appearance there was of unity amongst them, for there was nothing like contradiction, there was a general dislike by them all of the power Lauderdale had with the king, who they knew pressed many things without communication with them, as he had prevailed that the earl of Crawford Lindsey should continue in the office he formerly had of being high treasurer of that kingdom, though he was known to be a man incorrigible in his zeal for the presbytery, and all the madness of kirk, and not firm to other principles upon which the authority of the crown must be established; so that they could not so much as consult in his presence of many particulars of the highest moment and importance to the public settlement. Yet his having behaved himself well towards the king, whilst he was in that kingdom, and his having undergone great persecution under Cromwell, and professing now all obedience to his majesty, prevailed that he should not be displaced upon his majesty's first entrance upon his government, but that a new occasion should be attended to, which was in view, and when the king resolved, without communicating his purpose to Lauderdale, to confer that office upon Middleton, when he should have proceeded the first stage in his commission; and of this his resolution he was graciously pleased to inform him.

The marquis of Argyle, (without mentioning of whom there can hardly be any mention of Scotland,) though he was not of this fraternity, yet thought he could tell as fair a story for

himself as any of the rest, and contribute as much to the king's absolute power in Scotland. And therefore he had no sooner unquestionable notice of the king's being in London, but he made haste thither with as much confidence as the rest. But the commissioners, who were before him, wrought so far with the king, that in the very minute of his arrival he was arrested by a warrant under the king's hand, and carried to the Tower, upon a charge of high treason.

He was a man like Drances in Virgil,

*Largus opum, et lingua melior, sed frigida bello  
Dextera, consiliis habitus non futilis auctor,  
Seditioe potens.*

Without doubt he was a person of extraordinary cunning, well bred; and though, by the ill-placing of his eyes, he did not appear with any great advantage at first sight, yet he reconciled even those who had aversion to him very strangely by a little conversation: insomuch as after so many repeated indignities (to say no worse) which he had put upon the late king, and when he had continued the same affronts to the present king, by hindering the Scots from inviting him, and as long as was possible kept him from being received by them; when there was no remedy, and that he was actually landed, no man paid him so much reverence and outward respect, and gave so good an example to all others, with what veneration their king ought to be treated, as the marquis of Argyle did, and in a very short time made himself agreeable and acceptable to him. His wit was pregnant, and his humour gay and pleasant, except when he liked not the company or the argument. And though he never consented to any one thing of moment, which the king asked of him; and even in those seasons in which he was used with most rudeness by the clergy, and with some barbarity by his son the lord Lorne, whom he had made captain of his majesty's guard, to guard him from his friends, and from all who he desired should have access to him, the marquis still had that address, that he persuaded him all was for the best. When the other faction prevailed, in which there were likewise crafty managers, and that his counsels were commonly rejected, he carried himself so, that they who hated him most were willing to compound with him, and that his majesty should not withdraw his countenance from him. But he continued in all his charges, and had a very great party in that parliament that was most devoted to serve the king; so that his majesty was often put to desire his help to compass what he desired. He did heartily oppose the king's marching with his army into England; the ill success whereof made many men believe afterwards, that he had more reasons for the counsels he gave, than they had who were of another opinion. And the king was so far from thinking him his enemy, that when it was privately proposed to him by those he trusted most, that he might be secured from doing hurt when the king was marched into England, since he was so much against it; his majesty would by no means consent to it, but parted with him very graciously, as with one he expected good service from. All which the commissioners well remembered, and were very unwilling that he should be again admitted into his presence, to make his own excuses for any thing he could be charged with. And his behaviour afterwards, and the good cor-

respondence he had kept with Cromwell, but especially some confident averments of some particular words or actions which related to the murder of his father, prevailed with his majesty not to speak with him; which he laboured by many addresses, in petitions to the king, and letters to some of those who were trusted by him, which were often presented by his wife and his son, and in which he only desired "to speak with the king or with some of those lords," pretending, "that he should inform and communicate somewhat that would highly concern his majesty's service." But the king not vouchsafing to admit him to his presence, the English lords had no mind to have any conference with a man who had so dark a character, or to meddle in an affair that must be examined and judged by the laws of Scotland: and so it was resolved, that the marquis of Argyle should be sent by sea into Scotland, to be tried before the parliament there when the commissioner should arrive, who was despatched thither with the rest of the lords, as soon as the seals and other badges of their several offices could be prepared. And what afterwards became of the marquis is known to all men; as it grew quickly to appear, that what bitterness soever the earl of Lauderdale had expressed towards him in his general discourses, he had in truth a great mind to have preserved him, and so kept such a pillar of presbytery against a good occasion; which was not then suspected by the rest of the commissioners.

The lords of the English council, who were appointed to sit with the Scots, met with them to consult upon the instructions which were to be given to the king's commissioner, who was now created earl of Middleton. The Scots seemed all resolute and impatient to vindicate their country from the infamy of delivering up the last king, (for all things relating to the former rebellion had been put in oblivion by his late majesty's act of indemnity, at his last being in Scotland,) and strictly to examine who of that nation had contributed to his murder, of which they were confident Argyle would be found very guilty. Middleton was very earnest, "that he might, for the humiliation of the preachers, and to prevent any unruly proceeding of theirs in their assembly, begin with rescinding the act of the covenant, and all other acts which had invaded the king's power ecclesiastical, and then proceed to the erecting of bishops in that kingdom, according to the ancient institution;" and with him Glen-carne, Rother, and all the rest (Lauderdale only excepted) concurred; and averred, "that it would be very easily brought to pass, because the tyrannical proceedings of the assemblies and their several presbyteries had so far incensed persons of all degrees, that not only the nobility, gentry, and common people, would be glad to be freed from them, but that the most learned and best part of the ministers desired the same, and to be subject again to the bishops; and that there would be enough found of the Scots clergy, very worthy and very willing to supply those charges."

Lauderdale, with a passion superior to the rest, inveighed against the covenant; called it "a wicked, traitorous combination of rebels against their lawful sovereign, and expressly against the laws of their own country; protested his own

"hearty repentance for the part he had acted in the promotion thereof, and that he was confident that God, who was witness of his repentance, had forgiven him that foul sin: that no man there had a greater reverence for the government by bishops than he himself had; and that he was most confident, that the kingdom of Scotland could never be happy in itself, nor ever be reduced to a perfect submission and obedience to the king, till the episcopal government was again established there. The scruple that only remained with him, and which made him differ with his brethren, was, of the manner how it should be attempted, and of the time when it should be endeavoured to be brought to pass." And then with his usual warmth, when he thought it necessary to be warm, (for at other times he could be as calm as any man, though not so naturally,) he desired, "that the commissioner might have no instruction for the present to make any approach towards either; on the contrary, that he might be restrained from it by his majesty's special direction: for though his own prudence, upon the observation he should quickly make when he came thither, would restrain him from doing any thing which might be inconvenient to his majesty's service; yet without that he would hardly be able to restrain others, who for want of understanding, or out of ill-will to particular men, might be too forward to set such a design on foot."

He desired, "that in the first session of parliament no further attempt might be made, than in pursuance of what had been first mentioned, the vindicating their country from all things which related to the murder of the late king, which would comprehend the delivery up of his person, the asserting the king's royal power, by which all future attempts towards rebellion would be prevented, and the trial of the marquis of Argyle; all which would take up more time than parliaments in that kingdom, till the late ill times, had used to continue together. That after the expiration of the first session, in which a good judgment might be made of the temper of that kingdom, and the commissioner's prudence might have an influence upon many leading men to change their present temper, such further advance might be made for the reformation of the kirk as his majesty should judge best; and then he made no doubt, but all would by degrees be compassed in that particular which could be desired, and which was the more resolutely to be desired, because he still confessed that the king could not be secure, nor the kingdom happy, till the episcopal government could be restored. But he undertook to know so well the nature of that people," (though he had not been in that kingdom since his majesty left it,) "that if it were undertaken presently, or without due circumstances in preparing more men than could in a short time be done, it would not only miscarry, but with it his majesty be disappointed of many of the other particulars, which he would otherwise be sure to obtain."

He named many of the nobility and leading men, who he said "were still so infatuated with the covenant, that they would with equal patience hear of the rejection of the four Evangelists,

"who yet, by conversation, and other information, and application, might in time be wrought upon." He frequently appealed to the king's own memory and observation, when he was in that kingdom, "how superstitious they who were most devoted to do him service, and were at his disposal in all things, were towards the covenant: that all they did for him, which was all that he desired them to do, was looked upon as the effects of those obligations which the covenant had laid upon them." He appealed to the general, ("who," he said, "knew Scotland better than any one man of that nation could pretend to do,) whether he thought this a proper season to attempt so great a change in that kingdom, before other more pressing acts were compassed; and whether he did not know, that the very pressing obligations in the covenant lately in England had not contributed very much to the restoration of the king, which the London ministers confidently urged at present as an argument for his indulgence towards them. And," he said, "though he well knew that his majesty was fully resolved to maintain the government of the church of England in its full lustre, (which he thanked God for, being in his judgment the best government ecclesiastical in the world,) yet he could not but observe, that the king's prudence had yet forborne to make any new bishops, and had upon the matter suspended the English Liturgy by not enjoining it, out of indulgence to dissenters, and to allow them time to consider, and to be well informed and instructed in those forms, which had been for so many years rejected or discontinued, that the people in general and many ministers had never seen or heard it used: so that the presbyterians here remained still in hope of his majesty's favour and condescension, that they should be permitted to continue their own forms, or no forms, in their devotions and public worship of God. In consideration of all which, he thought it very incongruous, and somewhat against his majesty's dignity, suddenly and with precipitation to begin and attempt such an alteration in Scotland, against a government that had more antiquity there, and was more generally submitted to and accepted, than it had been in England, before he himself had declared his own judgment against it in this kingdom; which he presumed he would shortly do, and which would be the best introduction to the same in Scotland, where all the king's actions and determinations would be looked upon with the highest veneration."

He concluded, "that if the other more vigorous course should be resolved upon, the marquis of Argyle would be very glad of it; for though he was generally odious to all degrees of men, yet he was not so much hated as the covenant was beloved and worshipped: and that when they should discern that they must be deprived of that, they would rather desire to preserve both. And therefore," he said, "his advice still was, that he should be first out of the way, who was looked upon as the upholder of the covenant and the chief pillar of the kirk, before any visible attempt should be made against the other, which would assuredly be done by degrees."

Many particulars in this discourse confidently urged, and with more advantage of elocution than

the fatness of his tongue, that ever filled his mouth, usually was attended with, seemed reasonable to many, and worthy to be answered; and his frequent appeals to the king, in which there were always some ridiculous instances of the use made of the covenant, with reference to the power of the preachers in the domestic affairs of other men, and the like, (which, though it made it the more odious, was still an argument of the reverence that was generally paid to it, all which instances were well remembered by the king, who commonly added others of the same standard from his own memory,) made his majesty in suspense, or rather inclined that nothing should be attempted that concerned the kirk, till the next session of parliament, when Lautherdale himself confessed it might be securely effected. To this the general seemed to incline, not a little moved by what had been said of Argyle, to whom he was no friend, but much more by the disadvantage which might arise, by a precipitate proceeding in Scotland, to the presbyterian party here, and especially to the preachers, to whom he wished well for his wife's sake, or rather for his own peace with his wife, who was deeply engaged to that people for their seasonable determination of some nice cases of conscience, whereby he had been induced to repair a trespass he had committed, by marrying her; which was an obligation never to be forgotten.

Middleton, and most of the Scots lords, were highly offended by the presumption of Lautherdale, in undertaking to know the spirit and disposition of a kingdom which he had not seen in ten years; and easily discerned that his affected railery and railing against the covenant, and his magnifying episcopal government, were but varnish to cover the rottenness of his intentions, till he might more securely and efficaciously manifest his affection to the one, and his malignity to the other. They contradicted positively all that he had said of the temper and affections of Scotland, and named many of those lords, who had been mentioned by him as the most zealous assertors of the covenant, "who," they undertook, "should, upon the first opportunity, declare their abomination of it to the world; whereof they knew there were some who had written against it, and were resolved to publish it as soon as they might do it with safety." They advised his majesty, "that he would not choose to do his business by halves, when he might with more security do it all together, and the dividing it would make both the more difficult. However," they besought him, "to put no such restraint, as had been so much pressed, upon his commissioner, that though he should find the parliament most inclined to do that now, which every body confessed necessary to be done at some time, he should not accept their good-will, but hinder them from pursuing it, as very ungrateful to the king; which," they said, "would be a greater countenance to, and confirmation of, the covenant, than it had ever yet received, and a greater wound to episcopacy." And that indeed was consented to by all. And thereupon the king resolved to put nothing like restraint upon his commissioner from effecting that he wished might be done to-morrow if it could be, but to leave it entirely to his prudence to judge of the conjuncture, with caution "not to permit it to

"be attempted, if he saw it would be attended with any ill consequence or hazard to his service." And so the commissioner, with the other officers for Scotland, were dismissed to their full content; and therewith the king was at present eased, by having separated one very important affair from the crowd of the rest, which remained to perplex him.

That in Ireland was much more intricate, and the intricacy in many respects so involved, that nobody had a mind to meddle with it. The chancellor had made it his humble suit to the king, "that no part of it might ever be referred to him;" and the duke of Ormond (who was most concerned in his own interest that all men's interests in that kingdom might be adjusted, that he might enjoy his, which was the greatest of all the rest) could not see any light in so much darkness, that might lead him to any beginning. The king's interest had been so totally extinguished in that kingdom for many years past, that there was no person of any consideration there, who pretended to wish that it were revived. At Cromwell's death, and at the deposition of Richard, his younger son Harry was invested in the full authority, by being lieutenant of Ireland. The two presidents of the two provinces, were the lord Broghill in that of Munster, and sir Charles Coote in that of Connaught; both equally depending upon the lieutenant: and they more depended upon him and courted his protection, by their not loving one another, and being of several complexions and constitutions, and both of a long aversion to the king by multiplications of guilt. When Richard was thrown out, the supreme power of the militia was vested in Ludlow, and all the civil jurisdiction in persons who had been judges of the king, and possessed ample fortunes, which they could no longer hold than their authority should be maintained. But the two presidents remained in their several provinces with their full power, either because they had not deserved to be suspected, or because they could not easily be removed, being still subject to the commissioners at Dublin. The next change of government removed Ludlow and the rest of that desperate crew, and committed the government to others of more moderate principles, yet far enough from wishing well to the king. In those revolutions sir Charles Coote took an opportunity to send an express to the king, who was then at Brussels, with the tender of his obedience, with great cautions as to the time of appearing; only desired "to have such commissions in his hands as might be applied to his majesty's service in a proper conjuncture;" which were sent to him, and never made use of by him. He expressed great jealousy of Broghill, and an unwillingness that he should know of his engagement. And the alterations succeeded so fast one upon another, that they both chose rather to depend upon general Monk than upon the king, imagining, as they said afterwards, "that he intended nothing but the king's restoration, and best knew how to effect it." And by some private letter, for there was no order sent, to Coote and some other officers there, "that they would adhere to his army for the service of the parliament against Lambert," Coote found assistance to seize upon the castle of Dublin, and the persons of those

who were in authority, who were imprisoned by them, and the government settled in that manner as they thought most agreeable to the presbyterian humour, until the general was declared lieutenant of Ireland, who then sent commissioners to the same persons, who, as soon as the king was proclaimed, sent their commissioners to the king, who were called commissioners from the state, and brought a present of money to the king from the same, with all professions of duty which could be expected from the best subjects.

These were the lord Broghill, sir Audley Merwin, sir John Clotworthy, and several other persons of quality, much the greater number whereof had been always notorious for the disservice they had done the king; but upon the advantage of having been discountenanced, and suffered long imprisonment and other damages, under Cromwell, they called themselves the king's party, and brought expectations with them to be looked upon and treated as such. Amongst them was a brother, and other friends, made choice of and more immediately trusted by sir Charles Coote, who remained in the castle of Dublin, and presided in that council that supplied the government, and was thought to have the best interest in the army as well as in his own province. "And these men," he said, "had been privy to the service he meant to have done the king, and expected the performance of several promises he had then made them by virtue of some authority had been sent to him to assure those, who should join with him to do his majesty's service." All these commissioners from the state had instructions, to which they were to conform in desiring nothing from the king, but "the settling his own authority amongst them, the ordering the army, the reviving the execution of the laws, and settling the courts of justice," (all which had been dissolved in the late usurpation,) "and such other particulars as purely related to the public." And their public addresses were to this and no other purpose. But then to their private friends, and such as they desired to make their friends, most of them had many pretences of merit, and many expedients by which the king might reward them, and out of which they would be able liberally to gratify their patrons. And by this means all who served the king were furnished with suits enough to make their fortunes, in which they presently engaged themselves with very troublesome importunity to the king himself, and to all others who they thought had credit or power to advance their desires. Nor was there any other art so much used by the commissioners in their secret conferences, as to deprave one another, and to discover the ill actions they had been guilty of, and how little they deserved to be trusted, or had interest to accomplish. The lord Broghill was the man of the best parts, and had most friends by his great alliance to promise for him. And he appeared very generous, and to be without the least pretence to any advantage for himself, and to be so wholly devoted to the king's interest, and to the establishing of the government of the church, that he quickly got himself believed. And having free access to the king, by mingling apologies for what he had done, with promises of what he would do, and utterly renouncing all those principles as to the church or state, (as he might with a good conscience do,) which made men unfit for trust, he



made himself so acceptable to his majesty, that he heard him willingly, because he made all things easy to be done and compassed; and gave such assurances to the bedchamber men, to help them to good fortunes in Ireland, which they had reason to despair of in England, that he wanted not their testimony upon all occasions, nor their defence and vindication, when any thing was reflected upon to his disadvantage or reproach.

2. There were many other deputies of several classes in Ireland, who thought their pretences to be as well grounded, as theirs who came from the state. There were yet some bishops alive of that kingdom, and other grave divines, all stripped of their dignities and estates, which had been disposed of by the usurping power to their creatures. And all they (some whereof had spent time in banishment near the king, and others more miserably in their own country and in England, under the charity of those who for the most part lived by the charity of others) expected, as they well might, to be restored to what in right belonged to them; and besought his majesty "to use all possible expedition to establish the government of that church as it had always been, by supplying the empty sees with new prelates in the place of those who were dead, that all the schisms and wild factions in religion, which were spread over that whole kingdom, might be extirpated and rooted out." All which desires were grateful to the king, and according to his royal intentions, and were not opposed by the commissioners from the state, who all pretended to be well wishers to the old government of the church, and the more by the experience they had of the distractions which were introduced by that which had succeeded it, and by the confusion they were now in without any. Only sir John Clotworthy (who, by the exercise of very ordinary faculties in several employments, whilst the parliament retained the supreme power in their hands, had exceedingly improved himself in understanding and ability of negotiation) dissembled not his old animosity against the bishops, the cross, and the surplice, and wished that all might be abolished; though he knew well that his vote would signify nothing towards it. And that spirit of his had been so long known, that it was now imputed to sincerity and plain-dealing, and that he would not dissemble, (which many others were known to do, who had the same malignity with him,) and was the less ill thought of, because in all other respects he was of a generous and a jovial nature, and complied in all designs which might advance the king's interest or service.

3. There appeared likewise a committee deputed by the adventurers to solicit their right, which was the more numerous by the company of many aldermen and citizens of the best quality, and many honest gentlemen of the country; who all desired "that their right might not be disturbed, which had been settled by an act of parliament ratified by the last king before the troubles; and that if it should be thought just, that any of the lands of which they stood possessed should be taken from them, upon what title soever, they might first be put into the possession of other lands of equal value, before they should be dispossessed of what they had already." All that they made claim to seemed to be confirmed by an act of parliament. The

case was this: When the rebellion first brake out in Ireland, the parliament then sitting, and there being so much money to be raised and already raised for the payment of and disbanding two armies, and for the composing or compounding the rebellion of Scotland, where the king was at that time; it had been propounded, "that the war of Ireland might be carried on at the charges of particular men, and so all imposition upon the people might be prevented, if an act of parliament were passed for the satisfaction of all those who would advance monies for the war, out of the lands which should become forfeited."

And this proposition being embraced, an act was prepared to that purpose; in which it was provided, "that the forfeited lands in Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Ulster, should be valued at such several rates by the acre, and how many acres in either should be assigned for the satisfaction of one hundred pounds, and so proportionally for greater sums. That for all monies which should be subscribed within so many days (beyond which time there should be no more subscriptions) for that service, one moiety thereof should be paid to the treasurer appointed, within few days, for the present preparations; and the other moiety be paid within six months, upon the penalty of losing all benefit from the first payment. That when God should so bless their armies, (which they doubted not of,) that the rebels should be so near reduced, that they should be without any army or visible power to support their rebellion; there should a commission issue out, under the great seal of England, to such persons as should be nominated by the parliament, who should take the best way they could in their discretion think fit, to be informed, whether the rebels were totally subdued, and so the rebellion at an end. And upon their declaration, that the work was fully done and the war finished, other commissions should likewise issue out, in the same manner, for the convicting and attainting all those who were guilty of the treason and rebellion by which their estates were become forfeited; and then other commissions, for the distribution of the forfeited lands to the several adventurers, according to the sums of money advanced by them. The king was to be restrained from making any peace with the Irish rebels, or cessation, or from granting pardon to any of them; but such peace, cessation, or pardon, should be looked upon as void and null."

This act the king had consented to and confirmed in the year 1641, and in the agony of many troubles which that rebellion had brought upon him, thinking it the only means to put a speedy end to that accursed rebellion, the suppression whereof would free him from many difficulties. And upon the security of this act, very many persons, of all qualities and affections, subscribed and brought in the first moiety of their money, and were very properly styled adventurers. Great sums of money were daily brought in, and preparations and provisions and new levies of men were made for Ireland. But the rebellion in England being shortly after fomented by the parliament, they applied very much of that money brought in by the adventurers, and many of the troops which had been raised for that service, immediately against the king: which being notoriously known,



and his majesty complaining of it, many honest gentlemen, who had subscribed and paid one moiety, refused to pay in the other moiety at the time, and so were liable to lose the benefit of their adventure; which they preferred before suffering their money to be applied to the carrying on the rebellion against the king, which they abhorred. And by this means Ireland was unsupplied; and the rebellion spread and prospered with little opposition for some time. And the parliament, though the time for subscribing was expired, enlarged it by ordinances of their own to a longer day, and easily prevailed with many of their own party, principally officers and citizens, to subscribe and bring in their money; to which it was no small encouragement, that so many had lost the benefit of their whole adventure by not paying in the second payment, which would make the conditions of the new adventurers the less hazardous.

When the success of the parliament had totally subdued the king's arms, and himself was so inhumanly murdered, neither the forces in Ireland under the king's authority, nor the Irish, who had too late promised to submit to it, could make any long resistance; so that Cromwell quickly dispersed them by his own expedition thither: and by licensing as many as desired it to transport as many from thence, for the service of the two crowns of France and Spain, as they would contract for, quickly made a disappearance of any army in that kingdom to oppose his conquests. And after the defeat of the king at Worcester, he seemed to all men to be in as quiet a possession of Ireland as of England, and to be as much without enemies in the one as the other kingdom; as in a short time he had reduced Scotland to the same exigent.

Shortly after that time, when Cromwell was invested with the office of protector, all those commissions were issued out, and all the formality was used that was prescribed by that act for the adventurers. Not only all the Irish nation (very few excepted) were found guilty of the rebellion, and so to have forfeited all their estates; but the marquis of Ormond, the lord Inchiquin, and all the English catholics, and whosever had served the king, were declared to be under the same guilt; and the lands seized upon for the benefit of the state. There were very vast arrears of pay due to the army, a great [part] of which (now the war was ended) must be disbanded; for the doing whereof no money was to be expected out of England, but they must be satisfied out of the forfeitures of the other kingdoms. The whole kingdom was admeasured; the accounts of the money paid by the adventurers within the time limited, and what was due to the army for their pay, were stated; and such proportions of acres in the several provinces were assigned to the adventurers and officers and soldiers, as were agreeable to the act of parliament, by admeasurement. Where an officer of name had been likewise an adventurer, his adventure and his pay amounted to the more. And sometimes the whole company and regiment contracted for money with their captains or colonels, and assigned their interest in land to them; and possession was accordingly delivered, without any respect to any titles by law to former settlements, or descents of any persons soever, wives or children; except in some very few cases, where the wives had been great heirs, and could not be

charged with any crime, such proportions were assigned as were rather agreeable to their own conveniences, than to justice and the right of the claimers.

And that every body might with the more security enjoy that which was assigned to him, they had found a way to have the consent of many to their own undoing. They found the utter extirpation of the nation (which they had intended) to be in itself very difficult, and to carry in it somewhat of horror, that made some impression upon the stone-hardness of their own hearts. After so many millions destroyed by the plague which raged over the kingdom, by fire, sword, and famine; and after so many millions transported into foreign parts, there remained still such a numerous people, that they knew not how to dispose of: and though they were declared to be all forfeited, and so to have no title to any thing, yet they must remain somewhere. They therefore found this expedient, which they called an act of grace. There was a large tract of land, even to the half of the province of Connaught, that was separated from the rest by a long and a large river, and which by the plague and many massacres remained almost desolate. Into this space and circuit of land they required all the Irish to retire by such a day, under the penalty of death; and all who should after that time be found in any other part of the kingdom, man, woman, or child, should be killed by any body who saw or met them. The land within this circuit, the most barren in the kingdom, was out of the grace and mercy of the conquerors assigned to those of the nation who were enclosed, in such proportions as might with great industry preserve their lives. And to those persons, from whom they had taken great quantities of land in other provinces, they assigned the greater proportions within this precinct; so that it fell to some men's lot, especially when they were accommodated with houses, to have a competent livelihood, though never to the fifth part of what had been taken from them in a much better province. And that they might not be exalted with this merciful donative, it was a condition that accompanied this their accommodation, that they should all give releases of their former rights and titles to the land that was taken from them, in consideration of what was now assigned to them; and so they should for ever bar themselves and their heirs from ever laying claim to their old inheritance. What should they do? they could not be permitted to go out of this precinct to shift for themselves elsewhere; and without this assignation they must starve here, as many did die every day of famine. In this deplorable condition, and under this consternation, they found themselves obliged to accept or submit to the hardest conditions of their conquerors, and so signed such conveyances and releases as were prepared for them, that they might enjoy those lands which belonged to other men.

And by this means the plantation (as they called it) of Connaught was finished, and all the Irish nation enclosed within that circuit; the rest of Ireland being left to the English; some to the old lords and just proprietors, who being all protestants, (for no Roman catholic was admitted,) had either never offended them, or had served them, or had made composition for their delinquencies by the benefit of some articles; some to the adventurers and soldiers. And a good and

great part (as I remember, the whole province of Tipperary) Cromwell had reserved to himself, as a demesne (as he called it) for the state, and in which no adventurer or soldier should demand his lot to be assigned, and no doubt intended both the state and it for the making great his own family. It cannot be imagined in how easy a method, and with what peaceable formality, this whole great kingdom was taken from the just lords and proprietors, and divided and given amongst those, who had no other right to it but that they had power to keep [it]; no men having so [great] shares as they who had been instruments to murder the king, and were not like willingly to part with it to his successor. Where any great sums of money for arms, ammunition, or any merchandise, had been so long due that they were looked upon as desperate, the creditors subscribed all those sums as lent upon adventure, and had their satisfaction assigned to them as adventurers. Ireland was the great capital, out of which all debts were paid, all services rewarded, and all acts of bounty performed. And which is more wonderful, all this [was] done and settled, within little more than two years, to that degree of perfection, that there were many buildings raised for beauty as well as use, orderly and regular plantations of trees, and raising fences and enclosures throughout the kingdom, purchases made by one from the other at very valuable rates, and jointures made upon marriages, and all other conveyances and settlements executed, as in a kingdom at peace within itself, and where no doubt could be made of the validity of titles. And yet in all this quiet, there were very few persons pleased or contented.

And these deputies for the adventurers, and for those who called themselves adventurers, came not only to ask the king's consent and approbation of what had been done, (which they thought in justice he could not deny, because all had been done upon the warrant of a legal act of parliament,) but to complain, "that justice had not been equally done in the distributions; that this man had received much less than was his due, and others as much more than was their due; that one had had great quantities of bogs and waste land as signed to him as tenantable, and another as much allowed as bogs and waste, which in truth were very tenantable lands." And upon the whole matter, they all desired "a review might [be made], that justice might be done to all;" every man expecting an addition to what he had already, not suspecting that any thing would be taken from him, to be restored to the true owner.

And this agitation raised another party of adventurers, who thought they had at least as good a right as any of the other; and that was, they, or the heirs and executors of them, who upon the first making of the act of parliament, had subscribed several good sums of money, and paid in their first moieties; but the rebellion coming on, and the monies already paid in being notoriously and visibly employed contrary to the act, and against the person of the king himself, they had out of conscience forborne to make the second moiety, lest it might also [be] so employed; whereby, according to the rigour of the law, they lost the benefit of the first payment. And they had hitherto sustained that loss, with many other, without having ever applied themselves for relief.

"But now, when it had pleased God to restore the king, and so many who had not deserved very well desired help from the king upon the equity of that act of parliament, where the letter of the law would do them no [good], they presumed to think, that by the equity of the law they ought to be satisfied for the money they did really pay; and that they should not undergo any damage for not paying the other moiety, which out of conscience and for his majesty's service they had forborne to do." No man will doubt but that the king was very well inclined to gratify this classis of adventurers, when he should find it in his power. But it is time to return to the committee and deputies of the other parties in that distracted kingdom.

4. There was a committee sent from the army that was in present pay in Ireland, "for the arrears due to them," which was for above a year's pay; most of those who had received satisfaction in land for what was then due to them, as well officers as soldiers, being then disbanded, that they might attend their plantations and husbandry, but in truth because they were for the most part of the presbyterian faction, and so suspected by Cromwell not to be enough inclined to him. The army now on foot, and to whom so great arrears were due, consisted for the greatest part of independents, anabaptists, and levellers, who had corresponded with and been directed by the general, when he marched from Scotland against Lambert: and therefore he had advised the king to declare, "that he would pay all arrears due to the army in Ireland, and ratify the satisfaction that had been given to adventurers, officers, and soldiers there;" which his majesty had accordingly signified by his declaration from Breda. And whoever considers the temper and constitution of that army then on foot in that kingdom, and the body of presbyterians that had been disbanded, and remained still there in their habitations, together with the body of adventurers, all presbyterians or anabaptists; and at the same time remembers the disposition and general affection of the army in England, severed from their obedience to the general and the good affection of some few superior officers; will not wonder that the king endeavoured, if it had been possible, rather to please all, than by any unseasonable discovery of a resolution, how just soever, to make any party desperate; there being none so inconsiderable, as not to have been able to do much mischief.

5. The satisfaction that the officers and soldiers had received in land, and the demand of the present army, had caused another committee to be sent and employed by those reformed officers, who had served the king under the command of the marquis of Ormond, from the beginning of the rebellion to the end thereof, with courage and fidelity; and had since shifted beyond the seas, and some of them in his majesty's service, or suffered patiently in that kingdom under the insolence of their oppressors; who, because they had always fought against the Irish, were by articles, upon their laying down their arms when they could no longer hold them in their hands, permitted to remain in their own houses, or such as they could get within that kingdom. These gentlemen thought it a very incongruous thing, "that they who had constantly fought against the king's father and himself, should receive their

"pay and reward by his majesty's care, bounty, and assignation; and that they, who had as constantly fought for both, should be left to undergo all want and misery now his majesty was restored to his own." And they believed their suit to be the more reasonable, at least the easier to be granted, by having brought an expedient with them to facilitate their satisfaction. There had been some old order or ordinance, that was looked upon as a law, whereby it was provided, that all houses within cities or corporate towns, which were forfeited, should be reserved to be specially disposed of by the state, or in such a manner as it should direct, to the end that all care might be taken what manner of men should be the inhabitants of such important places: and therefore such houses had not been, nor were to be, promiscuously assigned to adventurers, officers, or soldiers, and so remained hitherto undisposed of. And these reformed officers of the king made it their suit, that those houses might be assigned to them in proportions, according to what might appear to be due to their several conditions and degrees in command. And to this petition, which might seem equitable in itself, the commissioners from the state gave their full approbation and consent, being ready to take all the opportunities to ingratiate themselves towards those whom they had oppressed as long as they were able, and to be reputed to love the king's party.

6. Lastly, there was a committee for, or rather the whole body of, the Irish catholics, who, with less modesty than was suitable to their condition, demanded in justice to be restored to all the lands that had been taken from them: alleging, "that they were all at least as innocent as any of them were, to whom their lands had been assigned." They urged "their early submission to the king, and the peace they had first made with the marquis of Ormond, by which an act of indemnity had been granted for what offences soever had been committed, except such in which none of them were concerned." They urged "the peace they had made with the marquis of Ormond upon this king's first coming to the crown, wherein a grant of indemnity was again renewed to them;" and confidently, though very unskillfully, pressed, "that the benefit of all those articles which were contained in that peace, might still be granted and observed to them, since they had done nothing to infringe or forfeit them, but had been oppressed and broken, as all his majesty's other forces had been." They urged "the service they had done to the king beyond the seas, having been always ready to obey his commands, and stayed [in] or left France or Spain as his majesty had commanded them, and were for the last two years received and listed as his own troops, and in his own actual service, under the duke of York." They pressed "the intolerable tyranny they had suffered under, now almost twenty years; the massacres and servitude they had undergone; such devastation and laying waste their country, such bloody cruelty and executions inflicted on them, as had never been known nor could be paralleled amongst Christians: that their nation almost was become desolated, and their sufferings of all kinds [had been] to such an extent, that they hoped had satiated their most implacable enemies." And therefore they humbly

besought his majesty, "that in this general joy for his majesty's blessed restoration, and in which nobody could rejoice more than they, when all his majesty's subjects of his two other kingdoms (whereof many were not more innocent than themselves) had their mouths filled with laughter, and had all their hearts could desire, the poor Irish alone might not be condemned to perpetual weeping and misery by his majesty's own immediate act." Amongst these, with the same confidence, they who had been transplanted into Connaught appeared, related the circumstances of the persecution they had undergone, and "how impossible it had been for them to refuse their submission to that they had no power to resist; and therefore that it would be against all conscience to allege their own consent, and their releases, and other grants, which had they not consented to in that point of time, they, their wives, and children, could not have lived four and twenty hours." All these particulars were great motives to compassion, and disposed his majesty's heart to wish that any expedient might be found, which might consist with justice and necessary policy, that might make them, though not very happy, yet might preserve them from misery, until he should hereafter find some opportunity to repair their condition according to their several degrees and merit.

These several addresses being presented to his majesty together, before any thing was yet settled in England, and every party of them finding some friends, who filled the king's ears with specious discourses on their behalf for whom he spake, and with bitter invectives against all the rest; he was almost confounded how to begin, and in what method to put the examination of all their pretences, that he might be able to take such a view of them, as to be able to apply some remedy, that might keep the disease from increasing and growing worse, until he could find some cure. He had no mind the parliament should interpose and meddle in it, which would have been grateful to no party; and by good fortune they were so full of business that they thought concerned them nearer, that they had no mind to examine or take cognizance of this of Ireland, which they well knew properly depended upon the king's own royal pleasure and commands. But these addresses were all of so contradictory a nature, so inconsistent with each other, and so impossible to be reconciled, that if all Ireland could be sold at its full value, (that is, if kingdoms could be valued at a just rate,) and find a fit chapman or purchaser to disburse the sum, it could not yield half enough to satisfy half their demands; and yet the king was not in a condition positively to deny any one party that which they desired.

The commissioners from the state, in respect of their quality, parts, and interest, and in regard of their mission and authority, seemed the most proper persons to be treated with, and the most like to be prevailed upon not to insist upon any thing that was most profoundly unreasonable. They had all their own just fears, if the king should be severe; and there would have been a general concurrence in all the rest, that he should have taken a full vengeance upon them: but then they who had most cause to fear, thought they might raise their hopes highest from that power that sent them, and which had yet interest enough to do

good and hurt; and they thought themselves secure in the king's declaration from Breda, and his offer of indemnity, which comprehended them. Then they were all desirous to merit from the king; and their not loving one another, disposed them the more to do any thing that might be grateful to his majesty. But they were all united and agreed in one unhappy extreme, that made all their other devotion less applicable to the public peace, that is, their implacable malice to the Irish: insomuch as they concurred in their desire, that they might gain nothing by the king's return, but be kept with the same rigour, and under the same incapacity to do hurt, which they were till then. For which instance they were not totally without reason, from their barbarous behaviour in the first beginning of the rebellion, which could not be denied, and from their having been compelled to submit to and undergo the most barbarous servitude, that could not be forgotten. And though eradication was too foul a word to be uttered in the ears of a Christian prince, yet it was little less or better that they proposed in other words, and hoped to obtain: whereas the king thought that miserable people to be as worthy of his favour, as most of the other parties; and that his honour, justice, and policy, as far as they were unrestrained by laws and contracts, obliged him more to preserve them, at least as much as he could. And yet it can hardly be believed, how few men, in all other points very reasonable, and who were far from cruelty in their nature, cherished that inclination in the king; but thought it in him, and more in his brother, to proceed from other reasons than they published: whilst others, who pretended to be only moved by Christian charity and compassion, were more cruel towards them, and made them more miserable, by extorting great engagements from them for their protection and intercession, which being performed would leave them in as forlorn a condition as they were found.

In this intricacy and perplexity, the king thought it necessary to begin with settling his own authority in one person over that kingdom, who should make haste thither, and establish such a council there, and all courts of justice, and other civil officers, as might best contribute towards bringing the rest in order. And to this purpose he made choice of several persons of the robe, who had been known by or recommended to the marquis of Ormond, but of more by the advice and promotion of Daniel O'Neile of his bedchamber, who preferred a friend of his, and an Irishman, to the office of attorney general, (a place in that conjuncture of vast importance to the settlement,) and many other to be judges. And all this list was made and settled without the least communication with the chancellor, who might have been presumed to be easily informed of that rank of men. But to find a person fit to send thither in the supreme authority, was long deliberated by the king, and with difficulty to be resolved. The general continued lord lieutenant of Ireland, which he had no mind to quit, for he had a great estate there, having for some time been general of that army, and received for the arrears of his pay, and by Cromwell's bounty, and by some purchases he made of the soldiers, an estate of at least four thousand pounds per annum, which he thought he could best preserve in the supreme govern-

ment; though he was willing to have it believed in the city and the army, that he retained it only for the good of the adventurers, and that the soldiers might be justly dealt with for their arrears. Whatsoever his reason was, as profit was the highest reason always with him, whoever was to be deputy must be subordinate to him; which no man of the greatest quality would be, though he was to have his commission from the king, and the same jurisdiction in the absence of the lieutenant. There were some few fit for the employment, who were not willing to undertake it; and many who were willing to undertake it, but were not fit.

Upon the view of those of all sorts, the king most inclined to the lord Roberts, who was a man of more than ordinary parts, well versed in the knowledge of the laws, and esteemed of integrity not to be corrupted by money. But then he was a sullen morose man, intolerably proud, and had some humours as inconvenient as small vices, which made him hard to live with, and which were afterwards more discovered than at that time foreseen. He had been in the beginning of the rebellion a leading man in their councils, and a great officer in their army, wherein he expressed no want of courage. But after the defeat of the earl of Essex's army in Cornwall, which was imputed to his positiveness and undertaking for his county, the friendship between him and that earl was broken. And from that time he did not only quit his command in the army, but declined their councils, and remained for the most part in the country; where he censured their proceedings, and had his conversation most with those who were known to wish well to the king, and who gave him a great testimony, as if he would be glad to serve his majesty upon the first opportunity. The truth is, the wickedness of the succeeding time was so much superior and overshadowed all that had been done before, that they who had only been in rebellion with the earl of Essex, looked upon themselves as innocent, and justified their own allegiance, by loading the memory of Cromwell with all the reproaches and maledictions imaginable. The greatest exception that the king had to the lord Roberts, who was already of the privy council, by the recommendation and instance of the general, was, that he was generally esteemed a presbyterian, which would make him unfit for that trust for many reasons; besides that, he would not cheerfully act the king's part in restoring and advancing the government of the church, which the king was resolved to settle with all the advantages which he could contribute towards it. Nor did the lord Roberts profess to be an enemy to episcopacy.

Before the king would make any public declaration of his purpose, he sent the lord treasurer and the chancellor, who were most acquainted with him, to confer freely with him, and to let him know the good esteem his majesty had of him, and of his abilities to serve him. "That the government of Ireland would require a very steady and a prudent man: that the general did not intend to go into that kingdom, and yet would remain lieutenant thereof; from which office his majesty knew not how, nor thought it seasonable, to remove him, and therefore that the place must be supplied by a deputy; for which office the king thought him the most fit, if it were

"not for one objection, which he had given them leave to inform him of particularly, there being but one person more privy to his majesty's purpose, who was the marquis of Ormond; and that he might conclude, that the king was desirous to receive satisfaction to his objection, by the way he took to communicate it to him:" and then they told him, "that he had the reputation of being a presbyterian; and that his majesty would take his own word, whether he was or was not one."

He answered without any kind of ceremony, to which he was not devoted, or so much as acknowledging the king's favour in his inquiry, "that no presbyterian thought him to be a presbyterian, or that he loved their party. He knew them too well. That there could be no reason to suspect him to be such, but that which might rather induce men to believe him to be a good protestant, that he went constantly to church as well in the afternoons as forenoons on the Sundays, and on those days forbore to use those exercises and recreations which he used to do all the week besides." He desired them, "to assure the king, that he was so far from a presbyterian, that he believed episcopacy to be the best government the church could be subject to." They asked him then, "whether he would be willing to receive that government of deputy of Ireland, if the king were willing to confer it upon him." There he let himself to fall to an acknowledgment of the king's goodness, "that he thought him worthy of so great an honour:" but he could not conceal the disdain he had of the general's person, nor how unwilling he was to receive orders from him, or to be an officer under his command. They told him, "that there would be a necessity of a good correspondence between them, both whilst they stayed together in England, and when he should be in Ireland; but beyond that there would be no obligation upon him, for that he was to receive his commission immediately from the king, containing as ample powers as were in the lieutenant's own commission: that he was not the lieutenant's deputy, but the king's; only that his commission ceased when the lieutenant should be upon the place, which he was never like to be." Upon the whole matter, though it appeared that the superiority was a great mortification to him, he said, "that he referred himself wholly to the king, to be disposed of as he thought best for his service, and that he would behave himself with all possible fidelity to him."

Upon this report made to the king, shortly after his majesty in council declared, "that he had made the lord Roberts deputy of Ireland," and then charged him, "that he would prepare as soon as was possible for his journey thither, when those officers, who were designed by him for the civil justice of the kingdom, should be ready to attend upon him; and in the mean time, that he would send the commissioners, and all others who solicited any thing that had reference to Ireland, to wait upon him, to the end that he, being well informed of the nature and consistency of the several pretences, and of the general state of the kingdom, might be the better able to advise his majesty upon the whole matter; and to prescribe, for the entering upon it by parts, such a method, that his majesty

"might with less perplexity give his own determination in those particulars, which must chiefly depend upon himself and his direction." Thus the king gave himself a little ease, by referring the gross to the lord deputy, in whose hands we shall for the present leave it, that we may take a view of the other particulars, that more immediately related to England; though we shall be shortly called back again to Ireland, which enjoyed little repose in the hands in which it was put.

The parliament spent most of the time upon the act of indemnity, in which private passions and animosities prevailed very far; one man contending to preserve this man, who, though amongst the foulest offenders, had done him some courtesy in the time of his power; and another, with as much passion and bitterness, endeavouring to have another condemned, who could not be distinguished from the whole herd by any infamous guilt, and who had disobliged him, or refused to oblige him, when it was in his power to have done it. The king had positively excepted none from pardon, because he was to refer the whole to them; but had clearly enough expressed, that he presumed that they would not suffer any of those who had sat as judges upon his father, and condemned him to be murdered, to remain alive. And the guilty persons themselves made so little doubt of it, that they made what shift they could to make their escape into the parts beyond the seas, and many of them had transported themselves; whilst others lay concealed for other opportunities; and some were apprehended when they endeavoured to fly, and so were imprisoned.

The parliament published a proclamation, "that all who did not render themselves by a day named, should be judged as guilty, and attainted of treason;" which many consented to, conceiving it to amount to no more than a common process at law to bring men to justice. But it was no sooner out, than all they who had concealed themselves in order to be transported, rendered themselves to the speaker of the house of commons, and were by him committed to the Tower. And the house conceived itself engaged to save those men's lives, who had put themselves into their power upon that presumption. The house of peers insisted upon it in many conferences, that the proclamation could bear no such interpretation; but as it condemned all who by flying declined the justice of the kingdom, so it admitted as many as would appear to plead their own innocence, which if they could prove they would be safe. But the guilty, and with them the house of commons, declared, "that they could not but understand, that they who rendered themselves should be in a better condition than they who fled beyond the seas, which they were not in any degree, if they were put upon their trial; for to be tried and to be condemned was the same thing, since the guilt of all was equally notorious and manifest." And this kind of reasoning prevailed upon the judgments and understandings of many, who had [all] manner of detestation for the persons of the men. In the end, the house of peers, after long contests, was obliged to consent, "that all the persons who were fled, and those who had not rendered themselves, should be brought to a trial and attainted according to law, together with those who were or should be taken;" whereby they

would forfeit all their estates to the king: "but for those who had rendered themselves upon the faith of the parliament," as they called it, "they should remain in such prisons as his majesty thought fit during their lives, and neither of them be put to death without consent of parliament."

But then as by this means too many of those impious persons remained alive, and some others who were as bad as any were, upon some testimony of the general, and by other interpositions of friends upon the allegation of merit and services, preserved, with the king's consent too easily obtained, so much as from attainder; so to make some kind of amends for this unhappy lenity, they resolved to except a multitude of those they were most angry with from pardon as to their estates, and to fine others in great sums of money; when worse men, at least as bad, of either classis were exempted, as included, by the power of their friends who were present in the debate. And this contradiction and faction brought such a spirit into the house, as disturbed all other counsels; whilst men, who wished well enough to the matter proposed, opposed the passing it, to cross other men who had refused to agree with them in the pardoning or not pardoning of persons: which dissension divided the house into great animosities. And without doubt, the king's credit and authority was at that time so great in the house of commons, that he could have taken full vengeance upon many of those with whom he had reason to be offended, by causing them to be exempted from pardon, or exposed to some damage of estate. And there wanted not many, who used all the credit they had, to inflame the king to that retaliation and revenge.

And it was then and more afterwards imputed to the chancellor, that there were no more exceptions in the act of indemnity, and that he laboured more for expedition of passing it, and for excluding any extraordinary exceptions; which reproach he neither then nor ever after was solicitous to throw off. But his authority and credit, though he at that time was generally esteemed, could not have prevailed in that particular, (wherein there were few men without some temptation to anger and indignation, and none more than he, who had undergone injuries and indignities from many men then alive,) but that it was very evident to the king himself, and to all dispassioned men, that no person was so much concerned, though all were enough, that there should be no longer delay in passing the act of indemnity, as the king himself was; there being no progress made in any other business, by the disorder and ill humour that grew out of that. There was no attempt to be made towards disbanding the army, until the act of indemnity should be first passed; nor could they begin to pay off the navy, till they were ready to pay off the arrears of the army. This was the "remora" in all the counsels; whilst there wanted not those, who infused [jealousies] into the minds of the soldiers, and into the city, "that the king had no purpose ever to consent to the act of indemnity," which was looked upon as the only universal security for the peace of the nation: and till that was done, no man could say that he dwelt at home, nor the king think himself in any good posture of security. And therefore no man was more impatient, and more instant in

council and parliament, to remove all causes which obstructed that work, [than the chancellor.] And he put the king in mind, "how much he had opposed some clauses and expressions which were in the declaration and letters from Breda," which notwithstanding were inserted, as most agreeable to the general's advice; and that he then said to his majesty, in the presence of those who were consulted with, "that it would come to his turn to insist upon the performance of those concessions, which he was against the making of, when many others would oppose them, which may be at that present would advise much larger:" which his majesty acknowledged to be true, and confessed upon many occasions. And the chancellor did in truth conceive, that the king's taking advantage of the good inclinations of the house to him, and to dispose them to fall upon many persons, who were men of another classis to those he desired might be excepted, (and of which prospect there could be no end, every man having cause to fear his own security by what he saw his neighbour suffer, who was as innocent,) was directly contrary to the sense and integrity of his declaration, and therefore to be avoided; and that all things were to be done by him that might facilitate and advance the disbanding, that so the peace of the kingdom might again depend upon the civil justice and magistrates thereof. And all men who understood in how ticklish a condition it then stood, concurred in that advice.

And this was the reason that the king used his authority, and they who were trusted by him their credit and interest, for the suppressing those animosities, which had irreconciled many persons between themselves who were of public affections, by the nomination of particular persons whose estates should be made liable to penalties, the imposing of which must again depend upon the parliament; which, besides the consumption of time, which was very precious, would renew and continue the same spirit of division, which already had done too much mischief, and would inevitably have done much more. But by this temper and composition the act of indemnity was finished, passed the house of peers, and received the royal assent, to the wonderful joy of the people. And present orders were given for the disbanding the army and payment of the navy, as fast as money came in, for which several acts of parliament were formerly passed. And by the former delays, the intolerable burden both of army and navy lay upon the kingdom near six months after the king's return, and amounted not to so little as one hundred thousand pounds by the month; which raised a vast debt, that was called the king's, who had incessantly desired to have it prevented from the first hour of his arrival.

After the bill of indemnity was passed, with some other as important acts for the public peace, (as the preserving those proceedings, which had been in courts of justice for near twenty years, from being ravelled into again as void or invalid, because they had been before judges not legally qualified, which would have brought an intolerable burden upon the subject; and some other acts,) the parliament was willing to adjourn for some time; that their members, who were appointed to attend the disbanding the army in several places, and the payment of the navy, might be absent

with less inconvenience: and the king was as willing to have some ease. And so it was adjourned for a month or six weeks; in which time, and even in the middle of the disbanding, there happened a very strange accident, that was evidence enough of the temper or distemper of the time.

The trial of those infamous persons who were in prison for the murder of the king (and who were appointed by the act of indemnity to be proceeded against with rigour, and who could not be tried till that vote was passed) was no sooner over, and the persons executed, with some of the same crew, who being in Holland and Flanders were, by the permission and connivance of those magistrates, taken by the king's ministers there, and brought into England, and put to death with their companions; but the people of that classis who were called Fanatics, discovered a wonderful malignity in their discourses, and vows of revenge for their innocent friends. They caused the speeches they had made at their deaths to be printed, in which there was nothing of repentance or sorrow for their wickedness, but a justification of what they [had] done for the cause of God; and had several meetings to consult of the best way to attempt their revenge, and of bringing themselves into the same posture of authority and power which they formerly had. The disbanding the army seemed a good expedient to contribute to their ends: and they doubted not, but as fast as they disbanded they would repair to them, which they could not so well do till then, because of the many new officers who had been lately put over them; and to that purpose they had their agents in several regiments to appoint rendezvouses. They had conference of assassinating the general, "who," they said, "had betrayed them, and was the only person who kept the army together."

Matters being in this state, and some of their companions every day taken and imprisoned upon discovery of their purposes, the king being gone to Portsmouth, and the parliament adjourned, they appointed a rendezvous in several places of London at twelve of the clock in the night; the same being assigned to their friends in the country. They had not patience to make use of the silence of the night, till they could draw their several bodies together. But their several rendezvouses no sooner met, than they fell into noise and exclamations, "that all men should take arms to assist the Lord Jesus Christ;" and when the watch came towards them, they resolutely defended themselves, and killed many of those who came to assault them: so that the alarm was in a short time spread over the city, and from thence was carried to Whitehall, where the duke of York was and the general, with a regiment of guards and some horse, which were quickly drawn together.

Sir Richard Browne was then lord mayor of London, a very stout and vigilant magistrate, who was equally feared and hated by all the seditious party, for his extraordinary zeal and resolution in the king's service. Nor was there any man in England, who did raze out the memory of what he had formerly done amiss, with a more signal acknowledgment, or a more frank and generous engagement against all manner of factions, which opposed or obstructed his majesty's service; which made him terrible and odious to

all; and to none more than to the presbyterians, who had formerly seduced him. Upon the alarm, which of itself had scattered many of the conspirators as they were going to or were upon the places to which they were assigned, he was quickly upon his horse, accompanied with as many soldiers, officers, and friends, as he could speedily draw together; and with those marched towards that place where the most noise was made; and in his way met many who ran from the fury of those, "who," they said, "were in arms;" and reported "their numbers to be very great; and that they killed all who opposed them." And true it was they had killed some, and charged a body of the trainbands with so much courage, that it retired with disorder. Yet when the mayor came, he found the number so small, not above thirty men, that he commanded them to lay down their arms; which when they refused to do, he charged them briskly. And they defended themselves with that courage and despair, that they killed and wounded many of his men; and very few of them yielded or would receive quarter, till they were overborne with numbers or fainted with wounds, and so were taken and laid hands on.

Their captain, who was to command the whole party in London, and had for his device in his ensign these words, *THE LORD GOD AND GIDEON*, was a wine-cooper, of a competent estate, a very strong man, who defended himself with his sword, and killed some of those who assaulted him, till he fell with his wounds, as some others about him did; all whom he had persuaded, that they should be able to do as much upon their enemies, as Jonathan and his armour-bearer did upon the Philistines, or any others in the Old Testament had upon those whom the Lord delivered into their hands. Nor could they find, upon all his examinations, that there was any other formed design, than what must probably attend the declaration of the army, of which he was assured. He and the other hurt men were committed to the gaol, and to the special charge of the surgeons, that they might be preserved for a trial.

The next morning the council met early, and having received an account of all that had passed, they could not but conclude, that this so extravagant attempt could not be founded upon the rashness of one man, who had been always looked upon as a man of sense and reason. And thereupon they thought it necessary to suspend the disbanding the general's regiment of foot, which had the guard of Whitehall, and was by the order of parliament to have been disbanded the next day; and writ to the king "to approve of what they had done, and to appoint it to be continued till further order;" which his majesty consented to. And this was the true ground and occasion of the continuing and increasing the guard for his majesty's person; which no man at that time thought to be more than was necessary. Order was given for the speedy trial of Venner and his accomplices; many whereof, with himself, would have died of their wounds, if their trial had been deferred for many days: but the surgeons' skill preserved [them] till then; where they made no other defence for themselves than what is before mentioned; nor did then, or at their deaths (there being ten or a dozen executed) make the least show of sorrow for what they had attempted.

There is no occasion of mentioning more of the



particular proceedings of this parliament; which though it met afterwards at the time appointed, and proceeded with all duty to the king, in raising great sums of money for the army and the navy, and for the payment of other great debts, which they thought themselves concerned to discharge, and which had never been incurred by the king; and likewise passed many good acts for the settling a future revenue for the crown, and a vote that they would raise that revenue to twelve hundred thousand pounds yearly: yet they gave not any thing to the king himself (all the rest was received and paid by those who were deputed by them to that purpose) but seventy thousand pounds towards the discharge of his coronation, which he had appointed to be in the beginning of May following. And this seventy thousand pounds was all the money the king received, or could dispose of, in a full year after his coming to London; so that there could not but be a very great debt contracted in that time; for the payment whereof he must afterwards provide as well as he could. I say, I shall not mention more of the particulars of that parliament, because it was foreseen by all, that though their meeting had produced all those good effects, in the restoring the king, disbanding the army, and many other things, which could be wished; yet that the lasting validity of all they had done would depend upon another parliament, to be legally summoned by the king, with all those formalities which this wanted; and the confirmation of that parliament would be necessary for the people's security, that they should enjoy all that this had granted: so that when I shall speak again of the proceedings of parliament, it will be of that parliament which will be called by his majesty's writ.

Only before we dissolve this, and because there hath been so little said of the license and distemper in religion, which his majesty exceedingly apprehended would have received some countenance from the parliament, we shall remember, that the king having by his declaration from Breda referred the composing and settling all that related to the government of the church to the parliament, so that he could do nothing towards it himself: but by his gracious reception of the old bishops who were still alive, and his own practice in his devotions and the government of his royal chapel, [he] declared sufficiently what should be done in other places. The party of the presbyterians was very numerous in the house of commons; and had before the king's return made a committee to devise such a government for the church, as might either totally exclude bishops, or make them little superior to the rest of the clergy. But the spirit of the time had of itself elected many members, notwithstanding the injunctions sent out with the writs, and expressly contrary to such [injunctions], of a very different alloy; who, together with such as were chosen after his majesty's return, were numerous enough to obstruct and check any prevalence of that party, though not of power enough to compel them to consent to sober counsels. And so the business was kept still at the committee, now and then getting ground, and then cast back again, as the sober members attended; so that no report was brought to the house from thence, which might have given the king some trouble. And by degrees the heads of that party grew weary of the

warmth of their prosecution, which they saw not like to produce any notable fruit that they cared for. The king desired no more, than that they should do nothing; being sure that in a little time he should himself do the work best. And so in September, when he adjourned them, he took notice, "that they had offered him no advice towards the composing the dissensions in religion; and therefore he would try, in that short adjournment of the parliament, what he could do towards it himself."

And thereupon he was himself present many days, and for many hours each day, at a conference between many of the London ministers, who were the heads of the presbyterian party, with an equal number of the orthodox clergy, who had been for so many years deprived of all that they had: which conference was held at Worcester house in the chancellor's lodgings, to consider what ceremonies should be retained in the church, and what alterations should be made in the liturgy that had been formerly used; and the substance of this conference was afterwards published in print. The king upon this published a declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, wherein he took notice "of the conference that had been in his own presence, and that he had commanded the clergy of both sides to meet together at the Savoy, in the master's lodgings, and, if it were possible, to agree upon such an act of uniformity, that might be confirmed in parliament." And in the mean time he signified his pleasure, "that nobody should be punished for not using The Book of Common Prayer which had been formerly established, or for discontinuing the surplice, and the sign of the cross; and that all who desired to conform to the old practice in the using them all, should be at the same liberty:" which declaration was read to, and put into the hands of the divines of both sides for some days; and then they were again heard before his majesty at Worcester [house]. And though it cannot be denied, that either party did desire that somewhat might be put in, and somewhat left out, in neither of which they were gratified; yet it is most true, they were both well content with it, or seemed so. And the declaration was published in his majesty's name before the return of the parliament.

Here I cannot but instance two acts of the presbyterians, by which, if their humour and spirit were not enough discovered and known, their want of ingenuity and integrity would be manifest; and how impossible it is for men who would not be deceived to depend on either. When the declaration had been delivered to the ministers, there was a clause in it, in which the king declared "his own constant practice of The Common Prayer; and that he would take it well from those who used it in their churches, that the common people might be again acquainted with the piety, gravity, and devotion of it; and which he thought would facilitate their living in a good neighbourhood together;" or words to that effect. When they had considered the whole some days, Mr. Calamy and some other ministers, deputed by the rest, came to the chancellor to redeliver it to his hands. They acknowledged "the king had been very gracious to them in his concessions; though he had [not] granted all that some of their brethren wished, yet they were



"contented:" only desired him, "that he would prevail with the king, that the clause mentioned before might be left out; which," they protested, "was moved by them for the king's own end, and that they might shew their obedience to him, and resolution to do him service. For they were resolved themselves to do what the king wished; and first to reconcile the people, who for near twenty years had not been acquainted with that form, by informing them that it contained much piety and devotion, and might be lawfully used; and then that they would begin to use it themselves, and by degrees accustom the people to it: which," they said, "would have a better effect, than if the clause were in the declaration; for they should be thought in their persuasions to comply only with the king's recommendation, and to merit from his majesty, and not to be moved from the conscience of the duty; and so they should [take] that occasion to manifest their zeal to please the king. And they feared there would be other ill consequences from it, by the wardness of the common people, who were to be treated with skill, and would not be prevailed upon all at once." The king was to be present the next morning, to hear the declaration read the last time before both parties; and then the chancellor told him, in the presence of all the rest, what the ministers had desired; which they again enlarged upon with the same protestations of their resolutions, in such a manner, that his majesty believed they meant honestly; and the clause was left out. But the declaration was no sooner published, than, observing that the people were generally satisfied with it, they sent their emissaries abroad: and many of their letters were intercepted; and particularly a letter from Mr. Calamy to a leading minister in Somersetshire; whereby he advised and entreated him, "that he and his friends would continue and persist in the use of 'The Directory; and by no means admit The Common Prayer in their churches; for that he made no question but that they should prevail further with the king, than he had yet consented to in his declaration."

The other instance was, that as soon as the declaration was printed, the king received a petition in the name of the ministers of London, and many others of the same opinion with them, who had subscribed that petition; amongst whom none of those who had attended the king in those conferences had their names. They gave his majesty humble thanks "for the grace he had vouchsafed to shew in his declaration, which they received as an earnest of his future goodness and condescension in granting all those other concessions, which were absolutely necessary for the liberty of their conscience;" and desired, with much importunity and ill manners, "that the wearing the surplice, and the using the cross in baptism, might be absolutely abolished out of the church, as being scandalous to all men of tender consciences." From those two instances, all men may conclude, that nothing but a severe execution of the law can ever prevail upon that class of men to conform to government.

When the parliament came together again after their adjournment, they gave the king public thanks for his declaration, and never proceeded further in the matter of religion; of which the

king was very glad: only some of the leaders brought a bill into the house "for the making that declaration a law;" which was suitable to their other acts of ingenuity, to keep the church for ever under the same indulgence, and without any settlement; which being quickly perceived, there was no further progress in it. And the king, upon the nine and twentieth of December, after having given them an ample testimony of their kindness towards him, which he magnified with many gracious expressions, and his royal thanks for the settling his revenue, and payment of the public debts, promised "to send out writs for the calling another parliament, which he doubted not would confirm all that they had done; and in which he hoped many of them would be elected again to serve:" and so dissolved the present parliament with as general an applause as hath been known; though it was quickly known, that the revenue they had settled was not in value equal to what they had computed. Nor did the monies they granted in any degree arise to enough to pay either the arrears to the army or the debts to the navy; both which must be the work of the ensuing parliament; which was directed to meet upon the eighth of May following: before which time, the king made choice of worthy and learned men to supply the vacant sees of bishops, which had been void so many years, and who were consecrated accordingly before the parliament met. And before we come to that time, some particular occurrences of moment must be first inserted.

When the king arrived in England, monsieur Bordeaux was there ambassador from the king of France, and had resided ambassador there about three years in Cromwell's time, and lived in marvellous lustre, very acceptable and dear to Cromwell, having treated all the secret alliance between the cardinal and him; and was even trusted by the protector in many of his counsels, especially to discover any conspiracy against him; for he lived jovially, made great entertainments to lords and ladies without distinction, and amongst them would frequently let [fall] some expressions of compassion and respect towards the king. After Cromwell's death, his credentials were quickly renewed to Richard his successor, with whom all the former treaties were again established. And when he was put down, he was not long without fresh credit to the commonwealth that succeeded: and so upon all vicissitudes was supplied with authority to endear his master's affection to the present powers, and to let them know, "how well the cardinal was disposed to join the power of France to their interest." And his dexterity had been such towards all, that the cardinal thought fit to send him new credentials against the time of the king's coming to London. And within few days after, when he had provided a new equipage to appear in more glory than he had ever yet done, he sent to desire an audience from the king.

The earl of St. Alban's was newly come from France; and to him Bordeaux had applied himself, who was always very ready to promote any thing that might be grateful to that crown. But the king would not resolve any thing in the point, till he had conferred upon it with the council: where it being debated, there was an unanimous consent, (the earl of St. Alban's only excepted, who exceedingly laboured the contrary,) "that it

"could not stand with his majesty's honour to receive him as ambassador, who had transacted so many things to his disadvantage, and shifted his face so often, always in conjunction with his greatest enemies; and that it was a great disrespect in the crown of France towards his majesty in sending such a person, who they could not believe (without great undervaluing the king) could be acceptable to him." The king himself was of that opinion; and instead of assigning him a day for his audience, as was desired, he sent him an express command to depart the kingdom. And when he afterwards, with much importunity, desired only to be admitted as a stranger to see his majesty, and to speak to him, his majesty as positively refused to admit him to his presence. All which was imputed principally to the chancellor, who had with some warmth opposed his being received as ambassador; and when he sent by a person well enough esteemed by the chancellor, "that he would receive a visit from him," he expressly refused to see him. Whoever gave the advice, the king had great honour by it in France itself, which declared no kind of resentment of it; and gave poor Bordeaux such a reception, after having served them five years with notable success, and spent his whole estate in the service, that in a short time he died heart-broken in misery, and uninquired after. And forthwith that king sent the count of Soissons, the most illustrious person in France, very nobly accompanied and bravely attended, as his ambassador, to congratulate his majesty's happy restoration, with all the compliments of friendship and esteem that can be imagined.

There was another ambassador at the same time in London, who might be thought to stand in the same predicament with Bordeaux, though in truth their cases were very different, and who received a very different treatment. That was the ambassador of Portugal, who had been sent by that crown to finish a treaty that had been begun by another ambassador with Cromwell, who had been so ill used, that they had put his brother publicly to death for a rash action in which a gentleman had been killed; upon which he had got leave from his master to quit the kingdom. And this other ambassador had been sent in his [room]; and was forced to consent and submit to very hard conditions, as a ransom for that king's generosity in assisting the king in his lowest condition, by receiving prince Rupert with his majesty's fleet in Lisbon, and so preserving them from a fleet much superior in number and goodness of the ships, that pursued him by commission from Cromwell: who took that action so to heart, that he made war upon that kingdom, took their ships, obstructed their trade, and blocked up all their ports; whilst the Spanish army invaded them at land, and took their towns in the very heart of the kingdom. And to redeem that poor king from that terrible persecution, that treaty had been submitted to; in which, besides the yearly payment of a great sum of money from Portugal, which was to continue for many years, other great advantages in trade had been granted to England. The king made no scruple of receiving this ambassador with a very good countenance; and as soon as he got his credentials, gave him a public audience, with all the formality and ceremony that in those cases are usual and necessary.

And because in some time after a negotiation was set on foot of the highest importance, and [had] its effect in the king's marriage with the queen; and because, how acceptable soever both that treaty and conclusion of it was then to the whole kingdom, that affair was afterwards imputed to the chancellor, and in the opinion of many proved to be the cause and ground of all his misfortunes; I shall here set down all the particulars that introduced and attended that negotiation and treaty, with all the circumstances, some whereof may appear too light, and yet are not without weight, to make it appear to all the world, how far the chancellor was from being the author of that counsel, (and if he had been, there was no reason to be ashamed of it,) and that he did nothing before, in, or after that treaty, but what was necessary for a man in his condition, and what very well became a person of that trust and confidence he was in with his master.

It hath been remembered before, that upon the publication of the duke's marriage, and the reconciliation upon that affair, the chancellor was very solicitous that the king himself would marry; that he desired the marquis of Ormond very earnestly to advise him to it: and himself often put his majesty in mind of what he had said to him in France, when the duke was persuaded to treat about a marriage with mademoiselle de Longueville, "that his majesty was by no means to consent, that his heir apparent should marry before himself were married," for which he had given some reasons; for which at that time he underwent great displeasures. And this discourse he had held often with the king; and sure no man in England more impatiently desired to see him married than he did. Indeed it was no easy matter to find a person in all respects so fit, that a man would take upon him to propose in particular; nor did he think himself in many respects, and with reference to the accidents which might probably or possibly fall out, fit, if he could have thought of one, to be the author of the proposition.

One day the king came to the chancellor's house in the afternoon; and being alone with him, his majesty told him, "that he was come to confer with him upon an argument that he would well like, which was about his own marriage;" he said, "the lord chamberlain" (who was then earl of Manchester) "had held a discourse with him some days past, that seemed to have somewhat in it that was worth the thinking of. That he had told him, the Portugal ambassador had made him a visit, and having some conference with him concerning the king, towards whose person he professed a profound respect, he said it was time for his majesty to think of marriage; which nothing could keep him from, but the difficulty of finding a fit consort for him. That there was in Portugal a princess, in her beauty, person, and age, very fit for him, and who would have a portion suitable to her birth and quality. That it is true she was a catholic, and would never depart from her religion; but was totally without that meddling and activity in her nature, which many times made those of that religion troublesome and restless, when they came into a country where another religion was practised. That she had been bred under a wise mother, who was still regent in that kingdom, who had

"carefully infused another spirit into her, and kept her from affecting to have any hand in business, and which she had never been acquainted with; so that she would look only to enjoy her own religion, and not at all concern herself in what others professed. That he had authority to make the proposition to the king, with such particularities as included many advantages above any, he thought, which could accompany any overture of that kind from another prince. To which the chamberlain had added, that there could be no question, but that a protestant queen would in all respects be looked upon as the greatest blessing to the kingdom: but if such a one could not be found, he did really believe, that a princess of this temper and spirit would be the best of all catholics. That the trade of Portugal was great here, and that England had a more beneficial commerce with that crown than with any other: which had induced Cromwell to make that peace, when he had upon the matter forsworn it; and the making it had been the most popular action he had ever performed."

His majesty said, "that he had only answered the chamberlain, that he would think of it. But that the very morning of this day, the ambassador of Portugal had been with him, and without any formality had entered into the same discourse, and said all that the lord chamberlain had mentioned: to which he added, that he had authority to offer to his majesty five hundred thousand pounds sterling in ready money, as a portion with the infanta; and likewise to assign over, and for ever to annex to the crown of England, the possession of Tangier upon the African shore in the Mediterranean sea, a place of that strength and importance, as would be of infinite benefit and security to the trade of England; and likewise to grant to the English nation a free trade in Brasil and in the East Indies, which they had hitherto denied to all nations but themselves. And for their security to enjoy that privilege, they would put into his majesty's hands and possession, and for ever annex to the crown of England, the island of Bombayne, (with the towns and castles therein, which are within a very little distance from Brasil;) which hath within itself a very good and spacious harbour, and would be a vast improvement to the East India trade. And those two places," he said, "of Tangier and Bombayne, might reasonably be valued above the portion in money." The king mentioned all the discourse as a matter that pleased him, and might prove of notable advantage to the kingdom; and said, "that he had wished the ambassador to confer with him (the chancellor) upon it;" and then asked him "what he thought of it;" to which he answered, "that he had not heard of it enough to think of it," (for he had never heard or thought of it before that moment;) and therefore he should not be able to do more when the ambassador came to him, than to hear what he said, and report it to his majesty. For the present he only asked, whether his majesty had given over all thoughts of a protestant wife:" to which he answered, "he could find none such, except amongst his own subjects; and amongst them he had seen none that pleased him enough to that end." And observing the

chancellor to look fixedly upon him, he said, "that he would never think more of the princess of Orange's daughter, her mother having used him so ill when he proposed it; and if he should now think of it, he knew his mother would never consent to it, and that it would break his sister's heart: therefore he had resolved never to entertain that thought again. And that he saw no objection against this overture from Portugal, that would not occur [in] any other, where the advantages would not be so many or so great."

What could the chancellor say? What objection could he make, why this overture should not be hearkened to? And what would the king have thought, or what might he not have thought, if he had advised him to reject this motion? He gave him no other answer for the present, than "that he desired nothing more in this world, than to see his majesty well married; and he was very confident that all his good subjects were of the same mind: and therefore there must be some very visible inconvenience in [it], when he should dissuade him not to embrace such an opportunity. That he would be ready to confer with the Portugal ambassador when he came, and then he should entertain his majesty further upon that subject." The ambassador came to him, repeated what he said and proposed to the king, with little other enlargement, than concerning the benefit England would receive by the two places of Tangier and Bombayne, and the description of their situation and strength; of all which the chancellor gave his majesty a faithful account, without presuming to mingle with it a word of his own advice. The king appeared abundantly pleased, and willing to proceed further; and asked "what was next [to be] done:" to which he answered, "that it was a matter of too great importance for him to deliver any opinion upon; indeed too great for his majesty himself to resolve, upon the private advice of any one man, how agreeable soever it should be to his own inclination and judgment." And therefore he desired him "that he would call to him four or five persons, whom he thought to be the most competent considerers of such an affair, and consult it very maturely with them, before he entertained any more conference with the ambassador. For whatsoever he should [resolve] upon it, it ought yet to be kept in all possible secrecy: if it should be thought fit to be rejected, it ought to be without the least noise, and the least reflection upon the overture, which had been made with all the possible demonstration of esteem: if it should appear worthy of entertainment and acceptance, it would still require the same secrecy; till the value and consequence of all the particulars proposed by the ambassador might be fully examined and weighed, and a more particular and substantial assurance given for the accomplishment, than the bare word of the ambassador."

The king appointed that the lord treasurer, the marquis of Ormond, the lord chamberlain, and secretary Nicholas, should be together at the chancellor's house, where his majesty would likewise be and propose the business to them. And accordingly he did relate to them the whole series of what had passed, and required them "with all possible freedom to deliver [their] opinions, and to consider whether there was any other

"princess or lady in their view, with whom he might marry more advantageously." He added, "that he had spoken both with the earl of Sandwich and sir John Lawson occasionally and merely as loose discourse, what place Tangier was, which he pointed to in the map, and whether it was well known to them: and they both said, they knew it well from sea. But that sir John Lawson had been in it, and said, it was a place of that importance, that if it were in the hands of the Hollanders, they would quickly make a mole, which they might easily do; that now ships could not ride there in such a wind," which his majesty named; "but if there were a mole, they would ride securely in all weather; and they would keep the place against all the world, and give the law to all the trade of the Mediterranean:" with which discourse his majesty seemed very much affected. After many questions and much debate, and some of the lords wishing that it were possible to get a queen that was a protestant, and one of them naming the daughter of Harry prince of Orange, of whom they had heard some mention when his majesty was beyond the seas, and of whose elder sister (then married to the elector of Brandenburg) there had been some discourse in the life of the late king; (but his majesty quickly declared, "that he had very unanswerable reasons why he could not entertain that alliance:") all the lords unanimously agreed, "that there was no catholic princess in Europe, whom his majesty could with so much reason and advantage marry, as the infanta of Portugal. That the portion proposed in money, setting aside the places, was much greater, almost double to what any king had ever received in money by any marriage. And the places seemed to be situated very usefully for trade, the increase whereof his majesty was to endeavour with all possible solicitude; which could only make this nation flourish, and recover the interest they had lost, especially in the Indies and in the Mediterranean, by the late troubles and distractions, and the advantage the Dutch had thereby gotten over the English in those trades, as well as in other." The king approved all that had been said, and thereupon appointed all those lords with the same secrecy to enter into a treaty with the ambassador; which was begun between them accordingly.

The treaty neither was nor could be a secret; nor was there any thing more generally desired, than that a treaty of alliance and commerce should be made with Portugal, that the trade might continue with security: and it was very grateful to every body to know, that there was a committee appointed to that purpose. But the proposition towards a marriage was still a secret, not communicated to any, nor so much as suspected by the Spanish ambassador, who did all he could to obstruct the very treaty of alliance; of whose proceedings there will be occasion to make mention anon by itself. The ambassador offered "to renew the treaty (if that of the marriage was consented to 'in terminis,') that had been made [with] Cromwell, without being so much as exempted from that yearly payment, which had been imposed upon them for assisting prince Rupert," and had been assigned to the merchants to satisfy the damages they had sustained by prince Rupert; and the release whereof must

have obliged the king to pay it himself: and therefore that offer was looked upon as a generous thing. And the whole treaty, which they had not yet perused, was generally looked upon and believed to be the most advantageous to England, that had been ever entered into with any crown.

It had been foreseen from the first motion towards this marriage, that it would be a very hard [matter] with such alliance, to avoid such a conjunction with Portugal, as would produce a war with Spain; which the king had no mind to be engaged in. For besides that he had received some civilities from that king, after a world of disobligations, his resident at Madrid, sir Harry Bennet, had consented in his majesty's name, that the old treaty which had been made between the two crowns in the year 1630, should be again observed; of which more anon. But his majesty's firm resolution at that time was, wholly to intend the composing or subduing the distempers and ill humours in his three kingdoms and all his other dominions; and till that should be fully done, he would have no difference with any of his neighbours, nor be engaged in any war which he could avoid: a resolution very prudently made; and if it had been adhered to, much evil which succeeded the departure from it, might have been prevented.

But the lords found, upon perusal of the treaty, one article (which was indeed the only article that made any show of benefit and advantage to Portugal) by which Cromwell was obliged to assist Portugal when they should require it, with six thousand foot, to be levied in England at their charge. And now the ambassador urged, "that in consideration of the marriage, the portion, the delivery of those places, and his majesty's own interest by that marriage in Portugal, which upon the death of the king and his brother must devolve to his majesty; he would take upon him the protection of that kingdom, and denounce war with Spain:" to which his majesty warmly and positively answered, "that he would admit no such engagement; that he was not in a condition to make a war, till he could not avoid it. He would do what was lawful for him to do; he could choose a wife for himself, and he could help a brother and ally with a levy of men at their charge, without entering into a war with any other prince. And if Spain should, either upon his marriage or such supply, declare a war against him, he would defend himself as well as he could, and do as much damage as he could to Spain; and then that he would apply such assistance to Portugal, as should be most advantageous to it: and that he should not be willing to see it reduced under the obedience of Spain for many reasons. That in the mean time he would assist them with the same number as Cromwell had promised, and transport them at his own charge thither; provided that as soon as they were landed, they should be received in the king of Portugal's pay:" which offer the king made upon a reason not then communicated, and which will be mentioned hereafter; besides that he had such a body of men ready for such a service, and which could with much more security and little more charge be transported to Portugal, than be disbanded in the place where they were.

When the ambassador found that the king would not be persuaded to enter directly into a

war with Spain, though he offered "to put Barcelona into his hands, of which don Joseph Margarita," (a person who had conducted the revolt of that city, and all the rebellion which had been lately in Catalonia,) "then in Paris, should come over and give unquestionable assurance," (all which, with many other propositions of the same nature, his majesty totally rejected;) he concluded, that the alliance and marriage would give a present reputation to Portugal, and make impression upon the spirits of Spain, and that a war would hereafter fall out unavoidably: and so accepted what the king had offered. And then there remained nothing to be done, but to give unquestionable security to the king, for the performance of all the particulars which had been promised; and for which there appeared yet no other warrant, than letters and instructions to the ambassador from the queen regent. And for further satisfaction therein, the ambassador offered "presently to pass into Portugal, and doubted not, in as short a time as could be expected, to return with such power and authority, and such a full concession of what had been proposed, as should be very satisfactory:" which his majesty well liked; and writ himself to the queen regent and to the king such letters, as signified "his full resolution for the marriage, if all the particulars promised by the ambassador in writing should be made good;" and writ likewise a letter with his own hand to the infanta, as to a lady whom he looked upon as his wife; and assigned two ships to attend the ambassador, who immediately, and with some appearance or pretence of discontent or dissatisfaction, (that the secret might be the less discovered,) embarked with all his family for the river of Lisbon. And to this time the chancellor had never mentioned any particular advice of his own to the king, more than his concurrence with the rest of the lords; nor in truth had any of them shewed more inclination towards it, than the king himself had done, who seemed marvellously pleased, and had spoken much more in private with the ambassador upon it, than any of the lords had done, and of some particulars which they were never acquainted with.

That I may not break off the thread of this discourse till I bring it to a conclusion, nor leave out any important particular that related to that subject, I shall in this place make mention of a little cloud or eclipse, raised by the activity and restlessness of the earl of Bristol, that seemed to interpose and darken the splendour of this treaty, and to threaten the life thereof, by extinguishing it in the bud: upon which occasion the chancellor thought himself obliged to appear more for it, than he had hitherto done; and which afterwards (how unjustly soever) was turned to his reproach. This earl, (who throughout the whole course of his life frequently administered variety of discourse, that could not be applied to any other man,) upon the defeat of sir George Booth, when all the king's hopes in England seemed desperate, had not the patience to expect another change that presently succeeded; but presently changed his religion, and declared himself a Roman catholic, that he might with undoubted success apply himself to the service of Spain, to which the present good acceptance he had with don Juan was the greater encouragement. He gave account by a particular letter to the pope of this his conversion,

which was delivered by the general of the Jesuits; in return of which he received a customary brief from his sanctity, with the old piece of scripture never left out in those occasions, "Tu conversus converte fratres tuos."

The noise and scandal of this defection and apostasy in a sworn counsellor of the king, and one of his secretaries of state, made it necessary for the king to remove him from both those trusts, which he had made himself incapable to execute by the laws of England, and which he proposed to himself to enjoy with the more advantage by his change; and believed that the king, who seemed to have no other hopes towards his restoration than in catholic princes, would not think this a season in ordinary policy to disgrace a servant of his eminency and relation, for no other reason than his becoming catholic, by which he should have so many opportunities to serve his master. And this he had the confidence to urge to the king, before he was obliged to deliver the signet, and to forbear the being present any more in council. And this displacing and remove he imputed entirely to his old friend the chancellor, (with whom till that minute he had for many years held a very firm friendship,) and the more, because he received from his majesty the same countenance he had before, without any reprehension for what he had done; the king not being at all surprised with his declaration, because he had long known that he was very indifferent in all matters of religion, and looked upon the outward profession of any, as depending wholly upon the convenience or discommodity that might be enjoyed by it. And with such discourses he had too much entertained the king, who never would speak seriously with him upon that subject. And truly his own relation of the manner of his conversion, with all the circumstances, and the discourse of an ignorant old Jesuit, whom he perfectly contemned, and of a simple good woman, the abbess of a convent, which contributed to it, was so ridiculous, and administered such occasion of mirth, that his majesty thought laughing at him to be the best reproof. And the earl bore that so well and gratefully from the king, and from his other familiar friends too, (for he dissembled his taking any thing ill of the chancellor,) and contributed so much himself to the mirth, that he was never better company than upon that argument: and any man would have believed, that he had not a worse opinion of the religion he had forsaken, or of any other, by his becoming Roman catholic.

When the king made his journey to Fuentarabia, to the treaty between the two crowns, the earl of Bristol's irresistible importunity prevailed with him to permit him to go likewise, though his majesty had received advertisement from sir Harry Bennet, that don Lewis de Haro desired that he might not come with his majesty thither. The least part of the mischief he did in that journey was, that he prevailed with the king to make so many diversions and delays in it, that the treaty was concluded before he came thither, and he was very near being disappointed of all the fruit he had proposed to himself to receive from it. However it was finished so much the better, that he left the earl behind him; who, in the short time of his stay there, had so far insinuated himself into the grace and good opinion of don

Lewis de Haro, who came with all the prejudice and detestation imaginable towards him, (as he had to his extraordinary parts a marvellous faculty of getting himself believed,) that he was well content that he should go with him to Madrid, where the king, upon the memory of his father, (who had deserved well from that crown, or rather had suffered much for not having deserved ill,) received him graciously. And there he resided in the resident's house, who had been his servant, in such a repose as was agreeable to his fancy, that he might project his own fortune; which was the only thing his heart was set upon, and of which he despaired in his own country.

The news of the king's miraculous restoration quickly arrived at Madrid, and put an end to the earl's further designs, believing he could not do better abroad than he might do in his own country; and so he undertook his journey through France, laden with many obligations from that court, and arrived at London about the time that the ambassador was embarked for Portugal. The king of Spain had, soon after the king's arrival in England, sent the prince of Lygnes with a very splendid ambassage to congratulate with his majesty, about the time that the count of Soissons came from France on the same errand. And after his return, the baron of Batteville was sent from Spain as ordinary ambassador, a man born in Burgundy in the Spanish quarters, and bred a soldier; in which profession he was an officer of note, and at that time was governor of St. Sebastian's and of that province. He seemed a rough man, and to have more of the camp, but in truth knew the intrigues of a court better than most Spaniards; and, except when his passion surprised him, wary and cunning in his negotiation. He lived with less reservation and more jollity than the ministers of that crown used to do; and drew such of the court to his table and conversation, who he observed were loud talkers, and confident enough in the king's presence.

In the first private audience he had, he delivered a memorial to his majesty; in which he required "the delivery of the island of Jamaica to his master, it having been taken by his rebel subjects contrary to the treaty of peace between the two crowns; and likewise that his majesty would cause Dunkirk and Mardike to be restored to his catholic majesty, they having not only been taken contrary to that treaty, but when his majesty was entertained in that king's dominions with all courtesy and respect." And he likewise required, in the king his master's name, "that the king would not give any assistance, nor enter into any treaty of alliance with Portugal: for that, the same as the rest, was directly contrary to the last treaty, which was now again revived and stood in force by the declaration of his majesty's resident at Madrid;" which was the first notice any of his majesty's ministers had of any such declaration. But when he had delivered those memorials to the king, he never called for an answer, nor willingly entered upon the discourse of either of the subjects; but put it off merely as a thing he was to do of form once, that his master's just title might be remembered, but not to be pressed till a fitter conjuncture. For he easily discovered what answer he should receive: and so took the advantage of the license of the court, where no rules or for-

malities were yet established, (and to which the king himself was not enough inclined,) but all doors open to all persons. Which the ambassador finding, he made himself a domestic, came to the king at all hours, and spake to him when and as long as he would, without any ceremony, or desiring an audience according to the old custom; but came into the bedchamber whilst the king was dressing himself, and mingled in all discourses with the same freedom he would use in his own. And from this never heard of license, introduced by the French and the Spaniard at this time without any dislike in the king, though not permitted in any other court in Christendom, many inconveniences and mischiefs broke in, which could never after be shut out.

As soon as the earl of Bristol came to the court, he was very willing to be looked upon as wholly devoted to the Spanish interest; and so made a particular friendship with the Spanish ambassador, with whom he had a former acquaintance whilst the king had been at Fuentarabia, that he might give a testimony of his gratitude for the favours he had received so lately at Madrid. The king received him with his accustomed good countenance; and he had an excellent talent in spreading that leaf-gold very thin, that it might look much more than it was: and took pains by being always in his presence, and often whispering in his ear, and talking upon some subjects with a liberty not ingrateful, to have it believed that he was more than ordinarily acceptable to his majesty. And the king, not wary enough against those invasions, did communicate more to him of the treaty with Portugal, than he had done to any other person, except those [who] were immediately trusted in it.

The earl had always promised himself (though he knew he could not be of the council, nor in any ministry of state, by reason of his religion) that he was in so good esteem with his majesty and with most of those who were trusted by him, that he should have a great share in all foreign affairs, and should be consulted with in all matters of that kind, in regard of the long experience he had in foreign parts; which indeed amounted to no more, than a great exactness in the languages of those parts. And therefore he was surprised with the notice of this affair, and presently expressed his dislike of it, and told his majesty, "that he would be exceedingly deceived in it; that Portugal was poor, and not able to pay the portion they had promised. That now it was forsaken by France, Spain would overrun and reduce it in one year;" enlarging upon the great preparations which were made for that expedition, "of which don Lewis de Haro himself would be general, and was sure of a great party in Portugal itself, that was weary of that government: so that that miserable family had no hope, but by transporting themselves and their poor party in their ships to Brasil, and their other large territories in the East Indies, which were possessed only by Portugesees, who might possibly be willing to be subject to them. And that this was so much in the view of all men, that it was all the care Spain had to prevent it." The king did not inform him, that he had concluded any thing, and that the ambassador was gone for more ample powers to satisfy his majesty, that all that was promised should be performed.

The earl, who valued himself upon his great faculty in obstructing and puzzling any thing that was agreed upon, and in contriving whereof he had no hand, repaired to the Spanish ambassador, and informed him, under obligation of secrecy, of what treaty the king was entered upon with Portugal by the advice of the chancellor; which he hoped "that they two should find some means to break." But the ambassador's breast was not large enough to contain that secret that burned his entrance. He talked of it in all places with great passion, and then took it up as from common report, and spake to the king of it, and said, "the Portugal ambassador had in his vanity bragged of it to some catholics, and promised them great things upon it; none of which he was confident could be true, and that his majesty could never be prevailed with to consent to such a treaty, which would prove ruinous to himself and his kingdom; for the king of Spain could not but resent it to such a degree, as would bring great inconvenience to his affairs." And his majesty forbearing to give him any answer, at least not such a one as pleased him, his rage transported him to undervalue the person of the infanta. He said, "she was deformed, and had many diseases; and that it was very well known in Portugal and in Spain, that she was incapable to bear children;" and many particulars of that nature.

When he had said the same things several days to the king, the earl of Bristol took his turn again, and told the king other things which the ambassador had communicated to him in trust, and which he durst not presume to say to his majesty, and which in truth he had said himself, being concerning the person of the infanta, and her incapacity to have children; upon which he enlarged very pathetically, and said, "he would speak freely with the chancellor of it, upon whom the ill consequences of this counsel would fall." He told him, "there were many beautiful ladies in Italy, of the greatest houses; and that his majesty might take his choice of them, and the king of Spain would give a portion with her, as if she were a daughter of Spain; and the king should marry her as such." And the ambassador shortly after proposed the same thing, and enlarged much upon it. And both the earl and the ambassador conferred with the chancellor (concealing the propositions they had made concerning the Italian ladies) "as of a matter the town talked of and exceedingly disliked, the more because it was generally known, that that princess could not have any children." The king himself had informed the chancellor of all that passed from the ambassador, and of his rudeness towards the infanta, and his declaring that she could have no children; and told him, "that the earl of Bristol resolved to confer with him, and doubted not to convert him;" without seeming himself to have been moved with any thing that the ambassador or the earl had said to him: so that when they both came afterwards to him, not together but severally, and he perceived that his majesty had not to either of them imparted how far he had proceeded, (but had heard them talk as of somewhat they had taken up from public rumour, and had himself discoursed of it as sprung from such a fountain,) the chancellor did not take him-

self to be at liberty to enter into a serious debate of the matter with them; but permitted them to enjoy the pleasure of their own opinion, and to believe that either there had been no inclination to such a treaty, or that the weight of their reasons would quickly enervate it.

Whether the king grew less inclined to marry, and liked the liberty he enjoyed too well to be willing to be restrained; or whether what had been said to him of the infanta's person, and her unaptness for children, had made some impression in him; or whether the earl of Bristol's describing the persons of the Italian ladies, and magnifying their conversations (in which arguments he had naturally a very luxurious style, unlimited by any rules of truth or modesty;) it is not to be denied, that his majesty appeared much colder, and less delighted to speak of Portugal, than he had been, and would sometimes [wish] "that the ambassador had not gone, and that he would quickly return without commission to give his majesty satisfaction." He seemed to reflect upon a war with Spain, "which," he said, "could not possibly be avoided in that alliance," with more apprehension than he had formerly done, when that contingency had been debated. All which discourses troubled the lords who had been trusted, very much, not conceiving that the ambassador's frantic discourse could have any weight in it, or that the earl of Bristol (whose levity and vanity was enough known to the king) could make that impression in him. However, it appeared, that the earl was much more in private with him than he had used to be, many hours shut up together; and when the king came from him, that he seemed to be perplexed and full of thoughts.

One morning the earl came to the chancellor, and after some compliments and many protestations of his inviolable friendship, he told him, "he was come to take his leave of him for some months, being to begin a long journey as soon as he should part with him; for he had already kissed the king's hand: and his friendship would not permit him to be reserved towards him, and to keep a secret of that vast importance from his knowledge." He said, "that the king had heard such unanswerable reasons against this marriage with Portugal, that he was firmly resolved never more to entertain a thought of it; that the Spanish ambassador had recommended two princesses to him, whereof he might take his choice, of incomparable beauty and all excellent parts of mind, who should be endowed as a daughter of Spain by that king, to whom they were allied;" and so named the ladies. He said, "this discourse had prevailed very far upon the king, as a thing that could raise no jealousies in France, with whom he desired so to live, that he might be sure to have peace in his own dominions. There was only one thing in which he desired to be better satisfied, which was the persons, beauties, and good humours of the princesses; and that he had so good an opinion of his judgment, that he was confident if he saw them, he would easily know whether either of them were like to please his majesty; and would so far trust him, that if he did believe, knowing his majesty so well as he did, that one of them would be grateful, he should carry power with him to propound and conclude a treaty; which,"



he said, "he carried with him, and likewise other letters, upon which he should first find such access and admission, as would enable him to judge of their nature and humour as well as of their beauty." He seemed much transported with the great trust reposed in him, and with the assurance that he should make the king and kingdom happy. And he said, "one reason, besides his friendship, that had made him impart this great secret, was a presumption, that now he knew how far his majesty was disposed and in truth engaged in this particular, he would not do any thing to cross or interrupt the design." The chancellor, enough amazed, by some questions found he was utterly uninformed, how far the king stood engaged in Portugal; and knowing the incredible power the earl had over himself, to make him believe any thing he had a mind should be true, he used little more discourse with him than "to wish him a good journey."

Upon the first opportunity he told the king all that the earl had said to him; with which his majesty seemed not pleased, as expecting that the secret should have been kept better. He did not dissemble his not wishing that the treaty with Portugal might succeed; and confessed "that he had sent the earl of Bristol to see some ladies in Italy, who were highly extolled by the Spanish ambassador," but denied that he had given him such powers as he bragged of. The chancellor thereupon asked him, "whether he well remembered his engagement, which he had voluntarily made, and without any body's persuasion, to the king and queen regent;" and desired him "to impart his new resolution to the lords who were formerly trusted by him. That probably he might find good reason and just arguments to break off the treaty with Portugal; which ought to be first done, before he embarked himself in another: otherwise that he would so far expose his honour to reproach, that all princes would be afraid of entering into any treaty with him." This was every word of persuasion, that he then or ever after used to him upon this affair; nor did it at that time seem to make any impression in him. However, he sent for the lord treasurer, and conferred at large with him and the lord marquis of Ormond. And finding them exceedingly surprised with what he had done, and that they gave the same and other stronger arguments against it than the other had done, his majesty seemed to recollect himself, and to think, that whatever resolution he should think fit to take in the end, that he had not chosen the best way and method of proceeding towards it; and resolved to call the earl back, "which," he said, "he could infallibly do by sir Kenelm Digby, who knew how to send a letter to him, before he had proceeded further in his journey, it having been before agreed, that he should make a halt in such and such places, to the end that he might be advertised of any new occurrences." And his majesty did write the same night to him "to return, because it was necessary to have some more conference with him." And the letter was sent by sir Kenelm Digby, and probably received by the earl in time. But he continued his journey into Italy; and after his return pretended not to have received that letter, or any other order to return, till it was too late, being at that time entered upon the borders or

confines of Italy; in which he had not the good fortune to be believed.

The ambassador of Portugal despatched his voyage with more expedition than could have been expected, and returned, as he believed, with at least as full satisfaction to all particulars as could be expected; but found his reception with such a coldness, that struck the poor gentleman (who was naturally hypochondriac) to the heart; nor could he be informed from whence this distemper proceeded. And therefore he forbore to deliver his letters, which he thought might more expose the honour of his master and mistress to contempt, and remained quietly in his house, without demanding a second audience; until he could by some way or other be informed what had fallen out since his departure, that could raise those clouds which appeared in every man's looks. He saw the Spanish ambassador exceedingly exalted with the pride of having put an insolent affront upon the ambassador from France, which cost his master dear, and heard that he had bragged loudly of his having broken the treaty of Portugal. And it is very true, that he did every day somewhat either vainly or insolently, that gave the king [offence], or lessened the opinion he had of his discretion, and made him withdraw much of that countenance from him, which he had formerly given him. This, and the return of the Portuguese ambassador with a new title of marquis de Sande, (an evidence according to the custom of that court, that he had well served his master in his employment,) put him into new fury; so that he came to the king with new expostulations, and gave him a memorial, in which he said, "that he had order from his master to let his majesty know, that if his majesty should proceed towards a marriage with the daughter of the duke of Braganza, his master's rebel, he had order to take his leave presently, and to declare war against him." The king returned some sharp answer presently to him, and told him "he might be gone as soon as he would, and that he would not receive orders from the catholic king, how to dispose himself in marriage." Upon which the ambassador seemed to think he had gone too far; and the next day desired another audience, wherein he said, "he had received new orders: and that his catholic majesty had so great an affection for his majesty and the good of his affairs, that having understood that, in respect of the present distempers in religion, nothing could be more mischievous to him than to marry a catholic; therefore," he declared, "that if there were any protestant lady, who would be acceptable to his majesty," (and named the daughter of the princess dowager of Orange,) "the king of Spain would give a portion with her, as with a daughter of Spain; by which his majesty's affairs and occasions would be supplied."

The multiplying these and many other extravagancies made the king reflect upon all the ambassador's proceedings and behaviour, and revolve the discourses he had held with him; and to reconsider, whether they had not made greater impressions upon him, than the weight of them would bear. He had himself spoken with some who had seen the infanta, and described her to be a person very different from what the ambassador had delivered. He had seen a picture that was reported to be very like her; and upon the



view of it his majesty said, "that person could not be unhandsome." And by degrees considering the many things alleged by the ambassador, which could not be known by him, and could result from nothing but his own malice, his majesty returned to his old resolution; and spake at large with the [Portugal] ambassador with his usual freedom, and received both the letters and information he brought with him, and declared "that he was fully satisfied in all the particulars."

Nor did the carriage of the Spanish ambassador contribute a little towards his majesty's resolution: for he, without any other ground than from his own fancy, (for the king had not declared his purpose to any, nor was the thing spoken of abroad,) and from what he collected from his majesty's sharp replies to his insolent expressions, took upon him to do an act of the highest extravagancy, that hath been done in Europe by the minister of any state in this age. He caused to be printed in English the copies of the memorials which he had presented to the king, and of the discourses he had made against the match with Portugal, with the offers the king of Spain had made to prevent so great a mischief to the kingdom, and other seditious papers to the same purpose; and caused those papers to be spread abroad in the army and amongst [the populace]; some whereof were cast out of his own windows amongst the soldiers, as they passed to and from the guard. Upon which unheard of misdemeanour, the king was so much incensed, that he sent the secretary of state "to require him forthwith to depart the kingdom, without seeing his majesty's face," which he would not admit him to do; and to let him know, "that he would send a complaint of his misbehaviour to the king his master, from whom he would expect that justice should be done upon him." The ambassador received this message with exceeding trouble and grief, even to tears, and desired, "to be admitted to see the king, and to make his humble submission, and to beg his pardon; which he was ready to do;" but that being denied, within few days he departed the kingdom, carrying with him the character of a very bold rash man.

There was an accident about this time, that it is probable did confirm the king in his resolution concerning Portugal. At this time cardinal Mazarine was dead, and had never been observed to be merry and to enjoy his natural pleasant humour, from the time of the king's restoration, which had deceived all his calculations, and broken all his measures. Upon his death the ministry was committed to three persons, (the king himself being still present at all their consultations,) monsieur de Tellier and monsieur de Lionne, the two secretaries of state, and monsieur Fouquet, surintendant of the finances and procureur général du roy, who was a man of extraordinary parts, and being not forty years of age, enjoyed his full vigour of body and mind, and in respect of his sole power over the finances was looked upon as the premier ministre. This man, as soon as he was in the business, sent an express into England with a letter to the chancellor. The messenger was La Basteede, who, having been secretary during the time of his being in England to Bordeaux whilst he was ambassador, spake English very well. He, as soon as he arrived, went to the chancellor's house, and desired one of his servants to let his

lord know, "that he was newly come from France, and that he desired to be admitted to a private audience with him, where nobody else might be present;" and so he was brought into a back room, whither the chancellor came to him; to whom he presented a letter directed to him from monsieur Fouquet. The letter after general compliments took notice "of the great trust he had with his master; and that he being now admitted to a part of his master's most secret affairs, and knowing well the affection that was between the two kings, much desired to hold a close and secret correspondence together, which he presumed would be for the benefit of both their masters." The rest contained only a credential, "that he should give credit to all that the bearer should say, who was a person entirely trusted by him." And then he entered upon his discourse, consisting of these parts:

1. "That the king of France was troubled to hear, that there was some obstruction fallen out in the treaty with Portugal; and that it would be a very generous thing in his majesty to undertake the protection of that crown, which if it should fall into the possession of Spain, would be a great damage and a great shame to all the kings in Europe. That himself had heretofore thought of marrying the infanta of that kingdom, who is a lady of great beauty and admirable endowments; but that his mother and his then minister, and indeed all other princes, so much desired the peace between the crowns, that he was diverted from that design. And that for the perfecting that peace and his marriage with Spain, he had been compelled to desert Portugal for the present; and was obliged to send no kind of assistance thither, nor to receive any ambassador from thence, nor to have any there: all which he could not but observe for some time. But that Portugal was well assured of the continuance of his affection, and that he would find some opportunity by one way or other to preserve it. That he foresaw that his majesty might not be provided so soon after his return, in regard of his other great expenses, to disburse such a sum of money, as the sending a vigorous assistance, which was necessary, would require. But for that he would take care; and for the present cause to be paid to his majesty three hundred thousand pistoles, which would defray the charge of that summer's expedition; and for the future, provision should be made proportionable to the charge;" and concluded, "that he believed the king could not bestow himself better in marriage, than with the infanta of Portugal."

2. A second part was, "that there were now in France ambassadors from the States of the United Provinces, and the like in England, to renew the alliance with both crowns; which they hoped to do upon the disadvantageous terms they had used to obtain it. That those people were grown too proud and insolent towards all their neighbours, and treated all kings as if they were at least their equals: that France had been ill used by them, and was sensible of it; and that the king had not been much beholden to them." And therefore he proposed, "that both kings upon this occasion would so communicate their counsels, that they might reduce that people to live like good neighbours,

"and with more good manners; and that they "would treat solely and advance together, and "that the one should promise not to conclude "any thing without communicating it to the "other: so that both treaties might be concluded together."

3. "That those particulars, and whatsoever "passed between M. Fouquet and the chancellor, "might be retained with wonderful secrecy; "which it would not be, if it were communicated "to the queen or the earl of St. Alban's," (who were at that time in France:) "and therefore his "Christian majesty desired, that neither of them "should know of this correspondence, or any "particular that passed by it."

When the gentleman had finished his discourse, the chancellor told him, "that he knew M. Fouquet to be so wise a man, that he would not "invite or enter into such a correspondence, "without the privacy and approbation of his master: and he presumed that he had likewise "so good an opinion of him, as to believe, that he "would first inform his majesty of all that he "received from him, before he would return any "answer himself. That he would take the first "opportunity to acquaint the king his master; "and if he would come the next day at the same "hour" (which was about four in the afternoon) "to the same place, he would return his answer."

The king came the next day before the hour assigned to the chancellor's house. And when he heard the gentleman was come, his majesty vouchsafed himself to go into that back room; and (the chancellor telling the other, "that he should be "witness to his majesty's approbation of his correspondence") took notice of the letter he had brought, and asked many kind questions concerning M. Fouquet, who was known to him, and told him, "that he was very well pleased with the "correspondence proposed; and that the chancellor should perform his part very punctually, "and with the secrecy that was desired; and that "he would give his own word, that the queen nor "the earl of St. Alban's should know nothing that "should pass in this correspondence:" which, the chancellor observing with the fidelity he ought to do, coming after to be known kindled a new jealousy and displeasure in the queen, that was never afterwards extinguished. The king told him, "he would upon the encouragement and "promise of the French king, of the performance "whereof he could make no doubt, proceed in "the treaty with Portugal; and give that kingdom the best assistance he could, without beginning a war with Spain. That for the treaty "with Holland, which was but newly begun," (for the States who had made choice of and nominated their ambassadors before the king left the Hague, did not send them in near six months after; which his majesty looked upon as a great disrespect,) "he would comply with what the king "desired; and that his Christian majesty should "from time to time receive an account how it "should advance, and that he would not conclude "any thing without his privacy." How ill both these engagements which related to Portugal and Holland were afterwards observed by France, is fit for another discourse by itself. The gentleman, much satisfied with what the king had said, proposed "that he would make a cipher against "the next day to be left in the chancellor's hand;

"because M. Fouquet desired, for preservation of "the secret, that the chancellor would always "write with his own hand in English, directed in "such a manner as he should propose; which "would always bring the letters safe to the hands "of him, La Basteede, who was appointed by the "king to keep that cipher, and to maintain that "correspondence."

There was another circumstance that attended this private negotiation, that may not be unfitly inserted here, and is a sufficient manifestation of the integrity of the chancellor, and how far he was from [being] that corrupt person, which his most corrupt enemies would have him thought to be. The next morning after he had seen the king, La Basteede came again, and desired an audience with the chancellor. He said, "he had somewhat else "in his instructions to say, which he had not yet "thought fit to offer." And from thence he entered in a confused manner to enlarge "upon "the great power, credit, and generosity of M. "Fouquet, the extent of his power and office, that "he could disburse and issue great sums of money "without any account so much as to the king "himself; without which liberty, the king knew "many secret services of the highest importance "could not be performed." He said, "he knew "the straits and necessities, in which the chancellor and others about the king had lived for "many years: and though he was now returned "with much honour, and in great trust with his "master, yet he did suppose he might be some "time without those furnitures of householdstuff "and plate, which the grandeur of his office and "place required. And therefore that he had sent "him a present, which in itself was but small, "and was only the earnest of as much every year, "which should be constantly paid, and more, if "he had occasion to use it; for M. Fouquet did "not look upon it as of moment to himself. But "he knew well the faction in all courts, and that "he must have many enemies; and if he did not "make himself friends by acts of generosity and "bounty, he must be oppressed; and that he had "designed this supply only to that purpose." He shewed him then bills of exchange and credit for the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling, to be paid at sight: and said, "that he had been "with the merchant, who would be ready to pay "it that afternoon; so that whoever he would "please to appoint should receive it." The chancellor had heard him with much indignation, and answered him warmly, "that if this correspondence must expose him to such a reproach, he "should unwillingly enter into it; and wished "him to tell M. Fouquet, that he would only receive wages from his own master." The gentleman so little looked for a refusal, that he would not understand it; but persisted to know "who "should receive the money, which," he said, "should be paid in such a manner, that the person who paid it should never know to whom it "was paid; and that it should always remain a "secret;" still pressing it with importunity, till the other went with manifest anger out of the room.

That afternoon the king and duke (who was likewise informed of the correspondence) came to the chancellor, and found him out of humour. He told him, "that Fouquet could not be an "honest man, and that he had no mind to hold

"that correspondence with him;" and thereupon repeated what had passed in the morning, with much choler: which made them both laugh at him, saying, "the French did all their business that way:" and the king told him "he was a fool," implying, "that he should take his money." Whereupon the chancellor besought him "not to appear to his servants so unconcerned in matters of that nature, which might produce ill effects;" and desired him to consider, "what the consequence of his receiving that money, with what secrecy soever, must be. That the French king must either believe that he had received it without his majesty's privity, and so look upon him as a knave fit to be depended upon in any treachery against his master; or that it was with his majesty's approbation, which must needs lessen his esteem of him, that he should permit his servants of the nearest trust to grow rich at the charge of another prince, who might the next day become his enemy." To which the king smiling made no other reply, "than that few men were so scrupulous;" and commanded him "to return a civil answer to M. Fouquet's letter, and to cherish that correspondence, which," he said, "might be useful to him, and could produce no inconvenience." And so, when La Basteede (who could not forbear to use new importunity with him to receive the money, till he found he was much offended) brought him the cipher, he delivered him his letter for M. Fouquet. And the next week after his return, the king of France writ to him in his own hand, "that the correspondence M. Fouquet had invited him to was with his majesty's privity; and that he was well pleased with it." And so the correspondence continued till that great man's fall: and then the king sent all the letters which had passed, and the cipher, to the chancellor; and writ to him, "from that time to communicate with all freedom with his ambassador;" which he was before restrained from.

After the king had himself conferred at large with the Portugal ambassador, he referred him again to give the lords, with whom he had formerly treated, an account how all particulars were adjusted in Portugal; "which were," he said, "in this manner. For the portion, the queen regent, having resolved not to dispose of any of the money that was provided for the war, had sold her own jewels, and much of her own plate, and had borrowed both plate and jewels from the churches and monasteries: by which means she had the whole portion ready, which was all sealed up in bags, and deposited where nobody could take it to apply to any other use. For the delivery of Tangier, that the old governor, (who had lived there long, and was humorous,) on whom the queen could not confidently depend, was removed; and another sent, before he left Lisbon, to take that charge, who was a creature of the queen's, who could not deceive her, and was so far trusted, that he knew for what end he was sent thither, and cheerfully undertook to perform it: and that the fleet which should be sent for the queen should first go to Tangier, and take possession thereof; and till that should be delivered into his majesty's hands, the queen should not embark upon the fleet, nor till all the money should be put on board. That

for the delivery of Bombayne, it was resolved likewise, that the vice-king and governor of Brasil, under whom that island likewise is, should be forthwith recalled; and that another, (whom he named,) "of whom the queen had all assurance, should be sent to that high charge, and should be transported thither in the fleet which the king would send to receive the island, and would deliver the same to the person designed to receive it." He added, "that there would be another security given, greater than any of the rest, and such a one as had never been given before in such a case. That the queen should be delivered on board the fleet, and transported into England, before she was married: which was such a trust that had never been reposed in any prince, who, if he would break his word, might put an everlasting reproach upon their nation."

The cause of this extraordinary circumstance was truly this. The power of Spain was so great in the court of Rome, notwithstanding the interposition and threatening mediation of France, (whose ambassador declared that Portugal should choose a patriarch, and have no longer dependence upon the pope,) that neither Urban, in whose reign that kingdom severed itself from Spain, nor Innocent, nor Alexander, would acknowledge the duke of Braganza for king, nor receive an ambassador or other minister from him: so that they now foresaw, that if they should, in what manner soever, demand a dispensation at Rome, (without which the marriage could not be celebrated in Portugal,) the interest of Spain would cause it to be denied, or granted in such a manner as should be worse for them; for the queen would have been mentioned only as the daughter and sister of the duke of Braganza. And before they would receive that affront, the most jealous and most apprehensive nation in the world chose rather to send the daughter of the kingdom to be married in England, and not to be married till she came thither.

Upon the whole matter, the king thought not fit to make any further exceptions, but resolved to assemble his whole privy-council, and to communicate the matter to them; for it did remain a secret yet, no man knowing or speaking of it. The council was so full, that there was only one counsellor that was absent. The king informed them of all that had passed in that affair, "how it was first proposed to him, and the objections which occurred to him against it; for the better clearing whereof the ambassador had made a voyage into Portugal, and was returned with such satisfaction to all particulars, that he thought it now time to communicate the whole to them, that he might receive their advice." He commanded then the particular propositions, which were offered by the ambassador, to be reported. And thereupon he commanded and conjured all the lords severally to give him their advice; for he said, "he had not yet so firmly resolved, but that he might change his mind, if he heard reasons to move him: and therefore they would not deal faithfully with him, if they did not with all freedom declare their judgment to him." In short, every man delivered his opinion, and every one agreed in the opinion, "that it was very fit for his majesty to embrace the propositions, which were of great advantage

"to himself and the kingdom;" and that their advice was, "that he should speedily and without more delay conclude the treaty." And thereupon his majesty said, "that he looked upon so unanimous a concurrence as a good omen, and that he would follow their advice."

All this was done between the dissolution of the parliament in December, and the assembling the other in May following; and upon the first day of its coming together, which was upon the eighth of May, the very day twelvemonth that his majesty had been proclaimed the year before, and he told them "that he had deferred it a week, that they might meet upon that day, for the memory of the former day." The king, after some gracious expressions of his confidence in them, told them "that they would find what method he thought best for their proceeding, by two bills which he had caused to be provided for them, which were for confirmation of all that had been enacted in the last meeting;" and repeated what he had said to them when he was last there: "that next to the miraculous blessing of God Almighty, and indeed as an immediate effect of that blessing, he did impute the good disposition and security they were all in, to the happy act of indemnity and oblivion: that," his majesty said, "was the principal corner-stone that supported that excellent building, that created kindness in them to each other; and confidence was their joint and common security." He told them, "he was still of the same opinion, and more, if it were possible, of that opinion than he had been, by the experience he had of the benefit of it, and from the unreasonableness of what some men said against it." He desired them "to provide full remedies for future mischiefs; to be as severe as they would against new offenders, especially if they were so upon old principles; and that they would pull up those principles by the roots. But," his majesty said, "he should never think him a wise man, that would endeavour to undermine and shake that foundation of the public peace, by infringing that act in the least degree; or that he could be his friend, or wish him well, who would persuade him ever to consent to the breach of a promise he had so solemnly made when he was abroad, and had performed with that solemnity after, and because he had promised it: and that he could not suspect any attempts of that kind by any men of merit and virtue."

And this warmth of his majesty upon this subject was not then more than needed: for the armies being now disbanded, there were great combinations entered into, not to confirm the act of oblivion; which they knew without confirmation would signify nothing. Men were well enough contented, that the king should grant indemnity to all men that had rebelled against him; that he should grant their lives and fortunes to them, who had forfeited them to him: but they thought it very unreasonable and unjust, that the king should release those debts which were immediately due to them, and forgive those trespasses which had been committed to their particular damage. They could not endure to meet the same men in the king's highway, now it was the king's highway again, who had heretofore affronted them in those ways, because they were not the king's, and only because they knew they could obtain no jus-

tice against them. They could not with any patience see those men, who not only during the war had oppressed them, plundered their houses, and had their own adorned with the furniture they had robbed them of, ride upon the same horses which they had then taken from them upon no other pretence, but because they were better than their own; but after the war was ended, had committed many insolent trespasses upon them wantonly, and to shew their power of justice of peace, or committee men, and had from the lowest beggary raised great estates, out of which they [were] well able to satisfy, at least in some degree, the damages the other had sustained. And those and other passions of this kind, which must have invalidated the whole act of indemnity, could not have been extinguished without the king's influence, and indeed his immediate interposition and industry.

When his majesty had spoken all he thought fit upon that subject, he told them, "he could not conclude without telling them some news, news that he thought would be very acceptable to them; and therefore he should think himself unkind and ill-natured, if he should not impart it to them. That he had been often put in mind by his friends, that it was high time to marry; and he had thought so himself, ever since he came into England: but there appeared difficulties enough in the choice, though many overtures had been made to him. And if he should never marry till he could make such a choice, against which there could be no foresight of any inconvenience that might ensue, they would live to see him an old bachelor, which he thought they did not desire to do." He said, "he could now tell them, not only that he was resolved to marry, but whom he resolved to marry, if it pleased God. That towards his resolution, he had used that deliberation, and taken that advice, that he ought to do in a case of that importance, and with a full consideration of the good of his subjects in general, as of himself. It was with the daughter of Portugal. That when he had, as well as he could, weighed all that occurred to himself, the first resolution he took, was to state the whole overtures which had been made to him, and in truth all that had been said against it, to his privy council; without hearing whose advice, he never did nor ever would resolve any thing of public importance. And," he said, "he told them with great satisfaction and comfort to himself, that after many hours debate in a full council, (for he thought there was not above one absent,) and he believed upon weighing all that could be said upon that subject, for or against it; the lords, without one dissenting voice, advised him with all imaginable cheerfulness to this marriage: which he looked upon as very wonderful, and even as some instance of the approbation of God himself. That he had thereupon taken his own resolution, and concluded with the ambassador of Portugal, who was departing with the whole treaty signed, which they would find to contain many great advantages to the kingdom; and that he would make all the haste he could, to fetch them a queen hither, who he doubted not would bring great blessings with her, to him and them."

The next day the two houses of parliament,

after they had expressed all the joy imaginable amongst them, sent to the king, "that he would appoint a time when he would admit them to his presence." Which when he had done, both houses of parliament, in a body, presented by the speaker of the house of peers their humble thanks to his majesty, "for that he had vouchsafed to acquaint them with his resolution to marry, which had exceedingly rejoiced their hearts, and would, they doubted not, draw down God's blessing upon his majesty and the kingdom." Shortly after, the fleet was made ready, and the earl of Sandwich, admiral thereof, was likewise made ambassador to Portugal, and appointed to receive the queen, and to conduct her into England.

This was the whole proceeding, from the beginning to the end of that treaty about the marriage of the king; by the whole circumstances whereof it is apparent enough, that no particular corruption in any single person could have brought it to pass in that manner, and that the chancellor never proposed it, nor heard of it but from the king himself, nor advanced it afterwards more than every one of the other lords did; and if he had done less, he could neither have been thought a prudent or an honest man: to which no more shall be added, that neither before, or in the treaty, or after the marriage, he never received the least reward, or the least present from Portugal.

During the interval of parliament, the king had made choice of many very eminent and learned men, who were consecrated to some of the sees of bishops which were void; that the preservation of the succession might not depend upon the lives of the few bishops who remained, and who were all very aged; which could not have been done sooner, nor till the other parliament, to whom the settlement of the church had been referred, was dissolved. Nor could he yet give any remedy to the license in the practice of religion, which in all places was full of scandal and disorder, because the liturgy was not yet finished; till when, the indulgence by his declaration was not to be restrained. But at the same time that he issued out his writs for convening the parliament, he had likewise sent summons to the bishops, for the meeting of the clergy in convocation, which is the legal synod in England; against the coming together whereof the liturgy would be finished, which his majesty intended to send thither to be examined, debated, and confirmed. And then he hoped to provide, with the assistance of the parliament, such a settlement in religion, as would prevent any disorder in the state upon those pretences. And it was very necessary to lose no time in the prosecution of that cure; for the malignity against the church appeared to increase, and to be greater than it was upon the coming in of the king.

The old bishops who remained alive, and such deans and chapters as were numerous enough for the corporation, who had been long kept fasting, had now appetites proportionable. Most of them were very poor, and had undergone great extremities; some of the bishops having supported themselves and their family by teaching schools, and submitting to the like low condescensions. And others saw, that if they died before they were enabled to make some provision for them, their wives and children must unavoidably starve: and there-

fore they made haste to enter upon their own. And now an ordinance of parliament had not strength enough to batter an act of parliament. They called their old tenants to account for rent, and to renew their estates if they had a mind to it; for most old leases were expired in the long continuance of the war, and the old tenants had been compelled either to purchase a new right and title from the state, (when the ordinance was passed for taking away all bishops, deans, and chapters, and for selling all the lands which belonged to them,) or to sell their present estates to those, who had purchased the reversion and the inheritance thereof: so that both the one and the other, the old tenants and the new purchasers, repaired to the true owners as soon as the king was restored; the former expecting to be restored again to the possession of what they had sold, under an unreasonable pretence of a tenant right, (as they called it,) because there remained yet (as in many cases there did) a year or some other term of their old leases unexpired, and because they had out of conscience forborne to buy the inheritance of the church, which was first offered to them. And for the refusal thereof, and such a reasonable fine as was usual, they hoped to have a new lease, and to be readmitted to be tenants to the church. The other, the purchasers, (amongst which there were some very infamous persons,) appeared as confident, and did not think, that according to the clemency that was practised towards all sorts of men, it could be thought justice, that they should lose the entire sum they had disbursed upon the faith of that government, which the whole kingdom submitted to; but that they should, instead of the inheritance they had an ill title to, have a good lease for lives or years granted to them by them who had now the right; at least, that upon the old rent and moderate fines they should be continued tenants to the church, without any regard to those who had sold both their possession, and with that all the right or title that they might pretend to, for a valuable consideration. And they had the more hope of this, because the king had granted a commission, under the great seal of England, to some lords of the council and to other eminent persons, to interpose and mediate with the bishops and clergy in such cases, as ought not to be prosecuted with rigour.

But the bishops and clergy concerned had not the good fortune to please their old or their new tenants. They had been very barbarously used themselves; and that had too much quenched all tenderness towards others. They did not enough distinguish between persons: nor did the suffering any man had undergone for fidelity to the king, or his affection to the church eminently expressed, often prevail for the mitigation of his fine; or if it did sometimes, three or four stories of the contrary, and in which there had been some unreasonable hardness used, made a greater noise and spread further, than their examples of charity and moderation. And as honest men did [not] usually fare the better for any merit, so the purchasers who offered most money, did not fare the worse for all the villainies they had committed. And two or three unhappy instances of this kind brought scandal upon the whole church, as if they had been all guilty of the same excesses, which they were far from. And by this means the new bishops, who did not all follow

the precedents made by the old, underwent the same reproaches: and many of them who had most adhered to their order, and for so doing had undergone for twenty years together sundry persecutions and oppressions, were not in their present passion so much pleased with the renewing it, as they expected to have been. Yet upon a very strict examination of the true grounds of all those misprisions, (except some few instances which cannot be defended,) there will be found more passion than justice in them; and that there was even a necessity to raise as much money as could be justly done, for the repairing the cathedrals, which were all miserably ruined or defaced, and for the entirely building up many houses of the prebends, which had been pulled down or let fall to the ground. And those ways much more of those monies which were raised by fines were issued and expended, than what went into the private purses of them, who had a right to them, and had need enough of them. But the time began to be froward again, and all degrees of men were hard to be pleased; especially when they saw one *classis* of men restored to more than they had ever lost, and preferred to a plenty they had never been acquainted with, whilst themselves remained remediless after so many sufferings, and without any other testimony of their courage and fidelity, than in the ruin of their fortunes, and the sale of their inheritance.

Another great work was performed, between the dissolution of the last and the beginning of the next parliament, which was the ceremony of the king's coronation; and was done with the greatest solemnity and glory, that ever any had been seen in that kingdom. That the novelties and new inventions, with which the kingdom had been so much intoxicated for so many years together, might be discountenanced and discredited in the eyes of the people, for the folly and want of state thereof; his majesty had directed the records and old formularies should be examined, and thereupon all things should be prepared, and all forms accustomed to be used, that might add lustre and splendour to the solemnity. A court of claims was erected, where before the lords commissioners for that service, all persons made claim to those privileges and precedency, which they conceived to be due to their persons, or the offices of which they were possessed, in the ceremony of the coronation; which were allowed or rejected as their right appeared.

The king went early in the morning to the Tower of London in his coach, most of the lords being there before. And about ten of the clock they set forward towards Whitehall, ranged in that order as the heralds had appointed; those of the long robe, the king's council at law, the masters of the chancery, and judges, going first, and so the lords in their order, very splendidly habited, on rich foot-clothes; the number of their footmen being limited, to the dukes ten, to the earls eight, and to the viscounts six, and the barons four, all richly clad, as their other servants were. The whole show was the most glorious in the order and expense, that had been ever seen in England; they who rode first being in Fleet-street when the king issued out of the Tower, as was known by the discharge of the ordnance: and it was near three of the clock in the afternoon, when the king alighted at Whitehall. The

next morning the king rode in the same state in his robes and with his crown on his head, and all the lords in their robes, to Westminster-hall; where all the ensigns for the coronation were delivered to those who were appointed to carry them, the earl of Northumberland being made high constable, and the earl of Suffolk earl marshal, for the day. And then all the lords in their order, and the king himself, walked on foot upon blue cloth from Westminster-hall to the abbey church, where, after a sermon preached by Dr. Morley, (then bishop of Worcester,) in Henry the Seventh's chapel, the king was sworn, crowned, and anointed, by Dr. Juxon, archbishop of Canterbury, with all the solemnity that in those cases had been used. All which being done, the king returned in the same manner on foot to Westminster-hall, which was adorned with rich hangings and statues; and there the king dined, and the lords on either side at tables provided for them: and all other ceremonies were performed with great order and magnificence.

I should not have enlarged thus much upon the ceremony of the coronation, it may be not mentioned it, (a perfect narration having been then made and published of it, with all the grandeur and magnificence of the city of London,) but that there were two accidents in it, the one absolutely new, the other that produced some inconveniences which were not then discerned. The first was, that it being the custom in those great ceremonies or triumphs of state, that the master of the king's horse (who is always a great man, and was now the duke of Albemarle, the general) rides next after the king with a led horse in his hand: in this occasion the duke of York privately prevailed with the king, who had not enough reverence for old customs, without any consultation, that his master of his horse, (so he was called,) Mr. Jermyn, a younger brother of a very private gentleman's family, should ride as near his person, as the general did to his majesty, and lead a horse likewise in his hand; a thing never heard of before. Neither in truth hath the younger brother of the king such an officer as master of his horse, which [is] a term restrained within the family of the king, queen, and prince of Wales; and the two masters of the horse to the queen and prince are subordinate to the king's master of his horse, who hath the jurisdiction over the other. The lords were exceedingly surprised and troubled at this, of which they heard nothing till they saw it; and they liked it the worse, because they discerned that it issued from a fountain, from whence many bitter waters were like to flow, the customs of the court of France, whereof the king and the duke had too much the image in their heads, and than which there could not be a copy more universally ingrateful and odious to the English nation.

The other was: In the morning of the coronation, whilst they sat at the table in Westminster-hall, to see the many ensigns of the coronation delivered to those lords who were appointed to carry them, the earl of Northumberland, who was that day high constable, came to the king and told him, "that amongst the young noblemen who were appointed to carry the several parts of the king's mantle, the lord Ossory, who was the eldest son to the duke of Ormond, challenged the place before the lord Percy, who was

"his eldest son; whereas," he said, "the duke of Ormond had no place in the ceremony of that day, as duke, but only as earl of Brecknock, and so the eldest sons of all ancient earls ought to take place of his eldest son;" which was so known a rule, and of so general a concernment, that the king could not choose but declare it, and send a message to the lord Ossory by the lord chamberlain, "that he should desist from his pretence." This, and the public manner of asking and determining it, produced two ill effects. The first, a jealousy and ill understanding between the two great families: the one naturally undervaluing and contemning his equals, without paying much regard to his superiors; and the other not being used to be contemned by any, and well knowing that all the advantages the earl had in England, either in antiquity or fortune, he had the same in Ireland, and that he had merited and received an increase of title, when the other had deserved to lose that which he was born to. The other, was a jealousy and prejudice that it raised in the nobility of England, as if the duke of Ormond (who in truth knew nothing of it) had entered upon that contest, in hope that by his interest in the king, he should be able to put this eternal affront upon the peers of England, to bring them upon the same level with those of Ireland, who had no such esteem. And it did not a little add to their envy, that he had behaved himself so worthily throughout the ill times, that he was the object of an universal reverence at home and abroad; which was a reproach to most of them, whose actions would not bear the light. But as the duke was not in the least degree privy to the particular contest, nor raised the value of himself from any merit in his services, nor undervalued others upon the advantage of their having done amiss; so he was abundantly satisfied in the testimony of his own conscience, and in his unquestionable innocence, and from thence too much despised the prejudice and the envy the others had towards him, and the marks whereof he was compelled afterwards to bear, which he did with the same magnanimity.

Before we proceed further in the relation of what was afterwards done, it will not be unreasonable in this place to give an account of somewhat that was not done, and which was generally expected to have been done, and as generally censured because it was not; the reason whereof is known to very few. The king had resolved before his coming into England, that as soon as he should be settled in any condition of security, and no just apprehension of future troubles, he would take up and remove the body of his father, the last king, from Windsor, and inter it with all solemnity at Westminster; and that the court should continue in mourning till the coronation. And many good people thought this so necessary, that they were much troubled that it was not done, and liked not the reasons which were given, which made it appear that it had been considered. The reasons which were given in public discourses from hand to hand, were two. The first; that now ten years were past since that woful tragedy, and the joy and the triumph for the king's return had composed the minds of the people, it would not be prudent to renew the memory of that parricide, by the spectacle of a solemn funeral; lest it might cause such commotions of the vulgar in

all places, as might produce great disorders and insurrections amongst those who had formerly served the kingdom, as if it were a good season and a new provocation to take revenge upon their neighbours, who had formerly tyrannized over them; which might likewise have caused the soldiers, who were newly disbanded, to draw themselves together for their own security: and so the peace would be at least disturbed. The other was; that to perform this interment in any private manner, would be liable to very just censure, when all things relating to the king himself had shewed so magnificently; and if it were done with the usual pomp of a solemn interment of a king, the expense would be so vast, that there would be neither money found nor credit for the charge thereof.

These were the reasons alleged and spread abroad; nor was either of them in itself without weight to thinking men. But the true reason was: at the time of that horrid murder, Windsor was a garrison under the command of a citizen, who was an anabaptist, with all his officers and soldiers. The men had broken down all the wainscot, rails, and partitions, which divided the church, defaced all the monuments and other marks, and reduced the whole into the form of a stable or barn, and scarce fit for any other use; when Cromwell had declared that the royal body should be privately interred in the church of the castle at Windsor, and the marquis of Hertford, the duke of Richmond, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, had obtained leave to be present (only to be present, for they had no power to prepare or do anything in it) at their master's burial. Those great men were not suffered to have above three servants each, to enter into the castle with them; and it may easily be concluded, that their own noble hearts were too full of sorrow, to send their eyes abroad to take notice of the places by which they passed. They found the church so wild a place, they knew not where they were; and as the royal body was put into the ground, they were conducted out of the castle to their lodging in the town, and the next morning returned to their several houses. Shortly after the king returned from beyond the seas, he settled the dean and chapter of Windsor, with direction to put his royal chapel there into the order it used to be, and to repair the ruins thereof, which was a long and a difficult work. His majesty commanded the dean carefully to inform himself of the place, in which the king's body had been interred, and to give him notice of it. Upon inquiry he could not find one person in the castle or in the town who had been present at the burial. When the parliament first seized upon the castle and put a garrison into it, shortly after, they had not only ejected all the prebends and singingmen of the royal chapel, but had turned out all the officers and servants who had any relation to the king or to the church, except only those who were notorious for their infidelity towards the king or the church: and of those, or of the officers or soldiers of the garrison, there could not now one man be found, who was in the church when the king was buried. The duke of Richmond and the marquis of Hertford were both dead: and the king sent (after he had received that account from the dean) the two surviving lords, the earl of Southampton and of Lindsey, to Windsor; who taking with



them as many of those three servants who had been admitted to attend them, as were now living, they could not recollect their memories, nor find any one mark by which they could make any judgment, near what place the king's body lay. They made some guess, by the information of the workmen who had been now employed in the new pavement of the church, and upon their observation that the earth had seemed to lie lighter, that it might be in or near that place: but when they had caused it to be digged, and searched [in] and about it, they found nothing. And upon their return, the king gave [over] all further thought of inquiry: and those other reasons were cast abroad upon any occasional inquiry or discourse of that subject.

That which gave the king most trouble, and deprived him of that ease and quiet which he had promised to himself during the vacation between the two parliaments, was the business of Ireland; which we shall now take up again, and continue the relation without interruption, as long as we shall think fit to make any mention of that affair. We left it in the hands of the lord Roberts, whom the king had declared deputy of Ireland, presuming that he would upon conference with the several parties, who were all appointed to attend him, so shape and model the whole bulk, that it might be more capable of some further debate before his majesty in council: but that hand did not hold it many days.

That noble lord, though of a good understanding, was of so morose a nature, that it was no easy matter to treat with him. He had some pedantic parts of learning, which made his other parts of judgment the worse, for he had some parts of good knowledge in the law, and in antiquity, in the precedents of former times; all which were rendered the less useful, by the other pedantry contracted out of some books, and out of the ill conversation he had had with some clergymen and people in quality much below him, by whose weak faculties he raised the value of his own, which were very capable of being improved in better company. He was naturally proud and imperious; which humour was increased by an ill education; for excepting some years spent in the inns of court amongst the books of the law, he might be very justly said to have been born and bred in Cornwall. There were many days passed after the king's declaration of him to be deputy, before he could be persuaded to visit the general, who he knew was to continue lieutenant; and when he did visit him, it was with so ill a grace, that the other received no satisfaction in it, and the less, because he plainly discerned that it proceeded from pride, which he bore the more uneasily, because as he was now the greater man, so he knew himself to be of a much better family. He made so many doubts and criticisms upon the draught of his patent, that the attorney general was weary of attending him; and when all things were agreed on at night, the next morning produced new dilemmas. But that which was worse than all this, he received those of the Irish nation of the best quality, and who were of the privy council and chief command in that kingdom, so superciliously; received their information so negligently, and gave his answers so scornfully; that after they had waited upon him four or five days, they besought the king that they might not be obliged

to attend him any more. And it was evident, that his carriage towards them was not to be submitted to by persons of his own quality, or of any liberal education: nor did he make any advance towards the business.

This gave the king very great trouble, and them as much pleasure who had never liked the designation. He knew not what to do with his deputy, nor what to do for Ireland. The lord Roberts was not a man that was to be disgraced and thrown off, without much inconvenience and hazard. He had parts which in council and parliament (which were the two scenes where all the king's business lay) were very troublesome; for of all men alive who had so few friends, he had the most followers. They who conversed most with him, knew him to have many humours which were very intolerable; they who were but a little acquainted with him, took him to be a man of much knowledge, and called his morosity gravity, and thought the severity of his manners made him less grateful to the courtiers. He had no such advantageous faculties in his delivery, as could impose upon his auditors; but he was never tedious, and his words made impression. In a word, he was such a man as the king thought worthy to be compounded with. And therefore his majesty appointed the lord chancellor and the lord treasurer to confer with him, and to dispose him to accept the office of privy seal, which gave him a great precedence that would gratify that passion which was strongest in him; for in his nature he preferred place before money, which his fortune stood more in need of. And the king thought, it would be no ill argument to incline him to give over the thought of Ireland, that it was impossible for the king to supply him for the present with near any such sum of money as he had very reasonably demanded, for the satisfaction of the army there, (which was upon the matter to be new modelled, and some part of it disbanded,) with the reduction of many officers, and for his own equipage.

They began their approach to him, by asking him "when he would be ready for his journey to Ireland;" to which he answered with some quickness, "that he was confident there was no purpose to send him thither, for that he saw there was no preparation of those things, without which the king knew well that it was not possible for him to go; nor had his majesty lately spoken to him of it. Besides, he had observed, that the chancellor had for many days past called him at the council, and in all other places where they met, by the name of lord Roberts; whereas, for some months before, he had upon all occasions and in all places treated him with the style of lord deputy: which gave him first cause to believe, that there was some alteration in the purpose of sending him thither." They both assured him, "that the king had no other person in his view but himself for that service, if he were disposed to undertake it vigorously; but that the king had forbore lately to speak with him of it, because he found it impossible for him to provide the money he proposed; and it could not be denied, that he had proposed it very reasonably in all respects. However, it being impossible to procure it, and that he could not go without it, for which he could not be blamed, his majesty must find



“some other expedient to send his authority thither, the government there being yet so loose, that he could not but every day expect to receive news of some great disorder there, the ill consequence whereof would be imputed to his majesty’s want of care and providence. That his majesty had yet forborne to think of that expedient, till he might do it with his consent and advice, and until he could resolve upon another post, where he might serve his majesty with equal honour, and by which the world might see the esteem he had of him. And therefore since it would be both unreasonable and unjust, to press him to go for Ireland without those supplies, and it was equally impossible to prepare and send those supplies;” they said, “the king had commanded them to propose to him, that he would make him lord privy seal, an office he well understood. And if he accepted that and were possessed of it, (as he should immediately be,) his majesty would enter upon new considerations how to settle the tottering condition of Ireland.” The lord’s dark countenance presently cleared up, having no doubt expected to be deprived of his title to Ireland, without being assigned any other any where else: and now being offered the third place of precedence in the nobility, the privy seal going next to the treasurer, upon a very short recollection, he declared “that he received it as a great honour, that the king would make [use] of his service in any place, and that he submitted wholly to his good pleasure, and would serve him with great fidelity.” The next day the king gave him the privy seal at the council-board, where he was sworn and took his place; and to shew his extraordinary talent, found a way more to obstruct and puzzle business, at least the despatch of it, than any man in that office had ever done before: insomuch as the king found himself compelled, in a short time after, to give order that most grants and patents, which required haste, should pass by immediate warrant to the great seal, without visiting the privy seal; which preterition was not usual, and brought some inconvenience and prejudice to the chancellor.

Though the king had within himself a prospect of the expedient, that would be fittest for him to make use of for the present, towards the settlement of Ireland; yet it was absolutely necessary for him, even before he could make use of that expedient, to put the several claims and petitions of right which were depending before him, and which were attended with such an unruly number of suitors, into some such method of examining and determining, that they might not be left in the confusion they were then in. And this could not be done, without his imposing upon himself the trouble of hearing once at large, all that every party of the pretenders could allege for the support of their several pretences: and this he did with incredible patience for very many days together. We shall first mention those interests, which gave the king least trouble, because they admitted least debate.

It was looked upon as very scandalous, that the marquis of Ormond should remain so long without the possession of any part of his estate; which had been taken from him upon no other pretence, but his adhering to the king. And therefore there was an act of parliament passed with the consent of all parties, that he should be presently restored

to all his estate; which was done with the more ease, because the greatest part of it (for his wife’s land had been before assigned to her in Cromwell’s time, or rather in his son Harry’s) lay within that province, which Cromwell out of his husbandry had reserved for himself, exempt from all title or pretence of adventurer or soldier: what other part of his estate either the one or the other were possessed of, in their own judgments [it] was so impossible for them to enjoy, that they very willingly yielded it up to the marquis, in hope of having recompense made to them out of other lands. There could as little be said against the restoration of the earl of Inchiquin to his estate, which had been taken from him and distributed amongst the adventurers and soldiers, for no other cause but his serving the king. There were likewise some others of the same *classis*, who had nothing objected to them but their loyalty, who were put into the possession of their own estates. And all this gave no occasion of murmur; every man of what interest soever believing, or pretending to believe, that the king was obliged in honour, justice, and conscience, to cause that right to be done to those who served him faithfully.

There could be as little doubt, and there was as little opposition visible, in the claim of the church: so that the king made choice of many grave divines, to whom he assigned bishoprics in Ireland, and sent them thither, to be consecrated by the bishops who remained alive there according to the laws of that kingdom; and conferred the other dignities and church-preferments upon worthy men, who were all authorized to enter upon those lands, which belonged to their several churches. And in this general zeal for the church, some new grants were made of lands and impropriations, which were not enough deliberated, and gave afterwards great interruption to the settlement of the kingdom, and brought envy upon the church and churchmen, when the restoration to what was their own was generally well approved.

The pretences of the adventurers and soldiers were very much involved and perplexed: yet they gave the king little other trouble, than the general care and solicitude, that by an unseasonable disturbance of their possessions there, the soldiers who had been disbanded and those of the standing army (who for the most part had the same ill affections) might not unite together, and seize upon some places of defence, before his affairs in that kingdom should be put in such an order as to oppose them. And next that apprehension, his majesty had no mind that any of those soldiers, either who had been disbanded, and put into possession of lands for the arrears of their pay, and upon which they now lived; or of the other, the standing army, many whereof were likewise in possession of lands assigned to them; I say, the king was not without apprehension, that the resort of either of these into England might find too many of their old friends and associates, ready to concur with them in any desperate [measures,] and for controlling of which he was [not] enough provided even in this kingdom. But for their private and particular interest, the king cared not much how it was compounded, nor considered the danger if it were not compounded. For besides the factions, divisions, and animosities, which were between themselves,

and very great; they could have no cause of complaint against the king, who would take nothing from them to which they had the least pretence of law or right. And for their other demands, he would leave them to litigate between themselves; it being evident to all men, that there must be some judicatory erected by act of parliament, that only could examine and put an end to all those pretences: and the perusal and examination of which act of parliament, when the same should be prepared, his majesty resolved that all parties should have, and that he would hear their particular exceptions to it, before he would transmit it into Ireland to be passed.

That which gave the king the only trouble and solicitude, was the miserable condition of the Irish nation, that was so near an extirpation; the thought whereof his majesty's heart abhorred. Nor can it be denied, that either from the indignation he had against those, in whose favour the other poor people were miserably destroyed, or from his own natural compassion and tenderness, and the just regard of the merit of many of them who had served him with fidelity, he had a very strong and princely inclination to do the best he could, without doing apparent injustice, to preserve them in a tolerable condition of subjects. This made him give them, who were most concerned and solicitous on their behalf, liberty to resort to his presence; and hear all they could allege for themselves, in private or in public. And this indulgence proved to their disadvantage, and exalted them so much, that when they were heard in public at the board, they behaved themselves with less modesty towards their adversaries, who stood upon the advantage-ground, and with less reverence in the presence of the king, than the truth of their condition and any ordinary discretion would have required. And their disadvantage was the greater, because they who spake publicly on their behalf, and were very well qualified to speak, and left nothing for the matter unsaid that was for their purpose, were men, who from the beginning to the end of the rebellion, had behaved themselves eminently ill towards the king. And they of their adversaries who spake against them, had great knowledge and experience of all that had passed on either side, and knew how to press it home when it was seasonable.

They of the Irish, who were all united under the name of the confederate catholics of Ireland, made their first approach wisely for compassion; and urged "their great and long sufferings; the loss of their estates for five or six and twenty years; the wasting and spending of the whole nation in battles, and transportation of vast multitudes of men into the parts beyond the seas, whereof many had the honour to testify their fidelity to the king by real services, and many of them returned into England with him, and were still in his service; the great numbers of men, women, and children, that had been massacred and executed in cold blood, after the king's government had been driven from thence; the multitudes that had been destroyed by famine and the plague, those two heavy judgments having raged over the kingdom for two or three years; and at last, as a persecution unheard of, the transplanting the small remainder of the nation into one corner of the province of Connaught, where yet much of the lands was

"taken from them, which had been assigned with all those formalities of law, which were in use, and practised under that government."

2. They demanded "the benefit of two treaties of peace, the one in the late king's time and confirmed by him, the other confirmed by his majesty who was present; by both which," they said, "they stood indemnified for all acts done by them in the rebellion; and insisted upon their innocence since that time, and that they had paid so entire an obedience to his majesty's commands whilst he was beyond the seas, that they betook themselves to, and withdrew themselves from, the service of France or Spain, in such manner as his majesty signified his pleasure what they should do." And if they had ended here, they would have done wisely. But whether it was the observation they made, that what they had said made impression upon his majesty and many of the lords; or whether it was their evil genius that naturally transported them to actions of strange sottishness and indiscretion; they urged and enforced, with more liberty than became them in that conjuncture, "the unworthiness and incapacity of those, who for so many years had possessed themselves of their estates, and sought now a confirmation of their rebellious title from his majesty."

3. "That their rebellion had been more infamous and of a greater magnitude than that of the Irish, who had risen in arms to free themselves from the rigour and severity that was exercised upon them by some of the king's ministers, and for the liberty of their conscience and practice of their religion, without having the least intention or thought of withdrawing themselves from his majesty's obedience, or declining his government: whereas the others had carried on an odious rebellion against the king's sacred person, whom they had horribly murdered in the sight of the sun, with all imaginable circumstances of contempt and defiance, and as much as in them lay had rooted out monarchy itself, and overturned and destroyed the whole government of church and state: and therefore that whatever punishment the poor Irish had deserved for their former transgressions, which they had so long repented of, and departed from the rebellion when they had armies and strong towns in their hands, which they, together with themselves, had put again under his majesty's protection; whereas this part of the English, who were possessed of their estates, had broken all their obligations to God and the king, and so could not merit to be gratified with their ruin and total destruction. That it was too evident and notorious to the world, that his majesty's three kingdoms had been very faulty to him, and withdrawn themselves from his government; by which he had been compelled to live in exile so many years: and yet, that upon their return to their duty and obedience, he had been graciously pleased to grant a free and general pardon and act of indemnity in which many were comprehended, who in truth had been the contrivers and fomenters of all the misery and desolation, which had involved the three nations for so many years. And therefore that they hoped, that when all his majesty's other subjects (as criminal at least as they were) were, by his ma-

"jesty's clemency, restored to their own estates which they had forfeited, and were in full peace, mirth, and joy; the poor Irish alone should not be totally exempt from all his majesty's grace, and left in tears and mourning and lamentation, and be sacrificed without redemption to the avarice and cruelty of those, who had not only spoiled and oppressed them, but had done all that was in their power, and with all the insolence imaginable, to destroy the king himself and his posterity, and who now returned to their obedience, and had submitted to his government, when they were no longer able to oppose it. Nor did they yet return to it with that alacrity and joy and resignation as the Irish did, but insisted obstinately upon demands unreasonable, and which they hoped could not consist with his majesty's honour to grant:" and so concluded with those pathological applications and appeals to the king, as men well versed in discourses of that nature are accustomed to.

This discourse, carried on and urged with more passion, vehemence, and indiscretion, than was suitable to the condition they were in, and in which, by the excesses of their rhetoric, they had let fall many expressions very indecent and unwarrantable, and in some of them confidently excused if not justified their first entrance into rebellion, (the most barbarous certainly and inexcusable, that any Christians have been engaged in in any age,) irreconciled many to them who had compassion enough for them, and made it impossible for the king to restrain their adversaries, who were prepared to answer all they had said, from using the same license. They enlarged upon all the odious circumstances of the first year's rebellion, the murdering of above a hundred thousand persons in cold blood, and with all the barbarity imaginable; which murders and barbarities had been always excepted from pardon." And they told them, "that if there were not some amongst themselves who then appeared before his majesty, they were sure there would be found many amongst those for whom they appeared, who would be found guilty of those odious crimes, which were excluded from any benefit by those treaties." They took notice, "how confidently they had extolled their own innocence from the time that those two acts of pacification had passed, and their great affection for his majesty's service." And thereupon they declared, "that whatsoever legal title the adventurers had to the lands of which they were possessed, many of whom had constantly served the king; yet they would be contented, that all those, who in truth had preserved their integrity towards his majesty from the time of either if not of both the pacifications, and not swerved afterwards from their allegiance, should partake of his royal bounty, in such a manner and to such a degree, as his majesty thought fit to exercise towards them. But," they said, "they would make it appear, that their pretences to that grace and favour were not founded upon any reasonable title; that they had never consented to any one act of pacification, to which the promise of indemnity had been annexed, which they had not violated and broken within ten days after, and then returned to all the acts of disloyalty and rebellion.

"That after the first act of pacification ratified by the last king, in very few days after, they treated the herald, his majesty's officer, who came to proclaim that peace, with all manner of indignity, tearing his coat of arms (the king's arms) from his back; and beat and wounded him so, that he was hardly rescued from the loss of his life. That about the same time they endeavoured to surprise and murder the lord lieutenant, and pursued him to Dublin, which they forthwith besieged with their army, under the command of that general who had signed the peace. They imprisoned their commissioners who were authorized by them, for consenting to those articles which themselves had confirmed, and so prosecuted the war with as much asperity as ever; and refused to give that aid and assistance they were obliged to, for the recovery and restoration of his late majesty; the promise and expectation of which supply and assistance, was the sole ground and consideration of that treaty, and of the concessions therein made to them. That they thereupon more formally renounced their obedience to the king, and put themselves under the protection and disposal of Rinuccini, the pope's nuncio, whom they made their generalissimo of all their armies, their admiral at sea, and to preside in all their councils. After their divisions amongst themselves, and the burden of the tyranny they suffered under, had disposed them to petition his majesty that now is, who was then in France, to receive them into his protection, and to send the marquis of Ormond over again into Ireland to command them, and his majesty was so far prevailed with, as that he sent the marquis of Ormond into Munster, with such a supply of arms and ammunition as he could get; where the lord Inchiquin, lord president of that province, received him with the protestant army and joined with him: and shortly after, the confederate Irish made that second treaty of pacification, of which they now demanded the benefit. But that it was notoriously known, that they no sooner made that treaty than they brake it, in not bringing in those supplies of men and money, which they ought and were obliged to do; and the want whereof exposed the lord lieutenant to many difficulties, and was in truth the cause of the misfortune before Dublin: which he had no sooner undergone, than they withdrew from taking any further care of the kingdom, [and] raised scandals upon and jealousies of the whole body of the English, who, being so provoked, could no longer venture themselves in any action or conjunction with the Irish, without more apprehension of them than of the common enemy.

"Instead of endeavouring to compose these jealousies and ill humours, they caused an assembly or convention of their clergy to meet without the lord lieutenant's authority, and put the government of all things into their hands: who, in a short time, improved the jealousies in the mind of the people towards the few protestants who yet remained in the army, and who had served the king with all imaginable courage and fidelity from the very first hour of the rebellion, to that degree, that the marquis was even compelled to discharge his own troop of guards of

“horse, consisting of such officers and gentlemen as are mentioned before, and to trust himself and all the remaining towns and garrisons to the fidelity of the Irish; they protesting with much solemnity, that upon such a confidence, the whole nation would be united as one man to his majesty’s service, under his command. But they had no sooner received satisfaction in that particular, (which was not in the marquis’s power to refuse to give them,) but they raised several calumnies against his person, declaimed against his religion, and inhibited the people, upon pain of excommunication, to submit to this and that order that was issued out by the marquis, without obeying whereof the army could not stay together; and upon the matter forbade the people to pay any obedience to him. Instead of raising new forces according to their last promise and engagement, those that were raised ran from their colours and dispersed themselves; they who were trusted with the keeping of towns and forts, either gave them up by treachery to Cromwell, or lost them through cowardice to him upon very feeble attacks: and their general, Owen O’Neile, made a formal contract and stipulation with the parliament. And in the end, when they had divested the lord lieutenant of all power to oppose the enemy, and given him great cause to believe that his person was in danger to be betrayed, and delivered up to the enemy, they vouchsafed to petition him that he would depart out of the kingdom, (to the necessity whereof they had even already compelled him,) and that he would leave his majesty’s authority in the hands of one of his catholic subjects, to whom they promised to submit with the most punctual obedience.

“Hereupon the marquis, when he found that he could not unite them in any one action worthy the duty of good subjects, or of prudent men, towards their own preservation; and so, that his residence amongst them longer could in no degree contribute to his majesty’s service or honour; and that they would make it to be believed, that if he would have committed the command into the hands of a Roman catholic, they would have been able to preserve those towns which still remained in their possession, which were Limerick and Galway, and some other places of importance enough, though of less than those cities; and that they would likewise by degrees recover from the enemy what had been lost, which indeed was very possible for them to have done, since they had great bodies of men to perform any enterprise, and some good officers to lead them, if they would have been obedient to any command: hereupon the marquis resolved to gratify them, and to place the command in the hands of such a person, whose zeal for the catholic religion was unquestionable, and whose fidelity to the king [was] unblemished. And so he made choice of the marquis of Clanrickard, a gentleman, though originally of English extraction, whose family had for so many hundred years resided in that kingdom, that he was looked upon as being of the best family of the Irish; and whose family had, in all former rebellions, as well as in this last, preserved its loyalty to the crown not only unspotted, but eminently conspicuous.

“The Roman catholics of all kinds pretended at least a wonderful satisfaction and joy in this election; acknowledged it as a great obligation upon them and their posterity to the lord lieutenant, for making so worthy a choice; and applied themselves to the marquis of Clanrickard with all the protestations of duty and submission, to induce him to accept the charge and command over them; who indeed knew them too well to be willing to trust them, or to have any thing to do with them. Yet upon the marquis of Ormond’s earnest and solemn entreaty, as the last and only remedy to keep and retain some remainder of hope, from whence future hopes might grow; whereas all other thoughts were desperate, and the kingdom would presently fall into the hands and possession of the English, who would extirpate the whole nation: this importunity, and his great zeal for the service of the crown, and to support the government there until his majesty should procure other supplies, which the marquis of Ormond promised to solicit in France, or till his majesty should send better orders to preserve his authority in that kingdom, (the hope of which seemed the less desperate, because they had notice at the same time of his majesty’s march into England, with an army from Scotland,) prevailed with him so, that he was contented to receive such commissions from the lord lieutenant, as were necessary for the execution of the present command. Upon which the lord lieutenant embarked himself, with some few friends and servants, upon a little rotten pink that was bound for France, and very ill accommodated for such a voyage; being not to be persuaded to send to the commander in chief of the English for a pass, though he was assured that it would very readily have been granted: but it pleased God that he arrived safely in France, a little before or about the time that the king transported himself thither, after his miraculous escape from Worcester.

“The marquis of Ormond was no sooner gone out of Ireland, but the lord marquis of Clanrickard, then lord deputy, found himself no better treated than the lord of Ormond had been. That part of the clergy, which had continually opposed the lord lieutenant for being a protestant, were now as little satisfied with the deputy’s religion, and as violently contradicted all his commands and desires, and violated all their own promises, and quickly made it evident, that his affection and loyalty to the king was that which they disliked, and a crime that could not be balanced by the undoubted sincerity of his religion. They entered into secret correspondence with the enemy, and conspiracies between themselves: and though there were some persons of honour and quality with the deputy, who were very faithful to him and to the king; yet there were so many of another alloy, that all his counsels, resolutions, and designs, were discovered to the enemy soon enough to be prevented. And though some of the letters were intercepted, and the persons discovered who gave the intelligence, he had not power to bring them to justice; but being commonly friars and clergymen, the privilege of the church was insisted upon, and so they were rescued from the secular prosecution till their escape was con-

"trived. That perfidious and treacherous party had so great an interest in all the towns, forts, and garrisons, which yet pretended to be subject to the deputy, that all his orders were still contradicted or neglected: and the enemy no sooner appeared before any place, but some faction in the town caused it to be given up and rendered.

"Nor could this fatal sottishness be reformed, even by the severity and rigour which the English exercised upon them, who, by the wonderful judgment of God Almighty, always put those men to death, who put themselves and those towns into their hands; finding still that they had some barbarous part in the foul murders, which had been committed in the beginning of the rebellion, and who had been, by all the acts of grace granted by the several powers, still reserved for justice. And of this kind there would be so many instances in and about Limerick and Galway, that they deserve to be collected and mentioned in a discourse by itself, to observe and magnify the wonderful providence of God Almighty in bringing heinous crimes to light and punishment in this world, by means unapprehended by the guilty; inasmuch as it can hardly be believed, how many of the clergy and the laity, who had a signal hand in the contriving and fomenting the first rebellion, and in the perpetration of those horrible murders; and who had obstructed all overtures toward peace, and principally caused any peace that was made to be presently broken; who had with most passion adhered to the nuncio, and endeavoured most maliciously to exclude the king and his posterity from the dominion of Ireland; I say, it can hardly be believed, how many of these most notorious transgressors did by some act of treachery endeavour to merit from the English rebels, and so put themselves into their hands, and were by them publicly and reproachfully executed and put to death.

"This being the sad condition the deputy was in, and the Irish having, without his leave and against his express command, taken upon them to send messengers into Flanders, to desire the duke of Lorrain to take them into his protection, and offered to deliver several important places and sea-towns into his possession, and to become his subjects, (upon which the duke sent over an ambassador, and a good sum of money for their present relief,) the deputy was in a short time reduced to those straits, that he durst not remain in any town, nor even in his own house three days together, but was forced for his safety to shift from place to place, and sometimes to lodge in the woods and fields in cold and wet nights; by which he contracted those infirmities and diseases, which shortly after brought him to his grave. And in the end, he was compelled to accept a pass from the English, who had a reverence for his person and his unspotted reputation, to transport himself into England, where his wife and family were; and where he died before he could procure means to carry himself to the king, which he always intended to do."

When the commissioners had enlarged with some commotion in this narration and discourse, they again provoked the Irish commissioners to nominate "one person amongst themselves, or of

"those for whom they appeared, who they believed could in justice demand his majesty's favour; and if they did not make it evidently appear, that he had forfeited all his title to pardon after the treaties, and that he had been again as faulty to the king as before, they were very willing he should be restored to his estate." And then applying themselves to his majesty with great duty and submission, they concluded, "that if any persons had, by their subsequent [loyalty] or service, or by their attendance upon his majesty beyond the seas, rendered themselves grateful to him, and worthy of his royal favour, they were very willing that his majesty should restore all or any of them to their honours or estates, in such manner as his majesty thought fit, and against all impediments whatsoever." And upon this frank offer of theirs, which his majesty took very well, several acts of parliament were presently passed, for the indemnity and the restoring many persons of honour and interest to their estates; who could either in justice require it, as having been faithful always to the king, and suffered with him or for him; or who had so far manifested their affection and duty for his majesty, that he thought fit, in that consideration, to wipe out the memory of whatsoever had been formerly done amiss. And by this means, many were put into a full possession of their estates, to which they could make any good pretence at the time when the rebellion began.

This consideration and debate upon the settlement of this unhappy kingdom took up many days, the king being always present, in which there arose every day new difficulties. And it appeared plainly enough, that the guilt was so general, that if the letter of the act of parliament of the seventeenth year of the late king were strictly pursued, as possibly it might have been, if the reduction had fallen out likewise during the whole reign of that king, even an utter extirpation of the nation would have followed.

There were three particulars, which, upon the first mention and view of them, seemed in most men's eyes worthy of his majesty's extraordinary compassion and interposition; and yet upon a stricter examination were found as remediless as any of the rest. One was; "the condition of that miserable people, which was likewise very numerous, that was transplanted into Connaught; who had been removed from their own possessions in other provinces, with such circumstances of tyranny and cruelty, that their own consents obtained afterwards with that force could not reasonably be thought any confirmation of their unjust title, who were in possession of their lands."

To this it was answered, "that though it was acted in an irregular manner, and without lawful authority, it being in a time of usurpation; yet that the act itself was very prudent and necessary, and an act of mercy, without which an utter extirpation of the nation must have followed, if the kingdom were to be preserved in peace. That it cannot be denied to be an act of mercy, since there was not one man transplanted, who had not by the law forfeited all the estate he had; and his life might have been as legally taken from him: so that both his life, and whatever estate he had granted to him in Connaught, was from the pure bounty of the

"state, which might and did by the act of parliament seize upon the same. That, beside the unsteady humour of that people, and their natural inclination to rebel, it was notorious, that whilst they were dispersed over the kingdom, though all their forces had been so totally subdued, that there was not throughout the whole kingdom a visible number of twenty men together, who pretended to be in arms; yet there were daily such disorders committed by thefts and robberies and murders, that they could not be said to be in peace. Nor could the English, man, woman, or child, go one mile from their habitations upon their necessary employment, but they were found murdered and stripped by the Irish, who lay in wait for those purposes; so that the people were very hardly restrained from committing a massacre upon them wherever they were met: so that there appeared no other way to prevent an utter extirpation of them, but to confine and restrain them within such limits and bounds, that might keep them from doing mischief, and thereby make them safe. That thereupon this expedient was laid hold of. And whereas they had nothing to enable them to live upon in the places where they were dispersed, they had now by this transplantation into Connaught lands given them, sufficient with their industry to live well upon; of which there was good evidence, by their having lived well there since that time, and many of them much better than they had ever done before. And the state, which had done this grace for them, had great reason, when it gave them good titles to the land assigned to them, which they might plead in any court of justice, to require from them releases of what they had forfeited; which, though to the public of no use or validity, were of benefit and behoofeful to many particular persons, for the quieting their possessions against frivolous suits and claims which might start up. That this transplantation had been acted, finished, and submitted to by all parties, who had enjoyed the benefit thereof, quietly and without disturbance, many years before the king's return: and the soldiers and adventurers had been likewise so many years in the possession of their lots, in pursuance of the act of parliament, and had laid out so much money in building and planting, that the consequence of such an alteration as was now proposed would be the highest confusion imaginable."

And it cannot be denied, that if the king could have thought it safe and seasonable to have reviewed all that had been done, and taken those advantages upon former miscarriages and misapplications, as according to the strictness of that very law he might have done; the whole foundation, upon which all the hopes rested of preserving that kingdom within the obedience to the crown of England, must have been shaken and even dissolved; with no small influence and impression upon the peace and quiet of England itself. For the memory of the beginning of the rebellion in Ireland (how many other rebellions soever had followed as bad, or worse in respect of the consequences that attended them) was as fresh and as odious to the whole people of England, as it had been the first year. And though no man durst avow so unchristian a wish, as an extirpation

of them, (which they would have been very well contented with;) yet no man dissembled his opinion, that it was the only security the English could have in that kingdom, that the Irish should be kept so low, that they should have no power to hurt them.

Another particular, that seemed more against the foundation of justice, was; "that the soldiers and adventurers expected and promised themselves, that in this new settlement that was under debate, all entails and settlements at law should be destroyed, whether upon consideration of marriage, or any other contracts which had been made before the rebellion. Nor had there been in the whole former proceedings in the time of the usurpation, any consideration taken of mortgages or debts due by statute or recognizance, or upon any other security; so that all such debts must be either lost to the proprietors, or remain still with the interest upon the land, whoever had enjoyed the benefit or profits thereof." All which seemed to his majesty very unreasonable and unjust; and that such estates should remain forfeited by the treason of the father, who had been only tenant for life, against all descents and legal titles of innocent children; and of which, in all legal attainders, the crown never had or could receive any benefit.

Yet, how unreasonable soever these pretences seemed to be, it was no easy matter to give rules and directions for the remedy of the mischief, without introducing another mischief equally unjust and unreasonable. For the commissioners declared, "that if such titles, as are mentioned, were preserved and allowed to be good, there would not in that universal guilt, which upon the matter comprehended and covered the whole Irish nation, be one estate forfeited by treason, but such conveyances and settlements would be produced to secure and defend the same; and though they would be forged, there would not be witnesses wanting to prove and justify whatsoever the evidence could be applied to. And if those trials were to be by the known rules and customs of the law in cases of the like nature, there was too much reason to suspect and fear that there would be little justice done: since a jury of Irish would infallibly find against the English, let the evidence be what it could be; and there was too much reason to apprehend that the English, whose animosity was not less, would be as unjust in bringing in their verdict against the Irish, right or wrong." And there was experience afterwards, in the prosecution of this affair, of such forgeries and perjuries, as have not been heard of amongst Christians; and in which, to our shame, the English were not behindhand with the Irish. The king however, thought it not reasonable or just for him, upon what probable suggestions soever, to countenance such a barefaced violation of the law, by any declaration of his; but commanded his council at law to make such alterations in the expressions as might be fit for him to consent to.

The third particular, and which much affected the king, was; "that in this universal joy for his restoration without blood, and with the indemnity of so many hundred thousands who had deserved to suffer the utmost punishments, the poor Irish, after so long sufferings in the

"greatest extremity of misery, should be the only persons who should find no benefit or ease by his majesty's restoration, but remain robbed and spoiled of all they had, and be as it were again sacrificed to the avarice and cruelty of them, who had not deserved better of his majesty than the other poor people had done."

To which there can be no other answer made, which is very sufficient in point of justice, but that, "as their rebellion and other crimes had been long before his majesty's time, so full vengeance had been executed upon them; and they had paid the penalties of their crimes and transgressions before his majesty's return: so that he could not restore that which they called their own, without taking it from them, who were become the just owners by an act of parliament; which his majesty could not violate without injustice, and breach of the faith he had given."

And that which was their greatest misery and reproach, and which distinguished them from the subjects of the other two kingdoms, who were otherwise bad enough, was; that both the other nations had made many noble attempts for redeeming their liberty, and for the restoration of his majesty, (for Scotland itself had done much towards it;) and his present restoration was, with God's blessing, and only with his blessing, by the sole effects of the courage and affection of his own subjects: so that England and Scotland had in a great degree redeemed, and even undone what had been before done amiss by them; and his majesty had improved and secured those affections to him by those promises and concessions, which he was in justice obliged to perform. But the miserable Irish alone had no part in contributing to his majesty's happiness; nor had God suffered them to be the least instruments in bringing his good pleasure to pass, or to give any testimony of their repentance for the wickedness they had wrought, or of their resolution to be better subjects for the future: so that they seemed as a people left out by Providence, and exempted from any benefit from that blessed conjuncture in his majesty's restitution.

And this disadvantage was improved towards them, by their frequent manifestation of an inveterate animosity against the English nation and English government; which again was returned to them in an irreconcilable jealousy of all the English towards them. And to this their present behaviour and imprudence contributed very much: for it appeared evidently, that they expected the same concessions (which the necessity of that time had made fit to be granted to them) in respect of their religion should be now likewise confirmed. And this temper made it very necessary for the king to be very wary in dispensing extraordinary favours (which his natural merciful inclination prompted him to) to the Irish; and to prefer the general interest of his three kingdoms, before the particular interest of a company of unhappy men, who had foolishly forfeited their own; though he pitied them, and hoped in the conclusion to be able, without exposing the public peace to manifest hazard, in some degree to improve their condition.

Upon the whole matter, the king found, that if he deferred to settle the government of Ireland till a perfect settlement of all particular interests

could be made, it would be very long. He saw it could not be done at once; and that there must be some examinations taken there, and some matters more clearly stated and adjusted, before his majesty could make his determination upon those particulars, which purely depended upon his own judgment; and that some difficulties would be removed or lessened by time: and so he passed that which is called the first act of settlement; and was persuaded to commit the execution thereof to a great number of commissioners, recommended to his majesty by those who were most conversant in the affairs of Ireland; none or very few of which were known to his majesty, or to any of those who had been so many years from their country, in their constant attendance upon his majesty's person beyond the seas.

And for the better countenance of this commission, and likewise to restrain the commissioners from any excess, if their very large jurisdiction should prove a temptation to them, the king thought fit to commit the sword to three justices, which he had resolved when the sending the lord Roberts was declined. Those three were, sir Morrice Eustace, whom he newly made lord chancellor of Ireland, the lord Broghill, whom he now made earl of Orrery, and sir Charles Coote, whom he likewise made earl of Montrath. The first had been his sergeant at law long in that kingdom, and had been eminent in the profession of the law, and the more esteemed for being always a protestant, though an Irishman, and of approved fidelity to the king during this whole rebellion. But he was now old, and made so little show of any parts extraordinary, that, but for the testimony that was given of him, it might have been doubted whether he ever had any. The other two had been both eminently against the king, but upon this turn, when all other powers were down, eminently for him; the one, very able and generous; the other, proud, dull, and very avaricious. But the king had not then power to choose any, against whom some as material objections might not be made, and who had been able to do as much good. With them, there were too many others upon whom honours were conferred; upon some, that they might do no harm, who were thereby enabled to do the more; and upon others, that they might not murmur, who murmured the more for having nothing given them but honour: and so they were all despatched for Ireland; by which the king had some ease, his service little advancement.

After a year was spent in the execution of this commission, (for I shall, without discontinuing the relation, say all that I intend upon this subject of Ireland,) there was very little done towards the settling the kingdom, or towards preparing any thing that might settle it; but on the contrary, the breaches were made wider, and so much passion and injustice shewed, that complaints were brought to his majesty from all parts of the kingdom, and from all persons in authority there. The number of the commissioners was so great, and their interests so different, that they made no despatch. Very many of them were in possession of those lands, which others sued for before them; and they themselves bought broken titles and pretences of other men, for inconsiderable sums of money, which they supported and made good by their own authority. Such of the commissioners,



who had their own particular interest and concernment depending, attended the service very diligently: the few who were more equal and just, because they had no interest of their own at stake, were weary of their attendance and expense, (there being no allowance for their pains;) and, offended at the partiality and injustice which they saw practised, withdrew themselves, and would be no longer present at those transactions which they could not regulate or reform.

All interests were equally offended and incensed; and the soldiers and adventurers complained no less of the corruption and injustice than the Irish did: so that the lords justices and council thought it necessary to transmit another bill to his majesty, which, as I remember, they called an explanatory bill of the former; and in that they provided, "that no person who lived in Ireland, or had any pretence to an estate there, should be employed as a commissioner; but that his majesty should be desired to send over a competent number of well qualified persons out of England to attend that service, upon whom a fit salary should be settled by the bill; and such rules set down as might direct and govern the manner of their proceeding; and that an oath might be prescribed by the bill, which the commissioners should take, for the impartial administration of justice, and for the prosecution and execution of this bill," which was transmitted as an act by the king. His majesty made choice of seven gentlemen of very clear reputations; one of them being an eminent sergeant at law, whom he made a judge upon his return from thence; two others, lawyers of very much esteem; and the other four, gentlemen of very good extractions, excellent understandings, and above all suspicion for their integrity, and generally reputed to be superior to any base temptation.

But this second bill, before it could be transmitted, took up as much time as the former. The same numerous retinue of all interests from Ireland attended the king; and all that had been said in the former debates was again repeated, and almost with the same passion and impertinence. The Irish made large observations upon the proceedings of the late commissioners, to justify those fears and apprehensions which they had formerly urged: and there appeared too much reason to believe, that their greatest design now was, rather to keep off any settlement, than that they hoped to procure such a one as they desired; relying more to find their account from a general dissatisfaction, and the distraction and confusion that was like to attend it, than from any determination that was like to be in their favour. Yet they had friends in the court, who made them great promises; which they could not be without, since they made as great promises to those who were to protect them. There were indeed many particular men both of the soldiers and adventurers, who in respect of their many notorious and opprobrious actions against the crown throughout their whole employment, (and who even since his majesty's return had enough expressed how little they were satisfied with the revolution,) were so universally odious both in England and Ireland, that if their particular cases could have been severed from the rest, without violation of the rule of justice that secured all the

rest, any thing that could have been done to their detriment would have been grateful enough to every body.

After many very tedious debates, in which his majesty endeavoured by all the ways he could think of to find some expedient, that would enable him to preserve the miserable Irish from the extremity of misery; he found it necessary at last to acquiesce with a very positive assurance from the earl of Orrery and others, who were believed to understand Ireland very exactly, and who, upon the surveys that had been taken with great punctuality, undertook, "that there was land enough to satisfy all the soldiers and adventurers, and that there would be a very great proportion left for the accommodation of the Irish very liberally." And for the better improvement of that proportion, the king prescribed some rules and limitations to the immoderate pretences and demands of the soldiers and adventurers upon the doubling ordinance and imperfect admeasurement, and some other irregularities, with which his majesty was not in honour or justice obliged to comply with them: and so he transmitted this second bill.

Whilst this second bill was under deliberation, there fell out an accident in Ireland, which produced great alterations with reference to the affairs of that kingdom. The differences which had every day arisen between the three justices, and their different humours and affections, had little advanced the settling that government; so that there would have been a necessity of making some mutation in it: so that the death of the earl of Monrath, which happened at this time, fell out conveniently enough to the king; for by it the government was again loose. For the earl of Orrery was in England; and the power resided not in less than two: so that the chancellor, who remained single there, was without any authority to act. And they who took the most dispassioned survey of all that had been done, and of what remained to be done, did conclude that nothing could reasonably produce a settlement there, but the deputation one single person to exercise that government. And the duke of Albemarle himself, who had a great estate in that kingdom, which made him the more long for a settlement, and who had before the king's return and ever since dissuaded the king from thinking of employing the duke of Ormond there, who had himself aversion enough from that command, of which he had sufficient experience; I say, the general had now so totally changed his mind, that he plainly told the king, "that there was no way to explicate that kingdom out of those intricacies in which it was involved, but by sending over a lord lieutenant thither. That he thought it not fit for his majesty's service, that himself, who had that commission of lord lieutenant, should be absent from his person; and therefore that he was very ready and desirous to give up his commission: and that in his judgment nobody would be able to settle and compose the several factions in that kingdom, but the duke of Ormond, who he believed would be grateful to all sorts of people." And therefore he advised his majesty very positively, "that he would immediately give him the commission, and as soon as should be possible send him away into Ireland." And both the king and the general spake with the duke of Or-



mond, and prevailed with him to accept it, before either of them communicated it to the chancellor, who the king well knew would for many reasons, and out of his great friendship to the duke, dissuade him from undertaking it; which was very true.

And the king and the duke of Ormond came one day to the chancellor, to advise what was to be done for Ireland; and (concealing the resolution) the king told him what the general's advice was, and asked him "what he thought of sending the duke of Ormond his lieutenant into Ireland." To which the chancellor answered presently, "that the king would do very ill in sending him, and that the duke would do much worse, if he desired to go." Upon which they both smiled, and told him, "that the general had prevailed with the king, and the king with the duke; so that the matter was resolved, and there remained nothing to be done but preparing the instructions, which he must think upon."

The chancellor could not refrain from saying very warmly, "that he was sorry for it; and that it would be good for neither of them, that the duke should be from the king, or that he should be in Ireland, where he would be able to do no good. Besides that he had given himself so much to his ease and pleasure since he came into England, that he would never be able to take the pains, which that most laborious province would require." He said, "if this counsel had been taken when the king came first over, it might have had good success, when the duke was full of reputation, and of unquestionable interest in his majesty, and the king himself was more feared and revered than presumed upon: so that the duke would have had full authority to have restrained the exorbitant desires and expectations of all the several parties, who had all guilt enough upon their hearts to fear some rigour from the king, or to receive moderate grace with infinite submission and acknowledgment. But now the duke, besides his withdrawing himself from all business as much as he could, had let himself fall to familiarities with all degrees of men; and upon their averments had undertaken to protect, or at least to solicit men's interests, which it may be might not appear upon examination to be founded upon justice. And the king himself had been exposed to all manner of importunities, received all men's addresses, and heard all they would say; made many promises without deliberation, and appeared so desirous to satisfy all men, that he was irresolute in all things. And therefore till he had taken some firm and fixed resolutions himself, from which neither prejudice towards one man, nor pity and compassion on the behalf of another, should remove him; the lieutenant of Ireland would be able to do him little service, and would be himself continually exposed to scorn and affronts."

And afterwards the chancellor expostulated warmly with the duke of Ormond, (who well knew that all his commotion proceeded from the integrity of his unquestionable friendship,) and told him, "that he would repent this rash resolution; and that he would have been able to have contributed more to the settlement of Ireland, by being near the person of the king, than by being at Dublin, from whence in a short time

"there would be as many aspersions and reproaches sent hither, as had been against other men; and that he had no reason to be confident, that they would not make as deep impression by the arts and industry of his enemies, of which he had store, and would have more by being absent, for the court naturally had little regard for any man who was absent. And that he carried with him the same infirmity into Ireland with that of the king, which kept it from being settled here; which was, an unwillingness to deny any man what he could not but see was impossible to grant, and a desire to please every body, which whosoever affected should please nobody."

The duke, who never took any thing ill he said to him, told him, "that nobody knew better than he the aversion he had to that command, when it may be he might have undertaken it with more advantage." He confessed, "he saw many dangers with reference to himself, which he knew not how to avoid, and many difficulties with reference to the public, which he had little hope to overcome; yet Ireland must not be given over: yet since there seemed to be a general opinion, with which the king concurred, that he could be able to contribute to the composing the distempers, and the settling the government; he would not suspect himself, but believe that he might be able to do somewhat towards it." And he gave his word to him, that nothing should be defective on his part in point of industry; for he was resolved to take indefatigable pains for a year or two, in which he hoped the settlement would be completed, that he might have ease and recreation for the other part of his life." And he confessed, "that he did the more willingly enter upon that province, that he might have the opportunity to settle his own fortune, which, how great soever in extent of lands, did not yet, by reason of the general unsettlement, yield him a quarter of the revenue it ought to do. That for what concerned himself, and the disadvantages he might undergo by his absence, he referred it to Providence and the king's good nature; who," he said, "knew him better than any of his enemies did; and therefore, he hoped, he would believe himself before them." However, the truth is, he was the more disposed to that journey, by the dislike he had of the court, and the necessary exercises which men there were to excel in, for which he was superannuated: and if he did not already discern any lessening of the king's grace towards him, he saw enough to make him believe, that the contrary ought not to be depended upon. And within few years after, he had cause to remember what the chancellor had foretold him of both their fortunes. The duke (with the seven commissioners who were appointed for that act of settlement, and all other persons who attended that interest) entered upon his journey from London about the end of July, in the year one thousand six hundred sixty and four, full four years and more after the king's happy return into England.

It was some months after the commissioners' arrival in Ireland, before they could settle those orders and rules for their proceedings, which were necessary to be done, before the people should be appointed to attend. And it was as necessary that they should in the order of their judicatory first

proceed upon the demands and pretences of the Irish; both because there could be no settlement of soldiers or adventurers in possession of any lands, before the titles of the Irish to those lands were determined; and because there was a clause in the last act of parliament, that all the Irish should put in their claims by a day appointed, and that they should be determined before another day, which was likewise assigned; which days might be prolonged for once by the lord lieutenant, upon such reasons as satisfied him: so that the delay for so many months before the commissioners sat, gave great argument of complaint to the Irish, though it could not be avoided, in regard that the commissioners themselves had not been nominated by the king above twenty days before they began their journey into Ireland; so that they could never so much as read over the acts of parliament together, before they came to Dublin. And then they found so many difficult clauses in both acts of parliament, and so contrary to each other, that it was no easy matter to determine how to govern themselves in point of right, and to reduce themselves to any method in their proceedings.

But after they had adjusted all things as well as they could, they published their orders in what method they meant to proceed, and appointed the Irish to put in their claims by such a day, and to attend the prosecution of them accordingly. And they had no sooner entered upon their work, but the English thought they had began it soon enough. For they heard every day many of the Irish, who had been known to have been the most forward in the first beginning of the rebellion, and the most malicious in the carrying it on, declared innocent; and deeds of settlement and entails which had been never heard of before, and which would have been produced (as might reasonably be believed) before the former commissioners, if they had had them to produce, now declared to be good and valid; by which the Irish were immediately put into the possession of a very great quantity of land taken from the English: so that in a short time the commissioners had rendered themselves as generally odious as the Irish, and were looked upon as persons corrupted for that interest, which had every day success almost in whatsoever they pretended. And their determinations happened to have the more of prejudice upon them, because the commissioners were always divided in their judgments. And it is no wonder, that they who seemed most to adhere to the English interest were most esteemed by them.

The parliament in Ireland was then sitting: and the house of commons, consisting of many members who were either soldiers or adventurers, or had the like interest, was very much offended at the proceedings of the commissioners, made many votes against them, and threatened them with their authority and jurisdiction. But the commissioners, who knew their own power, and that there was no appeal against their judgments, proceeded still in their own method, and continued to receive the claims of the Irish, beyond the time that the act of parliament or the act of state limited to them, as was generally understood. And during the last eight or ten days sitting upon those claims, they passed more judgments and determinations than in near a year before, indeed with very wonderful expedition; when the Eng-

lish, who were dispossessed by those judgments, had not their witnesses ready, upon a presumption, that in point of time it was not possible for those causes to come to be heard. By these sentences and decrees, many hundred thousands of acres were adjudged to the Irish, which had been looked upon as unquestionably forfeited, and of which the English had been long in possession accordingly.

This raised so great a clamour, that the English refused to yield possession upon the decrees of the commissioners, who, by an omission in the act of parliament, were not qualified with power enough to provide for the execution of their own sentences. The courts of law established in that kingdom would not, nor indeed could, give any assistance to the commissioners. And the lord lieutenant and council, who had in the beginning, by their authority, put many into the possession of the lands which had been decreed to them by the commissioners, were now more tender and reserved in that multitude of decrees that had lately passed: so that the Irish were using their utmost endeavours, by force to recover the possession of those lands which the commissioners had decreed to them; whilst the English were likewise resolved by force to defend what they had been so long possessed of, notwithstanding the commissioners' determination. And the commissioners were so far troubled and dissatisfied with these proceedings, and with some intricate clauses in the act of parliament concerning the future proceedings; that, though they had not yet made any entrance upon the decision of the claims of the English or of the Irish protestants, they declared, "that they would proceed no further in the execution of their commission, until "they could receive his majesty's further pleasure." And that they might the more effectually receive it, they desired leave from the king that they might attend his royal person; and there being at the same time several complaints made against them to his majesty, and appeals to him from their decrees, he gave the commissioners leave to return. And at the same time all the other interests sent their deputies to solicit their rights; in the prosecution whereof, after much time spent, the king thought fit likewise to receive the advice and assistance of his lieutenant: and so the duke of Ormond returned again to the court. And the settlement of Ireland was the third time brought before the king and council; there being then likewise transmitted a third bill, as additional and supplemental to the other two, and to reverse many of the decrees made by the commissioners, they bearing the reproach of all that had been done or had succeeded amiss, and from all persons who were grieved in what kind soever.

The king was very tender of the reputation of his commissioners, who had been always esteemed men of great probity and unquestionable reputation: and though he could not refuse to receive complaints, yet he gave those who complained no further countenance, than to give the others opportunity to vindicate themselves. Nor did there appear the least evidence to question the sincerity of their proceeding, or to make them liable to any reasonable suspicion of corruption: and the complaints were still prosecuted by those, who had that taken from them which they desired to keep for themselves.

The truth is, there is reason enough to believe, that upon the first arrival of the commissioners in Ireland, and some conversation they had, and the observation they made of the great bitterness and animosities from the English, both soldiers and adventurers, towards the whole Irish nation of what kind soever; the scandalous proceeding of the late commissioners upon the first act, when they had not been guided by any rules of justice, but rejected all evidence, which might operate to the taking away any thing from them which they resolved to keep, the judges themselves being both parties and witnesses in all the causes brought before them; together with the very ill reputation very many of the soldiers and adventurers had for extraordinary malice to the crown and to the royal family; and the notable barbarity they had exercised towards the Irish, who without doubt for many years had undergone the most cruel oppressions of all kind that can be imagined, many thousands of them having been forced, without being covered under any house, to perish in the open fields for hunger; the infamous purchases which had been made by many persons, who had compelled the Irish to sell their remainders and lawful pretences for very inconsiderable sums of money; I say, these and many other particulars of this kind, together with some attempt that had been made upon their first arrival, to corrupt them against all pretences which should be made by the Irish, might probably dispose the commissioners themselves to such a prejudice against many of the English, and to such a compassion towards the Irish, that they might be much inclined to favour their pretences and claims; and to believe that the peace of the kingdom and his majesty's government might be better provided for, by their being settled in the lands of which they had been formerly possessed, than by supporting the ill-gotten titles of those, who had manifested all imaginable infidelity and malice against his majesty whilst they had any power to oppose him, and had not given any testimony of their conversion, or of their resolution to yield him for the future a perfect and entire obedience after they could oppose him no longer; as if they desired only to retain those lands which they had gotten by rebellion, together with the principles by which they had gotten them, until they should have an opportunity to justify both by some new power, or a concurrence amongst themselves. Whencesoever it proceeded, it was plain enough the Irish had received more favour than was expected or imagined.

And in the very entrance into the work, to avoid the partiality which was too apparent in the English towards each other, and their animosity against the Irish as evident, very strict rules had been set down by the commissioners, what kind of evidence they would admit to be good, and receive accordingly. And it was provided, "that the evidence of no soldier or adventurer should be received in any case, to which himself was never so much a stranger;" as, if his own lot had fallen in Munster, and he had no pretence to any thing out of that province, his evidence should not be received, as to any thing that he had seen done in Leinster or Connaught or Ulster, wherein he was not at all concerned: which was generally thought to be a very unjust rule, after so many years expired, and so many persons dead, who

had likewise been present at those actions. And by this means many men were declared not to have been in rebellion, when there might have been full evidence, that they had been present in such and such a battle, and in such and such a siege, if the witnesses might have been received who were then present at those actions, and ready to give testimony of it, and of such circumstances as could not have been feigned, if their evidence might have been received.

That which raised the greatest umbrage against the commissioners was, that a great number of the most infamous persons of the Irish nation, who were looked upon by those of their own country with the greatest detestation, as men who had been the most violent fomenters and prosecutors of the rebellion, and the greatest opposers of all moderate counsels, and of all expedients which might have contributed towards a peace in the late king's time, (whereby the nation might have been redeemed,) and who had not had the confidence so much as to offer any claim before the late commissioners, were now adjudged and declared innocent, and so restored to their estates: and that many others, who in truth had never been in rebellion, but notoriously served the king against the rebels both in England and Ireland, and had never been put out of their estates, now upon some slight evidence, by the interception of letters, or confession of messengers that they had had correspondence with the rebels, (though it was evident that even that correspondence had been perfunctory, and only to secure them that they might pursue his majesty's service,) were condemned, and had their estates taken from them, by the judgment of the commissioners.

And of this I cannot forbear to give an instance, and the rather, that it may appear how much a personal prejudice, upon what account soever, weighs and prevails against justice itself, even with men who are not in their natures friends to injustice. It was the case of the earl of Tyrconnell, and it was this. He was the younger son of the lord Fitzwilliams, a catholic lord in Ireland, but of ancient English extraction, of a fair estate, and never suspected to be inclined to the rebels; as very few of the English were. Oliver Fitzwilliams (who was the person we are now speaking of, and the younger son of that lord Fitzwilliams) had been sent by his father into France, to be there educated, many years before the rebellion. He was a proper and a handsome man, and by his courage had gotten a very good reputation in the French army; where, after he had spent some years in the *campagna*, he obtained the command of a regiment in which he had been first a captain, and was looked upon generally as an excellent officer.

When the army was sent into winter quarters, he went to Paris, to kiss the hands of the queen of England, who was come thither the summer before, it being in the year 1644. Having often waited upon her majesty, he made many professions of duty and obedience to the king, and much condemned the rebellion of the Irish, and said, "he knew many of them were cozened and deceived by tales and lies, and had no purpose to withdraw themselves from his majesty's obedience." He made offer of his service to the queen, "and that, if she thought he might be able to do the king any service, he would immedi-

"ately go into England, and with his majesty's " approbation into Ireland, where, if he could do " no other service, he was confident he could " draw off many of the Irish from the service of " the rebels." The queen, upon the good reputation he had there, accepted his offer, and writ a letter by him to the king, with a very good character of his person, and as very fit to be trusted in Ireland.

It was his fortune to come to the king very few days before the battle of Naseby, where, as a volunteer in the troop of prince Rupert, he behaved himself with very signal courage in the view of the king himself; who shortly after gave him a letter full of recommendation and testimony to the marquis of Ormond, his lieutenant of Ireland, who received him kindly, and having conferred with him at large, and understood all he intended to do, gave him leave to go into the Irish quarters, and to return again, as he thought fit. And in a short time after, both his father and his elder brother died; whereby both the title and the estate devolved to him, and he was possessed accordingly.

The man was before and in his nature elate and proud enough, had a greater value of himself than other men had, and a less of other men than they deserved, whereby he got not himself beloved by many; but nobody who loved him worst ever suspected him to incline to the rebels, though they knew that he was often in their quarters, and had often conferences with them: and a good part of his estate lay in their quarters. He attended upon the lord lieutenant in all his expeditions: and when the Irish so infamously broke the first peace, and besieged the lieutenant in Dublin, (upon which he was compelled to deliver it into the hands of the parliament with the king's consent,) the lord Fitzwilliams returned with him or about the same time into England, and from thence again into France; where he married the daughter of the widow countess of Clare, and sister to that earl, a lady of a religion the most opposite to the Roman catholic, which he suffered her to enjoy without any contradiction. When the war was at an end in England, and the king a prisoner, he with his wife and family transported himself into England, and after some time into Ireland; where Cromwell had a jealous eye upon him, but not being able to discover any thing against him, could not hinder him from possessing the estate that had descended to him from his father and his elder brother. And the war being there ended, and the settlement made by the act of parliament upon the statute, as hath been mentioned before, there was not the least trouble given to him; but he quietly enjoyed the possession of his whole estate till the king's return, when he came into England to kiss his majesty's hand, and was by him made earl of Tyrconnell.

When the commissioners sat upon the first act, who observed no rules of justice, law, or equity, when they contradicted any interest or appetite of their own, he received no disturbance; but when these new commissioners came over, all men, as well protestants as others, whose estates had never been questioned, thought it safest for them to put in their claims before the commissioners, to prevent any trouble that might arise hereafter. This gentleman followed that advice and example, put in his claim, and pressed the commissioners for a

short day to be heard. The day was appointed. Neither adventurer, soldier, or any other person, made any title to the land: but some envious person, unqualified for any prosecution, offered a letter to the commissioners which had many years before, and before his coming into Ireland, been written by colonel Fitzwilliams in Paris to a Jesuit, one Hartogan, then in Ireland; in which he gave him notice "of his purpose of coming " into Ireland, where he hoped to do their friends " some service."

This letter was writ when the queen first designed to send him to the king, that the Irish, who were the most jealous people of the world, might know of his purpose to come thither, before they should hear of his being in Dublin; and now being produced before the commissioners, without considering how long since it was writ, or the reason of writing it, that he had served the king, and never in the least degree against him, upon one of their rules, "that a correspondence "with the rebels was a good evidence," they without any pause declared him nocent, and presently assigned his estate to some persons to whom reprisals were to be made: whilst they who thought the judgment very unjust, laughed at the ill luck of a man whom they did not love; and all men were well enough pleased with the sentence, who were displeased with the person. And this party pursued him so severely into England, that the king's interposition to redeem him from so unjust a decree was looked upon as over-favouring the Irish; when none were so glad of the decree as the Irish, who universally hated him. Nor was he at last restored to the possession of his estate, without making some composition with those to whom the commissioners had assigned it.

Many, who had formerly made their claims without insisting upon any deeds of settlement or other conveyances in law, now produced former settlements in consideration of marriage, or other like good considerations in law, made before the beginning of the rebellion: which being now proved by witnesses enough, decrees were every day obtained for the restitution of great quantities of land upon those deeds and conveyances; though the forgeries of those deeds and perjury of those witnesses were very notorious. And some instances were given of the manifestation and direct proof that was made of the forgery of deeds, upon which decrees had been made, to the satisfaction of the commissioners themselves, within a very short time after the pronouncing those decrees: and yet no reparation was given, but the decrees proceeded and were executed with all rigour, as if no such thing had appeared.

The commissioners answered, "that they had "made no decrees but according to their consciences, and such as they were obliged to make "by the course and rule of justice. That they "did doubt and in truth believe, that there had "been evil practices used both in the forging "of deeds and corrupting of witnesses, and that "the same was equally practised by the English "as the Irish: and therefore that they had been "obliged to make that order, which had been so "much excepted against, not to admit the testimony of any English adventurer or soldier in "the case of another adventurer or soldier; for "that it was very notorious, they looked upon

"the whole as one joint interest, and so gratified each other in their testimonies." And of this they gave many sad instances, by which it was too evident that the perjuries were mutual, and too much practised by the one and the other side.

"That they had used all the providence and vigilance they could, by the careful examination of witnesses, (which were produced apart, and never in the presence of each other,) and by asking them all such material questions as occurred to their understandings, and which they could not expect to be asked, to discover the truth, and to prevent and manifest all perjuries. That they had likewise used their utmost diligence and care to prevent their being imposed upon with false and forged deeds and conveyances, by taking a precise and strict view themselves of all deeds produced; and interrogated the witnesses with all the cunning they could, upon the matter and consideration upon which such deeds had been entered into, and upon the matter and circumstances in the execution thereof: which was all the providence they could use. And though they met with many reasons oftentimes to doubt the integrity of the proceedings, and in their own private consciences to apprehend there might be great corruption; yet that they were obliged judicially to determine according to the testimony of the witnesses, and the evidence of those deeds in law against which no proofs were made. That they had constantly heard all that the adverse party had thought fit to object, both against the credit of any witnesses, and the truth and validity of any conveyances which were produced; upon which they had rejected many witnesses, and disallowed some conveyances: but when the objections were only founded upon presumptions and probabilities, as most usually they were, they could not weigh down the full and categorical evidence that was given.

"That if they had yielded to the importunities of the persons concerned, who often pressed to have further time given to them to prove such a perjury, or to disprove such a conveyance; it must have made their work endless, and stopped all manner of proceedings, for which it appeared they were straitened too much in time; and that indeed would have but opened the door wider for perjuries and other corruptions; since it was very plain to them, that either side could bring as many witnesses as they pleased, to prove what they pleased, and that they would bring as many as they believed necessary to the work in hand. And therefore the commissioners having before prescribed a method and rule to themselves for their proceedings, and that no man could have a cause, in which he was concerned, brought to hearing without his knowing when it was to be heard, and so it was to be presumed, that he was well provided to support his own title; they had thought fit, upon mature deliberation amongst themselves, to adhere to the order they had prescribed to themselves and others, and to conclude, that they would not be able to prove that another day, which they were not able to prove at the time when they ought to have been ready.

"For the discovery of any forgery after the decrees had been passed, and upon which they

"had given no reparation," they confessed, "that some few such discoveries had been made to them, by which the forgery appeared very clearly: but as they had no power by the act of parliament to punish either forgery or perjury, but must leave the examination and punishment thereof to the law, and to the judges of the law; so, that they had only authority to make decrees upon such grounds as satisfied their consciences, but had not any authority to reverse those decrees, after they were once made and published, upon any evidence whatsoever." They concluded with their humble desire to the king, "that the most strict examinations might be made of their corruptions, in which," they said, "they were sure to be found very innocent, against all the malice that was discovered against them: that they had proceeded in all things according to the integrity of their hearts, and the best of their understandings; and if through the defect of that they had erred in any part of their determinations and judgments, they hoped their want of wisdom should not be imputed to them as a crime."

Many, who had a very good opinion of the persons and abilities of the commissioners, were not yet satisfied with their defence; nor did they believe, that they were so strictly bound to judge upon the testimony of suspected witnesses; but that they were therefore trusted with an arbitrary power, because it was foreseen that juries were not like to be entire: so that they were, upon weighing all circumstances, to declare what in their consciences they believed to be true and just. That if they had bound themselves up by too strict and unreasonable rules, they should rather in time have reformed those rules, than think to support what was done amiss, by the observation of what they had prescribed to themselves. And it was believed, that the entire exclusion of the English from being witnesses for the proving of what could not in nature be otherwise proved, was not just or reasonable. That their want of power to reverse or alter their own decrees, upon any emergent reasons which could afterwards occur, was a just ground for their more serious deliberation in and before they passed any such decrees. And their excuse for not granting longer time when it was pressed for, [was founded upon] reasons which were visibly not to be justified; it not being possible for any man to defend himself against the claims of the Irish, without knowing what deeds or witnesses they could produce for making good their suggestions; and therefore it was as impossible for them to have all their evidence upon the place. Besides that it was very evident, that in the last ten days of their sitting (which was likewise thought to be when their power as to those particulars was determined, and in which they had made more decrees than in all the time before) they had made so many in a day, contrary to their former rule and method, that men were plainly surprised, and could not produce those proofs which in a short time they might have been supplied with; and the refusing to allow them that time, was upon the matter to determine their interest, and to take away their estates without being once heard, and upon the bare allegations of their adversaries. And in these last decrees many instances were given of that nature, wherein the

evidence appeared to be very full, if time had been given to produce it.

There was one very notable case decreed by the commissioners extremely complained of, and cried out against by all parties, as well Irish as English; and for which the commissioners themselves made no other excuse or defence, but the receipt of a letter from the king, which was not thought a good plea for sworn judges, as the commissioners were. It was the case of the marquis of Antrim. Which case having been so much upon the stage, and so much enlarged upon to the reproach of the king, and even to the traducing of the memory of his blessed father; and those men, who artificially contrived the doing of all that was done amiss, having done all they could to wound the reputation of the chancellor, and to get it to be believed, "that he had by some sinister information misled the king to oblige the marquis;" it is a debt due to truth, and to the honour of both their majesties, to set down a very particular narration of that whole affair; by which it will appear, how far the king was from so much as wishing that any thing should be done for the benefit of the marquis, which should be contrary to the rules of justice.

Whilst his majesty was in foreign parts, he received frequent advertisements from England and from Ireland, "that the marquis of Antrim behaved himself very undutifully towards him; and that he had made himself very grateful to the rebels, by calumniating the late king: and that he had given it under his hand to Ireton, or some other principal person employed under Cromwell, that his late majesty had sent him into Ireland to join with the rebels, and that his majesty was not offended with the Irish for entering into that rebellion:" which was a calumny so false and so odious, and reflected so much upon the honour of his majesty, that the king was resolved, as soon as God should put it into his power, to cause the strictest examination to be made concerning it; the report having gained much credit with his majesty, by the notoriety that the marquis had procured great recommendations from those who governed in Ireland to those who governed in England; and that upon the presumption of that he had come into England, and as far as St. Alban's towards London, from whence he had been forced suddenly to return into Ireland by the activity of his many creditors, who upon the news of his coming had provided for his reception, and would unavoidably have east him into prison. And no recommendation could have inclined those who were in authority, to do anything extraordinary for the protection of a person, who from the beginning of the Irish rebellion lay under so ill a character with them, and had so ill a name throughout the kingdom.

The king had been very few days in London, after his arrival from the parts beyond the seas, when he was informed that the marquis of Antrim was upon his way from Ireland towards the court: and the commissioners from Ireland, who have been mentioned before, were the first who gave his majesty that information, and at the same time told him all that his majesty had heard before concerning the marquis, and of the bold calumnies with which he had traduced his royal father, with many other particulars; "all which," they affirmed, "would be proved by unquestion-

able evidence, and by letters and certificates under his own hand." Upon this full information, (of the truth whereof his majesty entertained no doubt,) as soon as the marquis came to the town, he was by the king's special order committed to the Tower; nor could any petition from him, or entreaty of his friends, of which he had some very powerful, prevail with his majesty to admit him into his presence. But by the first opportunity he was sent prisoner to Dublin, where he was committed to the castle; the king having given direction, that he should be proceeded against with all strictness according to law: and to that purpose, the lords justices were required to give all orders and directions necessary. The marquis still professed and avowed his innocence, and used all the means he could to procure that he might be speedily brought to his trial; which the king likewise expected. But after a year's detention in prison, and nothing brought against him, he was set at liberty, and had a pass given him from the council there to go into England. He then applied himself to his majesty, demanding nothing of favour, but said, "he expected justice; and that after so many years being deprived of his estate, he might at last be restored to it, if nothing could be objected against him wherein he had deserved his majesty."

He was a gentleman who had been bred up in the court of England, and having married the duchess of Buckingham, (though against the king's will,) he had been afterwards very well received by both their majesties, and was frequently in their presence. He had spent a very vast estate in the court, without having ever received the least benefit from it. He had retired into Ireland, and lived upon his own estate in that country, some years before the rebellion broke out; in the beginning whereof he had undergone some suspicion, having held some correspondence with the rebels, and possibly made some undertakings to them: but he went speedily to Dublin, was well received by the justices there, and from thence transported himself with their license to Oxford, where the king was; to whom he gave so good an account of all that had passed, that his majesty made no doubt of his affection to his service, though he had very little confidence in his judgment and understanding, which were never remarkable. Besides that it was well known, that he had a very unreasonable envy towards the marquis of Ormond, and would fain have it believed that his interest in Ireland was so great, that he could reclaim that whole nation to his majesty's obedience; but that vanity and presumption never gained the least credit with his majesty: yet it may reasonably be believed that he thought so himself, and that it was the source from which all the bitter waters of his own misfortune issued.

Upon the Scots second entering into England with their army upon the obligation of the covenant, and all his majesty's endeavours to prevent it being disappointed, the marquis of Mountrose had proposed to the king, "to make a journey privately into Scotland, and to get into the Highlands, where, with his majesty's authority, he hoped he should be able to draw together such a body of men, as might give his countrymen cause to call for their own army out of England, to secure themselves." And with this overture, or upon debate thereof, he wished

"that the earl of Antrim" (for he was then no more) "might be likewise sent into Ulster, where his interest lay, and from whence he would be able to transport a body of men into the High-lands, where he had likewise the clan of Mac-donnells, who acknowledged him to be their chief, and would be consequently at his devotion; by which means the marquis of Mount-rose would be enabled the more powerfully to proceed in his undertaking." The earl of Antrim entered upon this undertaking with great alacrity, and undertook to the king to perform great matters in Scotland; to which his own interest and animosity enough disposed him, having an old and a sharp controversy and contestation with the marquis of Argyle, who had dispossessed him of a large territory there. All things being adjusted for this undertaking, and his majesty being well pleased with the earl's alacrity, he created him at that time a marquis, gave him letters to the marquis of Ormond his lieutenant there, as well to satisfy him of the good opinion he had of the marquis of Antrim, and of the trust he had reposed in him, as to wish him to give him all the assistance he could with convenience, for the carrying on the expedition for Scotland.

And for the better preventing of any inconvenience that might fall out by the rashness and inadvertency of the marquis of Antrim towards the lord lieutenant, his majesty sent Daniel O'Neile of his bedchamber into Ireland with him, who had great power over him, and very much credit with the marquis of Ormond; and was a man of that dexterity and address, that no man could so well prevent the inconveniences and prejudice, which the natural levity and indiscretion of the other might tempt him to, or more dispose and incline the lord lieutenant to take little notice of those vanities and indiscretions. And the king, who had no desire that the marquis should stay long in Dublin, upon his promise that he would use all possible expedition in transporting himself into Scotland, gave him leave to hold that correspondence with the Irish rebels (who had the command of all the northern parts, and without whose connivance at least he could very hardly be able to make his levies and transport his men) as was necessary to his purposes: within the limits of which, it is probable enough that he did not contain himself; for the education and conversation he had in the world, had not extirpated that natural craft in which that nation excels, and by which they only deceive themselves; and might say many things, which he had not authority or warrant to say.

Upon his coming to Dublin, the lord lieutenant gave him all the countenance he could wish, and assisted him in all the ways he could propose, to prosecute his design; but the men were to be raised in or near the rebels' quarters. And it cannot be denied, but that the levies he made, and sent over into Scotland under the command of Calkito, were the foundation of all those wonderful acts, which were performed afterwards by the marquis of Mountrose, (they were fifteen hundred men, very good, and with very good officers; all so hardy, that neither the ill fare nor the ill lodging in the Highlands gave them any discouragement,) and gave the first opportunity to the marquis of Mountrose of being in the head of an army; under which he drew together such of the

Highlanders and others of his friends, who were willing to repair to him. But upon any military action, and defeat given to the enemy, which happened as often as they encountered the Scots, the Highlanders went always home with their booty, and the Irish only stayed together with their general. And from this beginning the marquis of Mountrose grew to that power, that after many battles won by him with notable slaughter of the enemy, he marched victoriously with his army till he made himself master of Edinburgh, and redeemed out of the prison there the earl of [Crawford], lord Ogilby, and many other noble persons, who had been taken and sent thither, with resolution that they should all lose their heads. And the marquis of Mountrose did always acknowledge, that the rise and beginning of his good success was due and to be imputed to that body of Irish, which had in the beginning been sent over by the marquis of Antrim; to whom the king had acknowledged the service by several letters, all of his own handwriting; in which were very gracious expressions of the sense his majesty had of his great services, and his resolution to reward him.

It is true, that the marquis of Antrim had not gone over himself with his men, as he had promised to do, but stayed in Ulster under pretence of raising a greater body of men, with which he would adventure his own person; but either out of jealousy or displeasure against the marquis of Mountrose, or having in truth no mind to that service of Scotland, he prosecuted not that purpose, but remained still in Ulster, where all his own estate lay, and so was in the rebels' quarters, and no doubt was often in their councils; by which he gave great advantages against himself, and might in strictness of law have been as severely punished by the king, as the worst of the rebels. At last, in his moving from place to place, (for he was not in any expedition with the rebels,) he was taken prisoner by the Scots, who intended to have put him to death for having sent men into Scotland; but he made his escape out of their hands, and transported himself into Flanders, and from thence, having assurance that the prince (his majesty that now is) was then in the west, he came with two good frigates into the port of Falmouth, and offered his service to his royal highness; and having in his frigates a quantity of arms and some ammunition, which he had procured in Flanders for the service of Ireland, most of the arms and ammunition were employed, with his consent, for the supply of the troops and garrisons in Cornwall: and the prince made use of one of the frigates to transport his person to Scilly, and from thence to Jersey; without which convenience, his highness had been exposed to great difficulties, and could hardly have escaped the hands of his enemies. After all which, when Dublin was given up to the parliament, and the king's authority was withdrawn out of that kingdom, he again (not having wherewithal to live any where else) transported himself into Ireland, made himself gracious with the Irish, and was by them sent into France, to desire the queen mother and the prince of Wales "to send the marquis of Ormond to reassume his majesty's government in that kingdom;" which was done accordingly, in the manner that is mentioned elsewhere.

The marquis of Antrim alleged all these particulars, and produced many original letters from



the late king, (besides those which are mentioned,) the queen mother, and the prince, in all which his services had been acknowledged, and many promises made to him; and concluded with a full protestation, "that he desired no pardon for any thing that he had ever done against the king; and if there were the least proof that he had failed in his fidelity to him, or had not according to the best of his understanding advanced his service, he looked for no favour. But if his being in the Irish quarters and consulting with them, without which he could not have made his levies for Scotland, nor transported them if he had levied them, and if his living amongst them afterwards, when his majesty's [authority] was drawn from thence, and when he could live no where else, do by the strict letter of the law expose him to ruin without his majesty's grace and favour, he did hope his majesty would redeem him from that misery, and that the forfeiture of his estate should not be taken, as if he were a traitor and a rebel to the king." And it appeared that if he were restored to all he could pretend to, or of which he had ever been possessed, his debts were so great, and his creditors had those legal incumbrances upon his estate, that his condition at best would not be liable to much envy.

Though the king had been never taken notice of to have any great inclinations to the marquis, who was very little known to him; yet this representation and clear view of what he had done and what he had suffered, raised great compassion towards him in the royal breast of his majesty. And he thought it would in some degree reflect upon his own honour and justice, and upon the memory of his blessed father, if in a time when he passed by so many transgressions very heinous, he should leave the marquis exposed to the fury of his enemies, (who were only his enemies because they were possessed of his estate, and because he desired to have his own from them,) for no other crime upon the matter, than for not having that prudence and that providence in his endeavours to serve the king, as he ought to have had; that is, he ought to have been wiser. And the rigour exercised towards him upon his first arrival, in sending him to the Tower and afterwards into Ireland, by those who enough wished his destruction, and that they had not been able to make the least proof against him, improved his majesty's good disposition towards him. Yet he refused positively to write a letter to the commissioners on his behalf; which the marquis most importunately desired, as the only thing that could do him good. But his majesty directed a letter to be prepared to the lord lieutenant, in which all his allegations and suggestions should be set down, and the truth thereof examined by him; and that if he should be found to have committed no greater faults against the king, than those which he confessed, then that letter should be sent to the commissioners, that they might see both their majesty's testimonies in such particulars as were known to themselves. And this letter was very warily drawn, and being approved by his majesty, was sent accordingly to the lord lieutenant. And shortly after a copy of it signed by the king (who conceived it only to be a duplicate, lest the other should miscarry) was, contrary to his majesty's resolution, and contrary to the

advice of the chancellor and without his knowledge, likewise sent to the commissioners; who had thereupon made such a decree as is before mentioned, and declared, "that they had made it only upon that ground;" which gave his majesty some trouble, and obliged him to insert a clause in the next bill concerning that affair.

And this was the whole proceeding that related to the marquis of Antrim: and it is yet very hard to comprehend, wherein there was more favour shewed towards him by his majesty, than he might in truth very reasonably pretend to, what noise soever was raised, and what glosses soever made; which proceeded only from the general dislike of the man, who had much more weakness than wickedness in him, and was an object rather of pity than of malice or envy.

When his majesty entered upon the debate of the third bill, which was transmitted to him for a supplement and addition to the other two, he quickly found the settlement proposed, and which was the end of the three bills, was now grown more difficult than ever. All the measures, which had formerly been taken from the great proportion of land which would remain to be disposed of, were no more to be relied upon, but appeared to have been a wrong foundation from the beginning; which was now made more desperate, by the vast proportions which had been assigned to the Irish by the commissioners' decrees: and somewhat had intervened by some acts of bounty from his majesty, which had not been carefully enough watched and represented to him.

The king had, upon passing the former bills, and upon discerning how much the Irish were like to suffer, resolved to retain all that should by forfeiture or otherwise come to his majesty in his own power; to the end, that when the settlement should be made, he might be able to gratify those of the Irish nation, who had any thing [of merit] towards him, or had been least faulty. And if he had observed that resolution, very much of the trouble he underwent afterwards had been prevented: for he would then, besides that which Cromwell had reserved to himself, (which was a vast tract of ground,) have had all those forfeitures which the regicides had been possessed of, and other criminal persons; which amounted to a huge quantity of the best land. And though the king had before designed all those forfeited lands to his brother the duke, yet his highness was so pleased with the resolution his majesty had taken, to retain them to that purpose, that he forbore to prosecute that grant, till he heard of great quantities of land every day granted away by his majesty to his servants and others; whereby he saw the main end would be disappointed. And then he resolved to be no longer a loser for the benefit of those, who had no pretence to what they got; and so proceeded in getting that grant from the king to himself of those lands designed to him.

The king had swerved from that rule, before it was scarce discerned: and the error of it may be very justly imputed to the earl of [Ortery], and to none but him; who believing that he could never be well enough at court, except he had courtiers of all sorts obliged to him, and would therefore speak well of him in all places and companies, (and those arts of his put the king to much trouble and loss both in England and Ireland,) he commended to many of such friends (though



he had advised the king to the former resolution) many suits of that kind, and sent certificates to them, oftentimes under his own hand, of the value those suits might be to them if obtained, and of the little importance the granting of them would be to his majesty; which, having been shewed to the king, disposed him to those concessions, which otherwise he would not so easily have made. Then he directed them a way (being then one of the lords justices) for the more immediate passing those grants they could obtain, without meeting those obstructions which they had been subject to; for when any of those grants had been brought to the great seal of England, the chancellor always stopped them, and put his majesty in mind of his former resolution: but this new way (in itself lawful enough) kept him from knowing any of those transactions, which were made by letters from the king to the lords justices; and thereupon the grants were prepared there, and passed under the great seal of Ireland.

There was then likewise a new clause introduced into those grants, of a very new nature; for being grounded always upon letters out of England, and passed under the seal of Ireland, the letters were prepared and formed there, and transmitted hither only for his majesty's sign manual: so that [neither] the king's learned council at law, nor any other his ministers, (the secretaries only excepted,) had any notice or the perusal of any of those grants. The clause was, "that if any of those lands so granted by his majesty should be otherwise decreed, his majesty's grantee should be reprimed with other lands:" so that in many cases, the greatest inducement to his majesty's bounty being the uncertainty of his own right, which the person to whom it was granted was obliged to vindicate at his own charge, the king was now bound to make it good, if his grant was not valid. And so that which was but a contingent bounty, which commonly was the sole argument for the passing it, was now turned into a real and substantial benefit, as a debt; which created another difficulty in the settlement: which was yet the more hard, because there were many claims of the Irish themselves yet unheard, all the false admeasurements to be examined, and many other uncertainties to be determined by the commissioners; which left those who were in quiet possession, as well as those who were out of it, in the highest insecurity and apprehension.

This intricacy and even despair, which possessed all kind of people, of any settlement, made all of them willing to contribute to any that could be proposed. They found his majesty very unwilling to consent to the repeal of the decrees made by the commissioners; which must have taken away the confidence and assurance of whatsoever was to be done hereafter, by making men see, that what was settled by one act of parliament might immediately be unsettled by another: so that there was no hope by that expedient to increase the number of acres, which being left might in any degree comply with the several pretences. The Irish found, that they might only be able to obstruct any settlement, but should never be able to get such a one as would turn to their own satisfaction. The soldiers and adventurers agreed less amongst themselves: and the clamour was as great against those, who by false admeasurements had gotten more than they should have, as from

those who had received less than was their due; and they who least feared any new examination could not yet have any secure title, before all the rest were settled. In a word, all men found that any settlement would be better than none; and that more profit would arise from a smaller proportion of land quietly possessed and husbanded accordingly, than [from] a much greater proportion under a doubtful title and an uncertainty, which must dishearten any industry and improvement.

Upon these considerations and motives, they met amongst themselves, and debated together by what expedient they might draw light out of this darkness. There appeared only one way which administered any reasonable hope; which was, by increasing the stock for reprisals to such a degree, that all men's pretences might in some measure be provided for: and there was no other way to arrive to this, but by every man's parting with somewhat which he thought to be his own. And to this they had one encouragement, that was of the highest prevalence with them, which was, that this way an end would be put to the illimited jurisdiction of the commissioners, (which was very terrible to all of them,) who from henceforth could have little other power, than to execute what should here be agreed upon.

In conclusion, they brought a proposition to the king, raised and digested between themselves, "that all persons, who were to receive any benefit by this act, should abate and give a fourth part of what they had, towards the stock for reprisals; all which the commissioners should distribute amongst those Irish, who should appear most fit for his majesty's bounty." And this agreement was so unanimous, that though it met with some obstinate opposition after it was brought before the king, yet the number of the opposers was so small in respect of the others who agreed to it, that they grew weary and ashamed of further contention. And thereupon that third act of settlement, as supplemental to the other two, was consented to by the king; who, to publish to the world that nothing stuck with him which seemed to reflect upon the commissioners, resolved to make no change: and so though two of them, who had offices here to discharge, prevailed with his majesty that they might not return again into Ireland; the other five were continued, to execute what was more to be done by this act, and so to perfect the settlement. And no doubt it will be here said, that this expedient might have been sooner found, and so prevented many of those disorders and inconveniences which intervened. But they who knew that time, and the perverseness and obstinacy that possessed all pretenders, must confess that the season was never ripe before: nor could their consent and agreement, upon which this act was founded, ever be obtained before.

These were all the transactions which passed with reference to Ireland, whilst the chancellor remained at that board; in which he acted no more than any other of the lords who were present did: except when any difficulties occurred in their private meetings and debates, they sometimes resorted to him for advice, which he was ready to give; being always willing to take any pains, which might make that very difficult work more easy to be brought to a good end. But as

he never thought he deserved any reward for so doing, so he never expected the benefit of one shilling in money or in money's worth, for any thing he ever did in that affair; and was so far from entertaining any overture to that purpose, that it is notoriously known to many persons of honour, who, I presume, will be ready to testify the same, that when, upon his majesty's first return into England, some propositions were made to him of receiving the grant of some forfeited lands, and for the buying other lands there upon the desire of the owners thereof, and at so low a price that the very profit of the land would in a short time have paid for the purchase, and other overtures of immediate benefit in money, (which others did and lawfully might accept;) he rejected all propositions of that kind or relating to it, and declared publicly and privately, "that he would neither have lands in Ireland nor the least benefit from thence, till all differences and pretences in that kingdom should be so fully settled and agreed, that there could be no more appeal to the king, or repairing to the king's council for justice; in which," he said, "he should never be thought so competent an adviser, if he had any title of his own in that kingdom to bias his inclinations." And he was often heard to say, "that he never took a firmer resolution in any particular in his life, than to adhere to that conclusion." Yet because it was notorious afterwards, that he did receive some money out of Ireland, and had a lawful title to receive more, (with which he was reproached when he could not answer for himself;) it may not be amiss in this place, for his vindication, to set down particularly how that came to pass, and to mention all the circumstances which preceded, accompanied, or attended that affair.

In the bills which were first transmitted from Ireland after his majesty's happy return, there was an imposition of a certain sum of money upon some specified lands in several provinces, "which was to be paid to his majesty within a limited time, and to be disposed of by his majesty to such persons who had served him faithfully, and suffered in so doing," or words to that effect; for he often protested that he never saw the act of parliament, and was most confident that he never heard of it at the time when it passed, he being often absent from the council, by reason of the gout or other accidents, when such matters were transacted. But two years after the king's return, or thereabout, he received a letter from the earl of Orrery, "that there would be in his hands, and in the earl of Anglesea's and the lord Massaren's," (who it seems were appointed treasurers to receive the money to be raised by that act of parliament,) "a good sum of money for him; which he gave him notice of, to the end that he might give direction for the disposal thereof, whether he would have it returned into England, or laid out in land in Ireland;" and he wished "that he would speedily send his direction, because he was confident that the money would be paid in, at least by the time that his letter could arrive there." No man can be more surprised, than the chancellor was at the receipt of this letter, believing that there was some mistake in it, and that his name might have been used in trust by somebody who had given him no notice of it. And without returning any answer

to the earl of Orrery, he writ by that post to the lord lieutenant, to inform him of what the earl of Orrery had writ to him, and desired him to "inform him by his own inquiry, what the meaning of it was."

Before he had an answer from the lord lieutenant, or indeed before his letter could come to the lord lieutenant's hands, he received a second letter from the earl of Orrery; in which he informed him, "that there was now paid in to his use the sum of twelve thousand six hundred and odd pounds, and that there would be the like sum again received for him at the end of six months;" and sent him a particular direction, "to what person and in what form he was to send his order for the payment of the money." The chancellor still forbore to answer this letter, till he had received an answer to what he had written to the lord lieutenant, who then informed him at large, what title he had to that money, and how he came to have it: "that shortly after the passing that act of parliament, which had given his majesty the disposal of the money before mentioned, the earl of Orrery had come to him, the lord lieutenant, and putting him in mind, how the chancellor had rejected all overtures which had been made to him of benefit out of that kingdom," (which refusal, and many others that shew how unsollicitous he had always been in the ways of getting, is not more known to any man living than to the lord lieutenant,) "wished that he would move the king to confer some part of that money upon the chancellor; which the lord lieutenant very willingly did, and his majesty as cheerfully granted: that a letter was accordingly prepared, and his majesty's royal signature procured by Mr. Secretary Nicholas, who was at the same time commanded by the king not to let him know of it; to which purpose there was likewise a clause in the letter, whereby it was provided that he should have no notice of it; which," the lord lieutenant said, "was by his majesty's direction, or with his approbation, because it was said, that if he had notice of it, he would be so foolish as to obstruct it himself. And there was a clause likewise in the said letter, which directed the payment of the said monies to his heirs, executors, or assigns, if he should die before the receipt thereof."

The chancellor being so fully advertised of all this by the lord lieutenant, and of which till that time he had not the least notice or imagination, he desired secretary Nicholas to give him a copy of that letter, (which had been since passed as a grant to him under the great seal of Ireland, according to the form then used;) which the secretary gave him, with a large account of many gracious circumstances in the king's granting it, and the obligation laid upon him of secrecy, and the great caution that was used that he might have no notice of it. After he was informed of all this, he did not think that there was any thing left for him to do, but to make his humble acknowledgment to his majesty for his royal bounty, and to take care for the receiving and transmitting the money; and doubted not but that he might receive it very honestly. He did therefore wait upon his majesty with that duty that became him: and his majesty was graciously pleased to enlarge his bounty with those expressions of favour, and of the satisfaction he had vouchsafed to take himself

in conferring his donative, that his joy was much greater from that grace, than in the greatness of the gift.

At the very same time, and the very day that the chancellor received the letter from the lord lieutenant, the earl of Portland came to him, and informed him of a difference that was fallen out between the lord Lovelace and sir Bulstrode Whitlock, upon a defect in the title to certain lands purchased heretofore by sir Bulstrode Whitlock from the lord Lovelace, and enjoyed by him ever since; but being by the necessity of that time, the delinquency of Lovelace and the power of Whitlock, bought and sold at an undervalue, and the time being now more equal, Lovelace resolved to have more money, or not to perform a covenant he had entered into; the not-performance whereof would leave the other's title very defective. The earl desired to reconcile those two, which could not be done without sale of the land: and so he proposed to the chancellor the buying this land, which lay next to some land he had in Wiltshire. This proposition [was] made upon the very day, as is said before, that he had received the letter from the lord lieutenant of Ireland; by which it appeared that there was near as much money already received for him, as would pay for that purchase, besides what was more to be received within six months after. The land was well known to the chancellor; so that upon a short conference with the parties, they all agreed upon the purchase: and he was easily prevailed with to undertake the payment of the greatest part of the money upon sealing the writings, not making the least doubt, but that he should by that time receive the money from Ireland; which was the sole ground and motive to his making that purchase.

But the next letters he received from Ireland informed him, "that the necessities of that kingdom had been such, that they could only return six thousand pounds of that money; and that they had been compelled to make use of the reat for the public, which would take care to repay it to him in a short time:" and so he found himself engaged in a purchase which he could not retract, upon presumption of money which he could not receive. And he did not only never after receive one penny of what was due upon the second payment, (which he so little suspected could fail, there being an act of parliament for the security, that he assigned it upon the marriage of his second son to him, as the best part of his portion;) but the remainder of the first sum, which was so borrowed or taken from him, or any part of it, was never after paid to him or to his use: by which, and the inconveniences and damages which ensued to him from thence, he might reasonably say that he was a loser, and involved in a great debt, by that signal bounty of his majesty; and which was afterwards made matter of reproach to him, and as an argument of his corruption. But this is a very true account of that business, and of all the money that he ever received from Ireland, with all the circumstances thereof; which, in the judgment of all impartial men, cannot reflect to the prejudice of his integrity and honour.

And so we shall no further pursue or again resume any mention of the affairs of Ireland, though they will afford a large field of matter; but shall

return to the beginning of the parliament, from whence we departed.

It cannot be expressed, hardly imagined, with what alacrity the parliament entered upon all particular affairs which might refer to the king's honour, safety, or profit. They pulled up all those principles of sedition and rebellion by the roots, which in their own observation had been the ground of or contributed to the odious and infamous rebellion in the long parliament. They declared, "that sottish distinction between the king's person and his office to be treason; that his negative voice could not be taken from him, and was so essential to the making a law, that no order or ordinance of either house could be binding to the subject without it; that the militia was inseparably vested in his majesty, and that it was high treason to raise or levy soldiers without the king's commission." And because the license of speaking seditiously, and of laying scandalous imputations and aspersions upon the person of the king, as saying "that he was a papist," and such like terms, to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty, had been the prologue and principal ingredient to that rebellion, and corrupted the hearts of his loving subjects; they declared, "that the raising any calumnies of that kind upon the king, as saying, 'that he is a papist, or popishly affected,' or the like, should be felony." In a word, they vindicated all his regalities and royal prerogatives, and provided for the safety of his person in as loving and ample a manner as he could wish: and towards raising and settling a revenue proportionable to his dignity and necessary expense, over and above the confirmation of all that had been done or granted in the last convention, they entered upon all the expedients which could occur to them, and were willing to receive propositions or advice from any body that might contribute thereunto. In all these public matters, no man could wish a more active spirit to be in them, than they were in truth possessed with.

But in that which the king had principally recommended to them, the confirmation of the act of oblivion and indemnity, they proceeded very slowly, coldly, and unwillingly, notwithstanding the king's frequent messages to them "to despatch it, though with the delay of those other things which they thought did more immediately concern him." They had many agents and solicitors in the court, who thought that all that was released by that act might lawfully be distributed amongst them; and since the king had referred that whole affair to the parliament, he might well leave it to their judgments, without his own interposition. But his majesty looked upon himself as under another obligation both of honour and conscience, and upon the thing itself as more for the public peace and security, than any thing the parliament could provide instead thereof; and therefore was very much troubled and offended at the apparent unwillingness to pass it. And thereupon he went himself to the house of peers, and sent for the commons, and told them, "that it was absolutely necessary to despatch that bill, which he himself had sent to them near two months before:" for it was now the eighth of July. His majesty told them, "that it was to put himself in mind as well as them, that he so often, as often as he came to them,

"mentioned to them his declaration from Breda." And he said, "he should put them in mind of another declaration, published by themselves about that time, and which he was persuaded made his the more effectual, an honest, generous, and Christian declaration, signed by the most eminent persons, who had been the most eminent sufferers; in which they renounced all former animosities, all memory of former unkindness, vowed all imaginable good-will and all confidence in each other." All which being pressed with so much instance by his majesty prevailed with them: and they then forthwith despatched that bill; and the king as soon confirmed it, and would not stay a few days, till other important bills should be likewise ready to be presented to him.

And there cannot be a greater instance of their desire to please his majesty from thenceforth, than that before that session was concluded, notwithstanding the prejudice the clergy had brought upon themselves (as I said before) upon their too much good husbandry in granting leases, and though the presbyterian party was not without an interest in both houses of parliament, they passed a bill for the repeal of that act of parliament, by which the bishops were excluded from sitting there. It was first proposed in the house of commons by a gentleman, who had been always taken to be of a presbyterian family: and in that house it found less opposition than was looked for; all men knowing, that besides the justice of it, and the prudence to wipe out the memory of so infamous an act, as the exclusion of them with all the circumstances was known to be, it would be grateful to the king.

But when it came into the house of peers, where all men expected it would find a general concurrence, it met with some obstruction; which made a discovery of an intrigue, that had not been suspected. For though there were many lords present, who had industriously laboured the passing the former bill for the exclusion, yet they had likewise been guilty of so many other ill things, of which they were ashamed, that it was believed that they would not willingly revive the memory of the whole, by persevering in such an odious particular. Nor in truth did they. But when they saw that it would unavoidably pass, (for the number of that party was not considerable,) they either gave their consents, as many of them did, or gave their negative without noise. The obstruction came not from thence. The catholics less owned the contradiction, nor were guilty of it, though they suffered in it. But the truth is, it proceeded from the mercurial brain of the earl of Bristol, who much affected to be looked upon as the head of the catholics; which they did so little desire that he should be thought, that they very rarely concurred with him. He well knew that the king desired (which his majesty never dissembled) to give the Roman catholics ease from all the sanguinary laws; and that he did not desire that they should be liable to the other penalties which the law had made them subject to, whilst they should in all other respects behave themselves like good subjects. Nor had they since his majesty's return sustained the least prejudice by their religion, but enjoyed as much liberty at court and in the country, as any other men; and with which the wisest of them were

abundantly satisfied, and did abhor the activity of those of their own party, which they did believe more like to deprive them of the liberty they enjoyed, than to enlarge it to them.

When the earl of Bristol saw this bill brought into the house for restoring the bishops to their seats, he went to the king, and informed his majesty, "that if this bill should speedily pass, it would absolutely deprive the catholics of all those graces and indulgence which he intended to them; for that the bishops, when they should sit in the house, whatever their own opinions or inclinations were, would find themselves obliged, that they might preserve their reputation with the people, to contradict and oppose whatsoever should look like favour or connivance towards the catholics: and therefore, if his majesty continued his former gracious inclination towards the Roman catholics, he must put some stop (even for the bishops' own sakes) to the passing that bill, till the other should be more advanced, which he supposed might shortly be done;" there having been already some overtures made to that purpose, and a committee appointed in the house of lords to take a view of all the sanguinary laws in matters of religion, and to present them to the house, that it might consider further of it. The king, surprised with the discourse from a man who had often told him the necessity of the restoring the bishops, and that it could not be a perfect parliament without their presence, thought his reason for the delay to have weight in it, and that the delay for a few days could be attended with no prejudice to the matter itself; and thereupon was willing the bill should not be called upon, and that when it should be under commitment, it should be detained there for some time; and that he might, the better to produce this delay, tell some of his friends, "that the king would be well pleased, that there should not be overmuch haste in the presenting that bill for his royal assent."

This grew quickly to be taken notice of in the house, that after the first reading of that bill, it had been put off for a second reading longer than was usual, when the house was at so much leisure; and that now it was under commitment, it was obstructed there, notwithstanding all the endeavours some lords of the committee could use for the despatch; the bill containing very few words, being only for the repeal of a former act, and the expressions admitting, that is, giving little cause for any debate. The chancellor desired to know how this came to pass; and was informed by one of the lords of the committee, "that they were assured that the king would have a stop put to it, till another bill should be provided, which his majesty looked for." Hereupon the chancellor spake with his majesty, who told him all the conference which the earl of Bristol had held with him, and what he had consented should be done. To which the other replied, "that he was sorry that his majesty had been prevailed with to give any obstruction to a bill, which every body knew his majesty's heart was so much set upon for despatch; and that if the reason were known, it would quickly put an end to all the pretences of the catholics; to which his majesty knew he was no enemy." The king presently concluded that the reason was not sufficient, and wished, that the bill might be despatched as soon as was

"possible, that he might pass it that session;" which he had appointed to make an end of within few days: and so the next day the report was called for and made, and the bill ordered to be engrossed against the next morning; the earl not being at that time in the house. But the next morning, when the chancellor had the bill engrossed in his hand to present to the house to be read the third time, the earl came to him to the woollack, and with great displeasure and wrath in his countenance told him, "that if that bill were read that day, he would speak against it;" to which the chancellor gave him an answer that did not please him: and the bill was passed that day. And from that time the earl of Bristol was a more avowed and declared enemy to him, than he had before professed to be; though the friendship that had been between them had been discontinued or broken, from the time the earl had changed his religion.

The king within few days came to the parliament, to give his royal assent to those bills which were prepared for him; and then told them, "that he did thank them with all his heart, indeed as much as he could for any thing, for the repeal of that act which excluded the bishops from sitting in parliament." He said, "it was an unhappy act in an unhappy time, passed with many unhappy circumstances, and attended with miserable events; and therefore he did again thank them for repealing it: and that they had thereby restored parliaments to their primitive institutions." This was upon the thirtieth of July 1661, when the parliament was adjourned to the twentieth of November following.

Because we have mentioned the gracious purposes the king had to his Roman catholic subjects, of which afterwards much use was made to his disservice, to which the vanity and presumption of many of that profession contributed very much; it may not be unseasonable in this place to mention the ground of that his majesty's goodness, and the reasons why that purpose of his was not prosecuted to the purpose it was intended, after so fair a rise towards it, by the appointment of that committee in the house of peers, which is remembered above.

It is not to be wondered at, that the king, at the age he was of when the troubles began in England, and when he came out of England, knew very little of the laws which had been long since made and were still in force against Roman catholics, and less of the grounds and motives which had introduced those laws. And from the time that he was first beyond the seas, he could not be without hearing very much spoken against the protestant religion, and more for extolling and magnifying the religion of the church of Rome; neither of which discourses made any impression upon him. After the defeat at Worcester, and his escape from thence into France, the queen his mother (who had very punctually complied with the king her husband's injunctions, in not suffering any body to endeavour to pervert the prince her son in his religion, and when he came afterwards into France after he was king, her majesty continued the same reservation) used much more sharpness in her discourse against the protestants, than she had been accustomed to. The liberty that his majesty formerly had in the Louvre, to have a place set aside for the exercise of his reli-

gion, was taken away: and continual discourses were made by the queen in his presence, "that he had now no hope ever to be restored to his dominions, but by the help of the catholics; and therefore that he must apply himself to them in such a way, as might induce them to help him."

About this time there was a short collection and abridgment made of all the penal laws, which had been made and which were still in force in England against the Roman catholics; "that all priests for saying mass were to be put to death;" the great penalties which they were to undergo, who entertained or harboured a priest in their house, or were present at mass, and the like; with all other envious clauses, which were in any acts of parliament, that had been enacted upon several treasons and conspiracies of the Roman catholics, in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and king James. And this collection they caused to be translated into French and into Latin, and scattered it abroad in all places, after they had caused copies of it to be presented to the queen mother of France, and to the cardinal: so that the king came into no place where those papers were not shewed to him, and where he was not seriously asked, "whether it was a true collection of the laws of England," and "whether it was possible that any Christian kingdom could exercise so much tyranny against the Catholic religion." The king, who had never heard of these particulars, did really believe that the paper was forged, and answered, "he did not believe that there were such laws:" and when he came to his lodgings, he gave the chancellor the paper, and bade him read it, and tell him, "whether such laws were in force in England." He had heard before of the scattering of those papers, and knew well who had made the collection; who had been a lawyer, and was a protestant, but had too good an opinion of the Roman catholics, and desired too much to be grateful to them.

The chancellor found an opportunity the next day to enlarge upon the paper to his majesty, and informed him of "the seasons in which, and the occasions and provocations upon which, those laws had been made; of the frequent treasons and conspiracies which had been entered into by some Roman catholics, always with the privacy and approbation of their priests and confessors, against the person and life of queen Elizabeth; and after her death, of the infamous and detestable gunpowder treason to have destroyed king James and his posterity, with the whole nobility of the kingdom: so that in those times, the pope having excommunicated the whole kingdom, and absolved the subjects from all their oaths of fidelity, there seemed no expedient to preserve the crown, but the using these severities against those who were professed enemies to it. But that since those times, that the Roman catholics had lived quietly, that rigour had not been used: and that the king his father's clemency towards those of that profession (which clemency extended no further than the dispensing with the utmost rigour of the laws) was the ground of the scandal of his being popishly affected, that contributed as much to his ruin, as any particular malice in the worst of his enemies."

The king hearkened attentively to all that was said, and then answered, "that he could not doubt

"but there was some very extraordinary reason for the making such strange laws: but whatever the reason then was, that it was at present and for many years past very evident, that there was no such malignity in the Roman catholics, that should continue that heavy yoke upon their necks. That he knew well enough, that if he were in England, he had not in himself the power to repeal any act of parliament, without the consent of parliament: but that he knew no reason why he might not profess, that he did not like those laws which caused men to be put to death for their religion; and that he would do his best, if ever God restored him to his kingdom, that those bloody laws might be repealed. And that if there were no other reason of state than he could yet comprehend, against the taking away the other penalties, he should be glad that all those distinctions between his subjects might be removed; and that whilst they were all equally good subjects, they might equally enjoy his protection." And his majesty did frequently, when he was in the courts of catholic princes, and when he was sure to hear the sharpness of the laws in England inveighed against, enlarge upon the same discourse: and it had been a very unreasonable presumption in any man, who would have endeavoured to have dissuaded him from entertaining that candour in his heart.

With this gracious disposition his majesty returned into England; and received his catholic subjects with the same grace and frankness, that he did his other: and they took all opportunities to extol their own sufferings, which they would have understood to have been for him. And some very noble persons there were, who had served his father very worthily in the war, and suffered as largely afterwards for having done so: but the number of those was not great, but much greater than of those who shewed any affection to him or for him, during the time of his absence, and the government of the usurper. Yet some few there were, even of those who had suffered most for his father, who did send him supply when he was abroad, though they were hardly able to provide necessities for themselves: and in his escape from Worcester, he received extraordinary benefit, by the fidelity of many poor people of that religion; which his majesty was never reserved in the remembrance of. And this gracious disposition in him did not then appear ingrateful to any. And then, upon an address made to the house of peers in the name of the Roman catholics, for some relaxation of those laws which were still in force against them, the house of peers appointed that committee which is mentioned before, to examine and report all those penal statutes, which reached to the taking away the life of any Roman catholic, priest, or layman, for his religion; there not appearing one lord in the house, who seemed to be unwilling that those laws should be repealed. And after that committee was appointed, the Roman catholic lords and their friends for some days diligently attended it, and made their observations upon several acts of parliament, in which they desired ease. But on a sudden this committee was discontinued, and never after revived; the Roman catholics never afterwards being solicitous for it.

The argument was now to be debated amongst themselves, that they might agree what would

please them: and then there quickly appeared that discord and animosity between them, that never was nor ever will be extinguished; and of which the state might make much other use than it hath done. The lords and men of estates were not satisfied, in that they observed the good nature of the house did not appear to extend further, than the abolishing those laws which concerned the lives of the priests, which did not much affect them: for besides that those spectacles were no longer grateful to the people, they were confident that they should not be without men to discharge those functions; and the number of such was more grievous to them than the scarcity. That which they desired was, the removal of those laws, which being let loose would deprive them of so much of their estates, that the remainder would not preserve them from poverty. This indulgence would indeed be grateful to them; for the other they cared not. Nor were the ecclesiastics at all pleased with what was proposed for their advantage, but looked upon themselves as deprived of the honour of martyrdom by this remission, and that they might undergo restraints, which would be more grievous than death itself: and they were very apprehensive, that there would remain some order of them excluded, as there was even a most universal prejudice against the Jesuits; or that there would be some limitation of their numbers, which they well knew the catholics in general would be very glad of, though they could not appear to desire [it].

There was a committee chosen amongst them of the superiors of all orders, and of the secular clergy, that sat at Arundel house, and consulted together with some of the principal lords and others of the prime quality of that religion, what they should say or do in such and such cases which probably might fall out. They all concluded, at least apprehended, that they should never be dispensed with in respect of the oaths, which were enjoined to be taken by all men, without their submitting to take some other oath, that might be an equal security of and for their fidelity to the king, and the preservation of the peace of the kingdom. And there had been lately scattered abroad some printed papers, written by some regular and secular clergy, with sober propositions to that purpose, and even the form of an oath and subscription to be taken or made by all catholics; in which there was an absolute renunciation or declaration against the temporal authority of the pope, which, in all common discourses amongst the protestants, all Roman catholics made no scruple to renounce and disclaim: but it coming now to be the subject matter of the debate in this committee, the Jesuits declared with much warmth, "that they ought not, nor could they with a good conscience as catholics, deprive the pope of his temporal authority, which he hath in all kingdoms granted to him by God himself," with very much to that purpose; with which most of the temporal lords, and very many of the seculars and regulars, were so much scandalized, that the committee being broken up for that time, they never attended it again; the wiser and the more conscientious men discerning, that there was a spirit in the rest that was raised and governed by a passion, of which they could not comprehend the ground. And the truth is, the Jesuits, and they who adhered to them, had entertained great

hopes from the king's too much grace to them, and from the great liberty they enjoyed; and promised themselves and their friends another kind of indulgence, than they saw was intended to them by the house of peers. And this was the reason that that committee was no more looked after, nor any public address was any further prosecuted.

And from this time there every day appeared so much insolence and indiscretion amongst the imprudent catholics, that they brought so many scandals upon his majesty, and kindled so much jealousy in the parliament, that there grew a general aversion towards them. And the king's party remembered, with what wariness and disregard the Roman catholics had lived towards them in the whole time of the usurpation; and how little sorrow they made show of upon the horrid murder of the king, (which was then exceedingly taken notice of:) and they who had been abroad with the king remembered, that his majesty had received less regard and respect from his catholic subjects, wherever he found them abroad, than from any other foreign catholics; who always received him with all imaginable duty, whilst his own looked as if they had no dependence upon him. And so we return to the parliament after its adjournment.

The parliament, that had been adjourned upon the thirtieth of July, met again upon the twentieth of November, with the same zeal and affection to advance the king's service. And the king himself came to them upon the same day they met, and told them, "that he knew that visit was not of course; yet if there were no more in it, it would not be strange, that he came to see what he and they had so long desired to see, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of England, met together to consult for the peace and safety of the church and state, by which parliaments were restored to their primitive lustre and integrity:" his majesty said, "he did heartily congratulate with them for that day." But he told them withal, "that he came thither upon another occasion; which was to say somewhat to them on his own behalf, to ask somewhat of them for himself, which was more than he had done of them, or of those who met before them, since his coming into England. Nor did he think, that what he had to say to them did alone, or did most concern himself: if the uneasy condition he was in, if the straits and necessities he was to struggle with, did not manifestly relate to the public peace and safety, more than to his own particular, otherwise than as he was concerned in the public, he would not give them that trouble that day; he could bear his necessities which merely related to himself, with patience enough."

He told them, "that he did not importune them to make more haste in the settling the constant revenue of the crown, than was agreeable to the method they had proposed to themselves, nor to consider the insupportable weight that lay upon it, the obligations it lay under to provide for the interest, honour, and security of the nation, in another proportion than in any former times it had been obliged to: his majesty well knew, that they had very affectionately and worthily taken all that into their thoughts, and would proceed in it with expedition: but that he came to put them in mind of the crying

"debts which did every day call upon him, of some necessary provisions, which were to be made without delay for the very safety of the kingdom, of the great sum of money that should be ready to discharge the several fleets when they came home, and for the necessary preparations that were to be made for the setting out new fleets to sea against the next spring. These were the pressing occasions which he was forced to recommend to them with all possible earnestness, and he did conjure them to provide for as speedily as was possible, and in such a manner as might give them security at home, and some reputation abroad." His majesty said, "that he made this discourse to them with some confidence, because he was very willing and desirous that they should thoroughly examine, whether those necessities which he mentioned were real or imaginary, or whether they were fallen upon him by his own fault, his own ill managery, or excesses, and provide for them accordingly. He was very willing that they should make a full inspection into his revenue, as well the disbursements as receipts; and if they should find that it had been ill managed by any corruptions in the officers he trusted, or by his own unthriftiness, he should take the advice and information they should give him very kindly."

He told them, "that he was very sorry that the general temper and affections of the nation were not so well composed, as he hoped they would have been, after so signal blessings from God Almighty upon them all, and after so great indulgence and condescensions from him towards all interests. But that there were many wicked instruments still as active as ever, who laboured night and day to disturb the public peace, and to make all people jealous of each other: it would be worthy their care and vigilance to provide proper remedies for the diseases of that kind; and if they should find new diseases, they must study new remedies. For those difficulties which concerned matters in religion," his majesty confessed to them, "that they were too hard for him; and therefore he did recommend them to their care and discretion, which could best provide for them."

The two houses were abundantly pleased with all that his majesty had said to them, and immediately betook them to the consideration of those particulars, which he had principally recommended to them. And though for the present they looked upon that clause of his majesty's speech, wherein he referred to them to make an inspection into his revenue and his expenses, but as a generous and princely condescension, which would not become them to make use of, (nor indeed had they at that time the least prejudice to or jealousy of any, who were of the nearest trust about his majesty;) yet four years after, when the expenses had grown to be much greater, and it may be all disbursements not so warrantable, and when the factions in court and parliament were at a great height, and men made use of public pretences to satisfy their private animosities and malice, they made use of that frank offer of his majesty, to entitle themselves to make inquisition into public and private receipts and disbursements, in a very extraordinary manner never practised before.

Let no man wonder, that within so little time



as a year and a half, or very little more, after the king's return, that is, from May to November in the next year, and after so great sums of money raised by acts of parliament upon the people, his majesty's debts could be so crying and importunate, as to disturb him to that degree as he expressed. It was never enough understood, that in all that time he never received from the parliament more than the seventy thousand pounds towards his coronation; nor were the debts which were now so grievous to him contracted by himself, (though it cannot be supposed but that he had contracted debts himself in that time :) all the money that had been given and raised had been applied to the payment of the land and sea forces, and had done neither. Parliaments do seldom make their computations right, but reckon what they give to be much more than is ever received, and what they are to pay to be as much less than in truth they owe; so that when all the money that was collected was paid, there remained still very much due to the soldiers, and much more to the seamen: and the clamour from both reached the king's ears, as if they had been levied by his warrant and for his service. And his majesty understood too well, by the experience of the ill husbandry of the last year, when both the army and the ships were so long continued in pay, for want of money to disband and pay them off, what the trouble and charge would be, if the several fleets should return before money was provided to discharge the seamen; and for that the clamour would be only upon him.

But there was an expense that he had been engaged in from the time of his return, and by which he had contracted a great debt, of which very few men could take notice; nor could the king think fit to discover it, till he had first provided against the mischief which might have attended the discovery. It will hardly be believed, that in so warlike an age, and when the armies and fleets of England had made more noise in the world for twenty years, had fought more battles at land and sea, than all the world had done besides, or any one people had done in any age before; and when at his majesty's return there remained a hundred ships at sea, and an army of near threescore thousand men at land; there should not be in the Tower of London, and in all the stores belonging to the crown, fire-arms enough, nor indeed of any other kind, to arm three thousand men; nor powder and naval provisions enough to set out five ships of war.

From the death of Cromwell, no care had been taken for supplies of any of the stores. And the changes which ensued in the government, and putting out and in new officers; the expeditions of Lambert against sir George Booth, and afterwards into the north; and other preparations for those factions and parties which succeeded each other; and the continual opportunities which the officers had for embezzlement; and lastly, the setting out that fleet which was sent to attend upon the king for his return; had so totally drained the stores of all kinds, that the magazines were no better replenished than is mentioned before: which as soon as his majesty knew, as he could not be long ignorant of it, the first care he took was to conceal it, that it might not be known abroad or at home, in how ill a posture he was to defend himself against an enemy. And then he

committed the care of that province to a noble person, whom he knew he could not trust too much, and made sir William Compton master of the ordnance, and made all the shifts he could devise for monies, that the work might be begun. And hereby insensibly he had contracted a great debt: and these were part of the crying debts, and the necessary provisions which were to be made without delay for the very safety of the kingdom, which he told the parliament. And in this he had laboured so effectually, that at the time when the first Dutch war was entered into, all the stores were more completely supplied and provided for, and the ships and all naval provisions in greater strength and plenty, than they had ever been in the reign of any former king, or in the time of the usurper himself.

That part of the king's speech, of the distempers in the nation by the differences in religion, which he confessed were too hard for him, and recommended the composing them to their care and deliberation, gives me a seasonable opportunity to enter upon the relation, how that affair stood at that time, and how far the distractions of those several factions were from being reconciled, though episcopacy seemed to be fully restored, and the bishops to their votes in parliament; which had been looked upon as the most sovereign remedy, to cure, reform, or extinguish all those maladies. The bishops had spent the vacation in making such alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, as they thought would make it more grateful to the dissenting brethren, for so the schismatical party called themselves; and such additions, as in their judgments the temper of the present time and the past miscarriages required. It was necessarily to be presented to the convocation, which is the national synod of the church; and that did not sit during the recess of the parliament, and so came not together till the end of November: where the consideration of it took up much time; all men offering such alterations and additions, as were suitable to their own fancies, and the observations which they had made in the time of confusion.

The bishops were not all of one mind. Some of them, who had greatest experience, and were in truth wise men, thought it best "to restore and confirm the old Book of Common Prayer, without any alterations and additions; and that it would be the best vindication the Liturgy and government of the church could receive, that after so many scandals and reproaches cast upon both, and after a bloody rebellion and wars of twenty years, raised, as was pretended, principally against both, and which had prevailed and triumphed in the total suppression and destruction of both, they should now be restored to be in all respects the same they had been before. Whereas any alterations and additions (besides the advantage it might give to the common adversary, the papist, who would be apt to say that we had reformed and changed our religion again) would raise new scruples in the factious and schismatical party, that was ashamed of all the old arguments, which had so often been answered, and stood at present exploded in the judgment of all sober men; but would recover new spirits to make new objections, and complain that the alterations and additions are more grievous and burdensome to the liberty of



"their conscience, than those of which they had formerly complained."

Others, equally grave, of great learning and unblemished reputation, pressed earnestly both for the alterations and additions; said, "that it was a common reproach upon the government of the church, that it would not depart from the least unnecessary expression or word, nor explain the most insignificant ceremony; which would quiet or remove the doubts and jealousies of many conscientious men, that they did in truth signify somewhat that was not intended: and therefore, since some powerful men of that troublesome party had made it their earnest request, that some such alterations and additions might [be made], and professed that it would give great satisfaction to many very good men; it would be great pity, now there was a fit opportunity for it, which had not been in former times of clamour, not to gratify them in those small particulars, which did not make any important difference from what was before." It may be there were some, who believed that the victory and triumph of the church would be with the more lustre, if somewhat were inserted, that might be understood to reflect upon the rude and rebellious behaviour of the late times, which had been regulated and conducted by that clergy: and so both additions and alterations were made.

But the truth is, what show of reason soever and appearance of charity the latter opinion seemed to carry with it, the former advice was the more prudent, and would have prevented many inconveniences which ensued. Whatever had been pretended or desired, the alterations which were made to please them did not reduce one of them to the obedience of the church; and the additions raised the clamour higher than it had been. And when it was evident that they should not be left longer without a Liturgy, they cried aloud for the same they had before, though they had inveighed against it for near a hundred years together.

It is an unhappy policy, and always unhappily applied, to imagine that that class of men can be recovered and reconciled by partial concessions, or granting less than they demand. And if all were granted, they would have more to ask, somewhat as a security for the enjoyment of what is granted, that shall preserve their power, and shake the whole frame of the government. Their faction is their religion: nor are those combinations ever entered into upon real and substantial motives of conscience, how erroneous soever, but consist of many glutinous materials, of will, and humour, and folly, and knavery, and ambition, and malice, which makes men cling inseparably together, till they have satisfaction in all their pretences, or till they are absolutely broken and subdued, which may always be more easily done than the other. And if some few, how signal soever, (which often deceives us,) are separated and divided from the herd upon reasonable overtures, and secret rewards which make the overtures look the more reasonable; they are but so many single men, and have no more credit and authority (whatever they have had) with their companions, than if they had never known them, rather less; being less mad than they were makes them thought to be less fit to be believed. And they, whom you think you have recovered, carry always a chagrin about them, which makes them good for nothing, but

for instances to divert you from any more of that kind of traffick.†

And it is very strange, that the clergy did not at this time remember what had so lately befallen the poor church of Scotland, upon the transmission of their Liturgy, which had been composed with this very prospect that now dazzled their eyes. "To receive a Liturgy from England was below the dignity of that nation, which were governed by their own laws, [without] dependence upon any other. Besides there were many errors in that Liturgy that they could never submit to, and some defects which ought to be supplied; and if such a one should be compiled, in which all those exceptions, which were well enough known, might be provided for, they would gladly receive it." All this was carefully performed; and what reception it had afterwards is too well known, and will ever be remembered by the scars which still remain from those wounds. And then the great objection that was most impudently urged was, "that it differed from the Liturgy of the church of England, which they were ready to have received, and would have declared to the world, that the two nations had but one religion; whereas the book sent to them would have manifested the contrary, and was the product of a few particular men, to whose spirit and humour they would not sacrifice their native liberty of conscience."

They of the same fraternity in England at this present governed themselves by the same method, though, God be thanked, not yet with the same success. And there is great reason to believe, that the very men, who laboured so much for the alterations which were made, and professed to receive so much satisfaction in them, did it for no other end, but to procure more opportunity to continue and enlarge the contentions; and to gain excuse and credit to the ill things they had done, by the redress and reparation that was given them in the amendment of many particulars, against which they had always complained. There was not one of them who had used that importunity and made that profession, who afterwards was conformable to the government of the church, or frequented those churches where or when the Liturgy was used.

Whilst the clergy was busy and solicitous to prepare this remedy for the present distempers, the people of all the several factions in religion assumed more license than ever they had done. The presbyterians in all their pulpits inveighed against the Book of Common Prayer that they expected, and took the same liberty to inveigh against the government of the church, as they had been accustomed to before the return of the king; with reflections upon the persons of the bishops, as if they assumed a jurisdiction that was yet at least suspended. And the other factions in religion, as if by concert, took the same liberty in their several congregations. The anabaptists and the quakers made more noise than ever, and assembled together in greater numbers, and talked what reformations they expected in all particulars. These insolences offended the parliament very much: and the house of commons expressed much impatience, that the Liturgy was so long in preparation, that the act of uniformity might without delay be passed and published; not without some insinuations and reflections, that his majesty's

candour, and admission of all persons to resort to his presence, and his condescension to confer with them, had raised their spirits to an insolence insupportable; and that nothing could reduce them to the temper of good subjects, but the highest severity.

It is very true, from the time of his majesty's coming into England, he had not been reserved in the admission of those who had been his greatest enemies, to his presence. The presbyterian ministers he received with grace; and did believe that he should work upon them by persuasions, having been well acquainted with their common arguments by the conversation he had had in Scotland, and was very able to confute them. The independents had as free access, both that he might hinder any conjunction between the other factions, and because they seemed wholly to depend upon his majesty's will and pleasure, without resorting to the parliament, in which they had no confidence; and had rather that episcopacy should flourish again, than that the presbyterians should govern. The king had always admitted the quakers for his divertisement and mirth, because he thought, that of all the factions they were the most innocent, and had least of malice in their natures against his person and his government: and it was now too late, though he had a worse opinion of them all, to restrain them from coming to him, till there should be some law made to punish them; and therefore he still called upon the bishops, to cause the Liturgy to be expedited in the convocation. And finding that those distempers had that influence upon the house of commons, that the displeasure and jealousy which they conceived from thence did retard their counsels, and made them less solicitous to advance his service in the settling his revenue, they having sat near three months after their coming together again upon their adjournment, without making any considerable progress in it; he sent for the speaker and the house of commons to attend him at Whitehall, where he spake unto them, though very graciously, in a style that seemed to have more of expostulation and reprehension than they had been accustomed to.

He said, "he spake his heart to them when he told them, that he did believe, that from the first institution of parliaments to that hour, there had never been a house of commons fuller of affection and duty to their king, than they were to him; never any that was more desirous and solicitous to gratify their king, than they were to oblige him; never a house of commons, in which there were fewer persons without a full measure of zeal for the honour and welfare of the king and country, than there are in this: in a word," he said, "he knew most of their persons and names, and could never hope to find better men in their places. Yet after all this, he could not but lament, and even complain, that he and they and the kingdom were yet without that present fruit and advantage, which they might reasonably promise themselves from such a harmony of affections, and unity in resolutions to advance the public service, and to provide for the peace and security of the kingdom; that they did not expedite those good counsels, which were most necessary for both. He knew not how it came to pass, but for many weeks past, even since their last adjournment,

"private and particular business had almost thrust the consideration of the public out of doors; and he did not know that they were nearer the settling his revenue, than they had been at Christmas. He was sure he had communicated his condition to them without reserve; what he had coming in, and what his necessary disbursements were. And," he said, "he was exceedingly deceived, if whatever they gave him were any otherwise given to him, than to be issued out for their own use and benefit; and if they considered it well, they would find that they were the richer by what they gave, since it was all to be laid out that they might enjoy the rest in peace and security."

He said, "he need not put them in mind of the miserable effects, that had attended the wants and necessities of the crown; that he needed not to tell them, that there was a republican party still in the kingdom, which had the courage still to promise themselves another revolution: and he thought he had as little need to tell them, that the only way, with God's blessing, to disappoint their hopes, and indeed to reduce them from those extravagant hopes and desires, was, to let them see that they had so provided for the crown, that it had wherewithal to support itself, and to secure his people; which he was sure was all he desired, and desired only for their preservation. Therefore he conjured them, by all the professions of affection which they had made to him, by all the kindness which he knew they had for him, that they would, after all their deliberations, betake themselves to some speedy resolutions, and settle such a real and substantial revenue upon him, as might hold some proportion with the necessary expenses he was at for the peace and benefit and honour of the kingdom; that they who looked for troubles at home might despair of their wishes; and that our neighbours abroad, by seeing that all is well at home, might have that esteem and value of his majesty, as might secure the honour and interest of the nation, and make the happiness of the kingdom and of that city once more the admiration and envy of the world."

He told them, "that he heard that they were very zealous for the church, and very solicitous and even jealous that there was not expedition enough used in that affair: he thanked them for it, since he presumed that it proceeded from a good root of piety and devotion. But," he said, "that he must tell them, that he had the worst luck in the world, if after all the reproaches of being a papist while he was abroad, he was suspected to be a presbyterian now he was come home. He knew they would not take it unkindly, if he told them, that he was as zealous for the church of England as any of them could be, and was enough acquainted with the enemies of it on all sides; that he was as much in love with the Book of Common Prayer as they could wish, and had prejudice enough to those who did not love it, who he hoped in time would be better informed, and so change their minds; and they might be confident, he did as much desire to have a uniformity settled, as any man amongst them. He prayed them to trust him in that affair, and promised them to hasten the despatch of it with all convenient speed; they might rely upon him in it." He

said, "he had transmitted the Book of Common Prayer, with those alterations and additions which had been presented to him by the convocation, to the house of peers with his approbation, that the act of uniformity might relate to it; so that he presumed that it would shortly be despatched there: and that when they had done all they could," he said, "the well settling that affair would require great prudence and discretion, and the absence of all passion and precipitation."

His majesty concluded with assuring them, that he did promise himself great fruits from that conversation he had with them, and that they would justify the confidence he had in their affections, by letting the world see, that they took his concerns to heart, and were ready to do whatsoever he desired for the peace and welfare of the kingdom."

When the Book of Common Prayer was, by the king's command, presented to the house of lords by the two archbishops (for it had been approved as well by the convocation of the province of York, as well as of that of Canterbury) confirmed by his majesty under the great seal of England; the book itself took up no debate: only the earl of Northumberland proposed, "that the old Book of Common Prayer might be confirmed without any alteration or addition, and then the same act of uniformity, that had been in the time of queen Elizabeth, would be likewise applied to it; whereas a new act of uniformity might take up much time and raise much debate, all which would be avoided by adhering to the old."

Whatever that lord's opinion was, he was known to be of the presbyterian party. And it was answered, "that if that proposition had been heartily made when the king came into England, it would have met with a general approbation, and prevented much sharpness and animosity, which had since risen by those who opposed that excellent form. But after the clergy had so bitterly inveighed against many parts thereof, and prevailed with his majesty to suspend the use of it till it might be revised, as by his declaration of the five and twentieth of October he had done, and thereupon had granted his commission under the great seal of England to several bishops and other divines, to review the Book of Common Prayer, and to prepare such alterations and additions as they thought fit to offer; and that afterwards his majesty had been pleased to authorize the convocations of both the provinces of Canterbury and York, called and assembled by his majesty's authority, to review the said Book of Prayer, and the Book of the Form and Manner of the making and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; and that now after the bishops and clergy of both provinces had, upon great deliberation and upon reviewing those books, prepared and consented to some alterations, and to the addition of several prayers to be used upon emergent occasions, all which his majesty had already ratified and confirmed; it could not but be understood matter of great levity and offence, to reject this book, that was now with all this ceremony and solemnity presented, for no other reason but because they liked better the old book, which had been for twenty years discontinued and rejected." And therefore it was moved, "that there might not be

"such an affront put upon the convocation, and upon the king himself." And so with little more public contest the book itself was consented and submitted to.

But then the act of uniformity depended long, and took up much debate in both houses. In the house of peers, where the act first began, there were many things inserted, which had not been contained in the former act of uniformity, and so seemed to carry somewhat of novelty in it. It admitted "no person to have any cure of souls or any ecclesiastical dignity in the church of England, but such who had been or should be ordained priest or deacon by some bishop, that is, who had not episcopal ordination; excepting only the ministers or pastors of the French and Dutch churches in London and other places, allowed by the king, who should enjoy the privileges they had."

This was new; for there had been many, and at present there were some, who possessed benefices with cure of souls, and other ecclesiastical promotions, who had never received orders but in France or in Holland; and these men must now receive new ordination, which had been always held unlawful in the church, or by this act of parliament must be deprived of their livelihood, which they enjoyed in the most flourishing and peaceable time of the church. And therefore it was said, "that this had not been the opinion of the church of England; and that it would lay a great reproach upon all other protestant churches who had no bishops, as if they had no ministers, and consequently were no churches: for that it was well known the church of England did not allow reordination, as the ancient church never admitted it; insomuch as if any priest of the church of Rome renounces the communion thereof, his ordination is not questioned, but he is as capable of any preferment in this church, as if he had been ordained in it. And therefore the not admitting the ministers of other protestants to have the same privilege, can proceed from no other ground, than that they looked not upon them as ministers, having no ordination; which is a judgment the church of England had not ever owned: and that it would be very imprudent to do it now."

To this it was answered, "that the church of England judged none but her own children, nor did not determine that other protestant churches were without ordination. It is a thing without their cognizance: and most of the learned men of those churches had made necessity the chief pillar to support that ordination of theirs. That necessity cannot be pleaded here, where ordination is given according to the unquestionable practice of the church of Christ: if they who pretend foreign ordination are his majesty's subjects, they have no excuse of necessity, for they might in all times have received episcopal ordination, and so they did upon the matter renounce their own church; if they are strangers, and pretend to preferment in this church, they ought to conform and to be subject to the laws of the kingdom, which concern only those who desire to live under the protection [thereof]. For the argument of reordination, there is no such thing required. Rebaptization is not allowed in or by any church: yet in all churches where it is doubted, as it may be often with very good

"reason, whether the person hath been baptized or no, or if it hath been baptized by a midwife or lay person; without determining the validity or invalidity of such baptism, there is an hypothetical form, 'If thou hast not been already baptized, I do baptize,' &c. So in this case of ordination, the form may be the same, 'If thou hast not been already ordained, then I do ordain,' &c. If his former ordination were good, this is void; if the other was invalid or defective, he hath reason to be glad that it be thus supplied." After much debate, that clause remained still in the act: and very many, who had received presbyterian orders in the late times, came very willingly to be ordained in the manner aforesaid by a bishop; and very few chose to quit or lose a parsonage or vicarage of any value upon that scruple.

There was another clause in the bill, that made very much more noise afterwards, though for the present it took not up so much time, and in truth was little taken notice of: that is, a form of subscription that every man was to make, who received, or before he received, any benefice or preferment in the church; which comprehended all the governors, superiors, and fellows, in all the colleges and halls of either university, and all schoolmasters and the like, who are subservient towards learning. Every such person was to declare "his unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing, contained and prescribed in and by the book entitled *The Book of Common Prayer*," &c. The subscription was generally thought so reasonable, that it scarce met with any opposition in either house. But when it came abroad, and was to be submitted to, all the dissenting brethren cried out, "that it was a snare to catch them, to say that which could not consist with their conscience." They took great pains to distinguish and to make great difference between assent and consent: "they could be content to read the book in the manner they were obliged to do, which shewed their consent; but declaring their unfeigned assent to every thing contained and prescribed therein would imply, that they were so fully convinced in their judgments, as to think that it was so perfect, that nothing therein could be amended, which for their part they thought there might. That there were many expressions in the rubric, which they were not bound to read; yet by this assent they declared their approbation thereof." But after many tedious discourses of this tyrannical imposition, they grew by degrees ashamed of it; and were persuaded to think, that assent and consent had so near the same signification, that they could hardly consent to do what they did not assent to: [so] that the chiefest amongst them, to avoid a very little inconvenience, subscribed the same.

But there was shortly after another clause added, that gave them trouble indeed. When the bill had passed the lords' house, it was sent of course to the commons; where though all the factions in religion had too many friends, for the most contrary and opposite one to another always were united and reconciled against the church, yet they who were zealous for the government, and who hated all the other factions at least enough, were very much superior in number and in reputation. And the bill was no sooner read there, than every man according to his passion thought of adding somewhat to it, that might

make it more grievous to somebody whom he did not love; which made the discourses tedious and vehement and full of animosity. And at last they agreed upon a clause, which contained another subscription and declaration, which every [man] was to make before he can be admitted into any benefice [or] ecclesiastical promotion, or to be a governor or fellow in either of the universities. He must first declare, "that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king; and that he doth abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him; and that he will conform to the Liturgy of the church of England, as it is now by law established." And he doth declare, "that he doth hold that there lies no obligation upon him, or on any other person, from the oath commonly called *The solemn League and Covenant*, to endeavour any change or alteration of government, either in church or state; and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the known laws and liberties of the kingdom;" with some other clauses, which need not be mentioned, because they were afterwards left out. And with this addition, and some other alterations, they returned the bill again to the lords for their approbation.

The framing and forming this clause had taken up very much time, and raised no less passion in the house of commons; and now it came among the lords, it was not less troublesome. It added to the displeasure and jealousy against the bishops, by whom it was thought to be prepared, and commended to their party in the lower house. Many lords, who had taken the covenant, were not so much concerned that the clergy (for whom only this act was prepared) should be obliged to make this declaration; but apprehended more, that when such a clause should be once passed in one act of parliament, it could not after be disputed, and so would be inserted into all other acts which related to the function of any other offices, and so would in a short time be required of themselves. And therefore they opposed it warmly, "as a thing unnecessary, and which would widen the breach, instead of closing up the wounds that had been made; which the king had made it his business to do, and the parliament had hitherto concurred with his majesty in that endeavour. That many men would believe or fear, (which in such a case is the same,) that this clause might prove a breach of the act of indemnity, which had not only provided against indictments and suits at law and penalties, but against reproaches for what was past, which this clause would be understood to give new life to. For what concerned the conformity to the Liturgy of the church as it is now established, it is provided for as fully in the former subscription in this act, and therefore is impertinent in this place. That the covenant contained many good things in it, as defending the king's person, and maintaining the protestant religion: and therefore to say that their lies no obligation upon it, would neither be for the service of the king or the interest of the church; especially since it was well known, that it had wrought upon the conscience of many to serve the king in the late revolution, from which his majesty

"had received great advantage. However it was now dead, all men were absolved from taking it, nor could it be imposed or offered to any man without punishment; and they, who had in the ill times been forced to take it, did now inviolably and cheerfully perform all the duties of allegiance and fidelity to his majesty. If it had at any time produced any good, that was an excuse for the irregularity of it: it could do no mischief for the future; and therefore that it was time to bury it in oblivion."

Many men believed, that though they insisted principally on that part which related to the covenant, that they were in truth more afflicted with the first part; in which it was declared, "that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king; and that he doth abhor that traitorous proposition of taking arms by his authority against his person:" which conclusions had been the principles which supported their rebellion, and by which they had imposed upon the people, and got their concurrence. They durst not oppose this, because the parliament had already by a former act declared the law to be so in those particulars: yet this went much nearer to them, that by their own particular declaration (for they looked upon it as that which in a short time must be their own) they should upon the matter confess themselves to have been traitors, which they had not yet been declared to have been; and no man could now justify the calling them so.

They who were most solicitous that the house should concur with the commons in this addition, had fieldroom enough to expatiate upon the gross iniquity of the covenant. They made themselves very merry with the allegation, "that the king's safety and the interest of the church were provided for by the covenant, when it had been therefore entered into, to fight against the king and to destroy the church. That there was no one lawful or honest clause in the covenant, that was not destroyed or made of no signification by the next that succeeded; and if it were not, the same obligation was better provided for by some other oaths, which the same men had or ought to have taken, and which ought to have restrained them from taking the covenant: and therefore it may justly be pronounced, that there is no obligation upon any man from thence. That there was no breach of the act of indemnity, nor any reproach upon any man for having taken it, except what would result from his own conscience. But that it was most absolutely necessary, for the safety of the king's person, and the peace of the kingdom, that they who had taken it should declare, that they do not believe themselves to be bound by it: otherwise they may still think, that they may fight against the king, and must conspire the destruction of the church. And they cannot take too much care, or use too much diligence, to discover who are of that opinion; that they may be strictly looked unto, and restrained from doing that which they take themselves obliged to do. That the covenant is not dead, as was alleged, but still retains great vigour; was still the idol to which the presbyterians sacrificed: and that there must and would always be a general jealousy of all those who had taken it, until they had declared that it did not bind

them; especially of the clergy, who had so often enlarged in their pulpits, how absolutely and indispensably all men are obliged to prosecute the ends of it, which is to destroy the church, whatever danger it brings the king's person to. And therefore they of all men ought to be glad of this opportunity that was offered, to vindicate their loyalty and obedience; and if they were not ready to do so, they were not fit to be trusted with the charge and care of the souls of the king's subjects."

And in truth there were not any more importunate for the enjoining this declaration, than many who had taken the covenant. Many who had never taken it, and had always detested it, and paid soundly for being known to do so, were yet very sorry that it was inserted at this time and in this place; for they foresaw it would make divisions, and keep up the several factions, which would have been much weakened, and in a short time brought to nothing, if the presbyterians had been separated from the rest, who did perfectly hate and were as perfectly hated by all the rest. But since it was brought upon the stage, and it had been the subject of so much debate, they believed the house of lords could not now refuse to concur with the commons, without undergoing some reproach and scandal of [not] having an ill opinion enough of the covenant; of which as they were in no degree guilty, so they thought it to be of mischievous consequence to be suspected to be so. And therefore, after they had expunged some other parts of that subscription which had been annexed to it, and mended some other expressions in other places, which might rather irritate than compose those humours which already boiled too much, they returned the bill to the house of commons; which submitted to all that they had done: and so it was presented to the king, who could not well refuse his royal assent, nor did in his own judgment or inclination dislike what was offered to him.

By this act of uniformity there was an end put to all the liberty and license, which had been practised in all churches from the time of his majesty's return, and by his declaration that he had emitted afterwards. The Common Prayer must now be constantly read in all churches, and no other form admitted: and what clergyman soever did not fully conform to whatsoever was contained in that book, or enjoined by the act of uniformity, by or before St. Bartholomew-day, which was about three months after the act was published; he was *ipso facto* deprived of his benefice, or any other spiritual promotion of which he stood possessed, and the patron was to present another in his place, as if he were dead: so that it was not in the king's power to give any dispensation to any man, that could preserve him against the penalty in the act of uniformity.

This act was no sooner published, (for I am willing to continue this relation to the execution of it, because there were some intervening accidents that were not understood,) than all the presbyterian ministers expressed their disapprobation of it with all the passion imaginable. They complained, "that the king had violated his promise made to them in his declaration from Breda," which was urged with great uningenuity, and without any shadow of right; for his majesty had thereby referred the whole settle-

ment of all things relating to religion, to the wisdom of parliament; and declared, "in the mean time, that nobody should be punished or questioned, for continuing the exercise of his religion in the way he had been accustomed to in the late confusions." And his majesty had continued this indulgence by his declaration after his return, and thereby fully complied with his promise from Breda; which he should indeed have violated, if he had now refused to concur in the settlement the parliament had agreed upon, being in truth no less obliged to concur with the parliament in the settlement that the parliament should propose to him, than he was not to cause any man to be punished for not obeying the former laws, till a new settlement should be made. But how evident soever this truth is, they would not acknowledge it; but armed their proselytes with confident assertions, and unnatural interpretations of the words in the king's declaration, as if the king were bound to grant liberty of conscience, whatever the parliament should or should not desire, that is, to leave all men to live according to their own humours and appetites, let what laws soever be made to the contrary. They declared, "that they could not with a good conscience either subscribe the one or the other declaration: they could not say that they did assent or consent in the first, nor declare in the second that there remained no obligation from the covenant; and therefore that they were all resolved to quit their livings, and to depend upon Providence for their subsistence."

There cannot be a better evidence of the general affection of the kingdom, than that this act of parliament had so concurrent an approbation of the two houses of parliament, after a suppression of that form of devotion for near twenty years, and the highest discountenance and oppression of all those who were known to be devoted or affected to it. And from the time of the king's return, when it was lawful to use it, though it was not enjoined, persons of all conditions flocked to those churches where it was used. And it was by very many sober men believed, that if the presbyterians and the other factions in religion had been only permitted to exercise their own ways, [without] any countenance from the court, the heart of all the factions against the church would have been broken, before the parliament did so fully declare itself.

And there cannot be a greater manifestation of the distemper and license of the time, than the presumption of those presbyterian ministers, in the opposing and contradicting an act of parliament; when there was scarce a man in that number, who had not been so great a promoter of the rebellion, or contributed so much to it, that they had no other title to their lives but by the king's mercy; and that there were very few amongst them, who had not come into the possession of the churches they now held, by the expulsion of the orthodox ministers who were lawfully possessed of them, and who being by their imprisonment, poverty, and other kinds of oppression and contempt during so many years, departed this life, the usurpers remained undisturbed in their livings, and thought it now the highest tyranny to be removed from them, though for offending the law, and disobedience to the government. That those men should give themselves

an act of oblivion of all their transgressions and wickedness, and take upon them again to pretend a liberty of conscience against the government, which they had once overthrown upon their pretences; was such an impudence, as could not have fallen into the hearts even of those men from the stock of their own malice, without some great defect in the government, and encouragement or countenance from the highest powers. The king's too gracious disposition and easiness of access, as hath been said before, had from the beginning raised their hopes and dispelled their fears; whilst his majesty promised himself a great harvest in their conversion, by his gentleness and affability. And they insinuated themselves by a profession, "that it was more the regard of his service, than any obstinacy in themselves, which kept them from conformity to what the law had enjoined; that they might still preserve their credit with their parishioners, and by degrees bring them to a perfect obedience:" whereas indeed all the corruption was in the clergy; and where a prudent and orthodox man was in the pulpit, the people very willingly heard the Common Prayer.

Nor did this confidence leave them, after the passing and publishing this act of uniformity: but the London ministers, who had the government of those in the country, prevailed with the general (who without any violent inclinations of his own was always ready for his wife's sake) to bring them to the king, who always received them with too much clemency, and dismissed them with too much hope. They lamented "the sadness of their condition, which (after having done so much service to his majesty, and been so graciously promised by him his protection) must now be exposed to all misery and famine." They told him "what a vast number of churches" (five times more than was true) "would become void by this act, which would not prove for his service; and that they much feared, the people would not continue as quiet and peaceable as they had been under their oversight." They used all the arguments they thought might work upon him; and he seemed to be the more moved, because he knew that it was not in his power to help them. He told them, "he had great compassion for them; and was heartily sorry that the parliament had been so severe towards them, which he would remit, if it were in his power; and therefore that they should advise with their friends, and that if they found that it would be in his power to give them any ease, they should find him inclined to gratify them in whatsoever they desired:" which gracious expressions raised their spirits as high as ever; and they reported to their friends much more than in truth the king had said to them, (which was no new artifice with them,) and advised their friends in all parts "to be firm to their principles," and assured them, "that the rigour of the act of parliament should not be pressed against them."

It cannot be denied, that the king was too irresolute, and apt to be shaken in those counsels which with the greatest [deliberation] he had concluded, by too easily permitting, or at least not restraining, any men who waited upon him, or were present with him in his recesses, to examine and censure what was resolved; an infirmity that brought him many troubles, and exposed his ministers to ruin: though in his nature, judg-

ment, and inclinations, he did detest the presbyterians; and by the experience he had of their faculties, pride, and insolence in Scotland, had brought from thence such an abhorrence of them, that for their sakes he thought better of any of the other factions. Nor had he any kindness for any person whom he suspected to adhere to them: for the lord Lautherdale took all pains to be thought no presbyterian; and pleased himself better with no humour, than laughing at that people, and telling ridiculous stories of their folly and foul corruptions. Yet the king, from the opinion he had of their great power to do him good or harm, which was often times unskillfully insinuated to him by men who he knew were not of their party, but were really deceived themselves by a wrong computation and estimate of their interest, was not willing to be thought an enemy to them. And there were too many bold speakers about the court, too often admitted into his presence, who being without any sense of religion, thought all rather ought to be permitted, than to undergo any trouble and disturbance on the behalf of any one.

The continued address and importunity of these ministers, as St. Bartholomew's day approached nearer, more disquieted the king. They enlarged with many words "on the great joy that they and all their friends had received, from the compassion his majesty so graciously had expressed on their behalf, which they would never forget, or forfeit by any undutiful carriage." They confessed "that they found, upon conference with their friends who wished them well, and upon perusal of the act of parliament, that it was not in his majesty's power to give them so much protection against the penalty of the act of parliament, as they had hoped, and as his great goodness was inclined to give them. But that it would be an unspeakable comfort to them, if his majesty's grace towards them were so manifested, that the people might discern that this extreme rigour was not grateful to him, but that he could be well content if it were for some time suspended; and therefore they were humble suitors to him, that he would by his letters to the bishops, or by a proclamation, or an act of council, or any other way his majesty should think fit, publish his desire that the execution of the act of uniformity, as to all but the reading of the Liturgy, which they would conform to, might be suspended for three months; and that he would take it well from the bishops or any of the patrons, who would so far comply with his desire, as not to take any advantage of those clauses in the statute, which gave them authority to present as in a vacancy. They doubted not there would be many, who would willingly submit to his majesty's pleasure: but whatever the effect should be, they would pay the same humble acknowledgments to his majesty, as if it had produced all that they desired."

Whether his majesty thought it would do them no good, and therefore that it was no matter if he granted it; or that he thought it no prejudice to the church, if the act were suspended for three months; or that he was willing to redeem himself from the present importunity, (an infirmity he was too often guilty of;) true it is, he did make them a positive promise, "that he would do what they

"desired;" with which they were abundantly satisfied, and renewed their encouragement to their friends "to persevere to the end." And this promise was solemnly given to them in the presence of the general, who was to solicit the king's despatch, that his pleasure might be known in due time. It was now the long vacation, and few of the council were then in town, or of the bishops, with whom his majesty too late thought it necessary to confer, that such an instrument might be prepared as was fit for the affair. Hereupon the king told the chancellor (who was not thought friend enough to the presbyterians to be sooner communicated with) all that had passed, what the ministers had desired, and what he had promised; and bade him "to think of the best way of doing it."

The chancellor was one of those, who would have been glad that the act had not been clogged with many of those clauses, which he foresaw might produce some inconveniences; but when it was passed, he thought it absolutely necessary to see obedience paid to it without any connivance: and therefore, as he had always dissuaded the king from giving so much countenance to those applications, which he always knew published more to be said than in truth was ever spoken, and was the more troubled for this progress they had made with the king; he told his majesty, "that it was not in his power to preserve those men, who did not submit to do all that was to be done by the act, from deprivation." He gave many reasons which occurred, why "such a declaration as was desired would prove ineffectual to the end for which it was desired, and what inconveniences would result from attempting it." His majesty alleged many reasons for the doing it, which he had received from those who desired it, and seemed sorry that they were no better; however concluded, "that he had engaged his word, and that he would perform what he had promised;" and required him not to oppose it. The chancellor had always been very tender of his honour; and advised him "to be very wary in making any promise, but when he had made it, to perform it, though to his disadvantage:" and it was no new thing to him, to be reproached for opposing the resolving to do such or such a thing, and then to be reproached again for pursuing the resolution.

The king was at Hampton-court, and sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London and of Winchester, to attend him, with the chief justice Bridgman, and the attorney general: there were likewise the chancellor, the general, the duke of Ormond, and the secretaries. His majesty acquainted them with "the importunities used by the London ministers, and the reasons they had offered why a further time should be given to them to consider of what was so new to them; and what answer he had given to them; and how they had renewed their importunity with a desire of such a declaration from him as is mentioned before, in which he thought there was no inconvenience, and therefore had promised to do it, and called them now together to advise of the best way of doing it." The bishops were very much troubled, that those fellows should still presume to give his majesty so much vexation, and that they should have such access to him. They gave such arguments against



the doing what was desired, as could not be answered; and for themselves, they desired "to be excused for not conniving in any degree at the breach of the act of parliament, either by not presenting a clerk where themselves were patrons, or deferring to give institution upon the presentation [of others]: and that his majesty's giving such a declaration or recommendation would be the greatest wound to the church, and to the government thereof, that it could receive."

The chancellor, who did really believe that the king and his service would suffer more by the breach of his word and promise, than either could do from doing the thing desired, confessed "that he believed it would do them little good, which would not be imputed to his majesty, when he had done all he could do; and that it would be a greater conformity, if the ministers generally performed what they offered to do, in reading all the service of the church, than had been these many years; and that once having done what was known to be so contrary to their inclinations, would be an engagement upon them in a short time to comply with the rest of their obligations: and therefore," he said, "he should not dissuade his majesty from doing what he had promised;" which indeed he had good reason to think he was resolved to do, whatever he was advised to the contrary. The king demanded the judgment of the lawyers, "whether he could legally dispense with the observation of the act for three months;" who answered, "that notwithstanding any thing he could do in their favour, the patrons might present their clerk as if the incumbents were dead, upon their not-performance of what they were enjoined." Upon the whole matter the king was converted; and with great bitterness against that people in general, and against the particular persons whom he had always received too graciously, concluded that he would not do what was desired, and that the connivance should not be given to any of them.

The bishops departed full of satisfaction with the king's resolution, and as unsatisfied with their friend the chancellor's inclination to gratify that people, not knowing the engagement that was upon him. And this jealousy produced a greater coldness from some of them towards him, and a greater resentment from him, who thought he had deserved better from their function and their persons, than was in a long time, if ever, perfectly reconciled. Yet he never declined in the least degree his zeal for the government of the church, or the interest of those persons; nor thought they could be blamed for their severity against those ministers, who were surely the proudest malefactors, and the most incapable of being gently treated, of any men living. For if any of the bishops used them kindly, and endeavoured to persuade them to conformity, they reported "that they had been caressed and flattered by the bishops, and offered great preferments, which they had bravely refused to accept for the preservation of a good conscience:" and in reports of this kind, few of them ever observed any rules of ingenuity or sincerity.

When they saw that they were to expect and undergo the worst, they agreed upon a method to be observed by them in the leaving and parting with their pulpits: and the last Sunday they were

to preach, they endeavoured to infuse murmur, jealousy, and sedition, into the hearts of their several auditories; and to prepare them "to expect and bear with patience and courage all the persecutions which were like to follow, now the light of the gospel was so near being extinguished." And all those sermons they called their farewell sermons, and caused to be printed together, with every one of the preachers' pictures before their sermons; which in truth contained all the vanity and ostentation with reference to themselves, and all the insinuations to mutiny and rebellion, that could be warily couched in words which could not be brought within penalty of law, though their meaning was well understood.

When the time was expired, better men were put into their churches, though with much murmuring of some of their parishes for a time, increased by their loud clamour, "that they had been betrayed by the king's promise that they should have three months longer time:" which drew the like clamour upon them by those, who had hearkened to their advice in continuing their obstinacy in confidence of a dispensation; whereas otherwise they would have conformed, as very many of their party did. And many of the other who were cozened by them, and so lost the livings they had, made all the haste they could to make themselves capable of getting others, by as full subscriptions and conformity as the act of uniformity required. And the greatest of them, after some time, and after they found that the private bounty and donatives, which at first flowed in upon them in compassion of their sufferings and to keep up their courages, every day begun to slacken, and would in the end expire, subscribed to those very declarations, which they had urged as the greatest motives to their nonconformity. And the number was very small, and of very weak and inconsiderable men, that continued refractory, and received no charge in the church: though it may without breach of charity be believed, that many who did subscribe had the same malignity to the church, and to the government of it; and it may be did more harm, than if they had continued in their inconformity.

The long time spent in both houses upon the act of uniformity had made the progress of all other public business much the slower; or rather, the multitude of private bills which depended there, (and with which former parliaments had been very rarely troubled,) and the bitterness and animosities which arose from thence, exceedingly disquieted and discomposed the house; every man being so much concerned for the interest of his friends or allies, that he was more solicitous for the despatch of those, than of any which related to the king and the public, which he knew would by a general concurrence be all passed before the session should be made; whereas if the other should be deferred, the session would quickly follow, (which the king by frequent messages desired to hasten, having received news already of the queen's having been at sea many days,) and the benefit of those pretences would be lost, and with greater difficulty be recovered in a succeeding session. Then as those private bills were for the particular benefit and advantage of some persons, which engaged all their friends to be very solicitous for their despatch; so for the most part they were to the loss and damage of other per-



sons, who likewise called in aid of all their friends to prevent the houses' consent : and by this means so many factions were kindled in both houses, between those who drove on the interest of their own or of their relations, who mutually looked upon one another as enemies, and against those who for justice and the dignity of parliament would have rejected all or most of the addresses of that kind; that in most debates which related to neither, the custom of contradiction, and the aversion to persons, very much disturbed and prolonged all despatch.

It cannot be denied, that after a civil war of so many years, prosecuted with that height of malice and revenge; so many houses plundered and so many burned, in which the evidences of many estates were totally destroyed, and as many by the unskilful providence of others, who in order to preserve them had buried their writings so unwarily under ground, that they were taken up so defaced or rotted, that they could not be pleaded in any court of justice; many who had followed the king in the war, and so made themselves liable to those penalties which the parliament had prepared for them and subjected them to, had made many feigned conveyances, with such limitations and so absolutely, (that no trust might be discovered by those who had power to avoid it,) that they were indeed too absolute to be avoided by themselves, and their estates become so much out of their own disposal, that they could neither apply them to the payment of their just debts, or to the provision for their children; I say, there were many such cases, which could be no other way provided for but by an act of parliament, and to which an act of parliament, without too much severity and rigour, could not be denied. And against any of those there appeared none or very little opposition to be made.

But the example and precedent of such drew with them a world of unreasonable pretences; and they, who were not in a condition to receive relief in any court of justice, thought they had a ground to appeal to parliament. They who had been compelled, for raising the money they were forced to pay for their delinquency, to sell land, and could not sell it but at a very low value, (for it was one species of the oppression of that time, that when a powerful man had an aspect upon the land of any man who was to compound, and so in view like to sell it, no other man would offer any money for it, so that he was sure at last to have it upon his own price;) now all that monstrous power was vanished, they who had made those unthrifty bargains and sales, though with all the formalities of law, by fines and recoveries and the like, (which is all the security that can be given upon a purchase,) especially if the purchaser was of an ill name, came with all imaginable confidence to the parliament, to have their land restored to [them]. Every man had raised an equity in his own imagination, that he thought ought to prevail against any descent, testament, or act of law; and that whatever any man had been brought to do, which common reason would make manifest that he would never have done if he could have chosen, was argument sufficient of such a force, and ought to find relief in parliament, from the unbounded equity they were masters of and could dispense, whatever formalities of law had preceded or accompanied the transaction. And

whoever opposed those extravagant notions, which sometimes deprived men of the benefit of the act of oblivion, was thought to be without justice, or which to them was worse, to be without any kindness to the king's party. And without question, upon those motives, or others as unreasonable, many acts were passed of very ill example, and which many men were scandalized at in the present, and posterity will more censure hereafter, when infants who were then unborn shall find themselves disinherited of those estates, which their ancestors had carefully provided should descend to them; upon which irregularities the king made reflection when he made the session.

But notwithstanding all these incongruities and the indispositions which attended them, they performed all those respects towards the king, which he did or could expect from them; there being scarce a man, who opposed the granting any thing that was proposed for the benefit of his majesty, or the greatness of the crown: and though some of the particulars mentioned before did sometimes intervene, to hinder and defer the present resolutions and conclusions in those counsels, the resolutions and conclusions in a short time after succeeded according to the king's wish. The militia and many other regalities were declared and settled according to the original sense of the law, and the authority of the crown vindicated to the height it had been at upon the heads of the greatest kings who had ever reigned in the nation. Monies were raised by several bills, sufficient as they conceived to have paid all the debts the king or the kingdom owed; for in their computations they comprehended the debts that were owing before his majesty's return, and for which the public faith had been engaged: and if as much had been paid as they conceived they had given, probably it might have been enough to have discharged all those. They settled a constant revenue upon the crown, which according to the estimate they made would amount to the yearly revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds, a proportion double to what it was in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and it may be of any king preceding; and declared, "that if it did not amount to that full value, they would supply it at another meeting." And though it hath not in truth amounted to that sum in his majesty's receipts, the parliament hath imputed it rather to ill managery, and letting farms at too easy rates, than to an error in their computation. For the present, it was looked upon by the king and by his ministers as answerable to his expectation. And so, upon notice of the queen's being upon the coast, and afterwards of her arrival at Portsmouth, the king appointed the houses to present all their bills to him upon the nineteenth of May for his royal assent, it being few days above a year from the time of their being first convened.

When the king came to the parliament, and they had presented the great number of bills which they had prepared, and after he had given his royal assent to most of them, his majesty told them, "that he thought there had been very few sessions of parliament, in which there had been so many bills, as he had passed that day: he was confident, never so many private bills, which he hoped they would not draw into example. It was true," he said, "the late ill times had driven men into great straits, and

"might have obliged them to make conveyances colourably, to avoid inconveniences, and yet not afterwards to be avoided; and men had gotten estates by new and greater frauds than had been heretofore practised; and therefore in this conjuncture extraordinary remedies might be necessary; which had induced him to comply with their advice in passing those bills: but he prayed them that this should be rarely done hereafter: that the good old rules of the law are the best security; and he wished that men might not have too much cause to fear, that the settlements which they make of their estates shall be too easily unsettled when they are dead by the power of parliament."

He said, "they had too much obliged him, not only in the matter of those bills which concerned his revenue, but in the manner of passing them, with so great affection and kindness, that he knew not how to thank them enough. He did assure them, and prayed them to assure their friends in the country, that he would apply all that they had given to him, to the utmost improvement of the peace and happiness of the kingdom; and that he would, with the best advice and good husbandry he could, bring his own expenses within a narrower compass." And he said, "now he was speaking to them of his own good husbandry, he must tell them, that would not be enough; he could not but observe, that the whole nation seemed to him a little corrupted in their excess of living. All men spend much more in their clothes, in their diet, in all their expenses, than they had used to do. He hoped it had only been the excess of joy after so long sufferings, that had transported him and them to those other excesses; but," he desired them, "that they might all take heed that the continuance of them did not indeed corrupt their natures. He did believe that he had been that way very faulty himself: he promised that he would reform, and that if they would join with him in their several capacities, they would by their examples do more good, both in city and country, than any new laws would do." He said many other good things that pleased them, and no doubt he intended all he said; but the ways and expedients towards good husbandry were no where pursued.

The chancellor, by the king's command, enlarged upon "the general murmurs upon the expense, and that it should so much exceed all former times." He put them in mind, "how the crown had been used since those times, how the king had found it at his blessed return: that as soon as he came hither, besides the infinite sums that he forgave, he gave more money to the people than he had since received from them," (he meant, I suppose, the release of all the rents, debts, and receipts which were due to him;) "that at least two parts of three that they had since given him had issued for the disbanding of armies never raised by him, and for payment of fleets never sent out by him, and of debts never incurred by him." He put them in mind "of the vast disparity between the former times and these in which they now lived, and consequently [of] the disproportion in the expense the crown was now at, for the protection and benefit of the subject, to what it formerly underwent. How great a difference there was

"in the present greatness and power of the two crowns, and what they had been then possessed of, was evident to all men; and if the greatness and power of the crown of England should not be in some proportion improved too, it might be liable to inconveniences it would not undergo alone. How our neighbours and our rivals, who court one and the same mistress, trade and commerce, with all the world, are advanced in shipping, power, and an immoderate desire to engross the whole traffick of the universe, was notorious enough; and that this unruly appetite would not be restrained or disappointed, nor the trade of the nation be supported and maintained, with the same fleets and forces which had been maintained in the happy times of queen Elizabeth. He needed not speak of the naval power of the Turks, who, instead of sculking abroad in poor single ships as they were wont to do, domineer now on the ocean in strong fleets, make naval fights, and had brought some Christians to a better correspondence, and another kind of commerce and traffick with them, than was expected," (for at that time the Dutch had made a low and dishonourable peace with the pirates of Algiers and Tunis:) "inso-much as they apprehend no enemy upon the sea, but what they find in the king of England's ships, which had indeed brought no small damage upon them, with no small charge to the king, but a great reputation to the nation.

"He did assure them, that the charge the crown was then at, by sea and land, for the peace and security and wealth and honour of the nation, amounted to no less than eight hundred thousand pounds in the year; all which did not cost the crown before the late troubles fourscore thousand pounds the year: and therefore that nobody could blame them for any supply they had given, or addition they had made to the revenue of the crown." He told them, "that the new acquisitions of Dunkirk, Mardike, Tangier, Jamaica, and Bombayne, ought to be looked upon as jewels of an immense magnitude in the royal diadem; and though they were of present expense, they were like in a short time, with God's blessing, to bring vast advantages to the trade, navigation, wealth, and honour of the king and kingdom. His majesty had enough expressed his desire to live in a perfect peace and amity with all his neighbours; nor was it an ill ingredient towards the firmness and stability of that peace and amity which his royal ancestors had held with them, that he hath some advantages in case of a war, which they were without." The same day the parliament was prorogued to the eighteenth day of February following.

It was about the end of May, when the queen came to Hampton-court. The earl of Sandwich, after he had reduced those of Algiers and Tunis to good conditions, went to Tangier, which was to be delivered to him before he was to go to Lisbon for the reception of the queen: and delivered to him it was, though by an accident that might have caused it to be delivered into another hand. There was never the least doubt, but that the queen regent did resolve religiously to perform all the conditions on the part of Portugal; and the government was yet in her hands. But the king growing towards his majority, and of a nature

not like to comply long with his mother's advice; factions began likewise to grow in that court. The delivery of Tangier, and into the hands of heretics, was much murmured at; as like more to irritate the pope, who did already carry himself towards them very unlike a common father, not withstanding the powerful interposition of France, which, upon the peace lately made between the two crowns, was already ceased: so that they now apprehended, that this new provocation would give some excuse to the court of Rome, to comply more severely with the importunities from Spain, which likewise upon this occasion they were sure would be renewed with all possible instance. And though the queen had lately sent a governor to Tangier, whom she therefore made choice of, as a man devoted to her, and who would obey her commands in the delivery of this place; yet it is certain, he went thither with a contrary resolution.

Very few days before the earl of Sandwich came thither, the governor marched out with all the horse and above half the foot of the garrison into the country, and fell into an ambush of the Moors, who being much more numerous cut off the whole party: and so the governor with so many of the chief officers and soldiers being killed, the town was left so weak, that if the Moors had pursued their advantage with such numbers as they might, and did intend within few days to bring with them, they would have been able to have made little resistance. And the earl of Sandwich coming happily thither in that conjuncture, [it] was delivered into his hands, who conveyed the remainder of the garrison into Portugal, where they were like to be stoned by the people; and then, having put a good garrison of horse and foot which were sent from England into it, he delivered it up to the earl of Peterborough, who had a commission from the king to be governor thereof; and himself with the fleet sailed to Lisbon, where he had been long expected, and found his house and equipage ready, he being then to appear in the quality of extraordinary ambassador to demand the queen.

His arrival there happened likewise in a very happy conjuncture; for the Spanish army, stronger than it had been before, was upon its march to besiege a seaport town, which lay so near Lisbon, that being in the enemy's hands would very much have infested their whole trade, and was not strong enough long to have resisted so powerful an enemy. But upon the fame of the English fleet's arrival, the Spaniard gave over that design, and retired: since as it was impossible that they should be able to take that place, which the fleet was so ready to relieve; so they knew not but that the English might make a descent into their own quarters, which kept them from engaging before any other town. But the alarm the march of that army had given had so much disturbed Portugal, which never keep their whole forces on foot, but draw them together upon such emergent occasions; that they were compelled to make use of most of that money, which they said had been laid up and should be kept for the payment of the queen's portion, which was to be transported with her into England.

Whereupon, after the ambassador had been received with all possible demonstration of respect and public joy, and had his solemn audience from the king and from the queen regent and the

queen his mistress; and some English gentlemen of quality, who were sent by the king, were admitted to those places of attendance about the queen, to which his majesty had assigned them: the queen mother, with infinite apologies, told the ambassador, "that the straits and poverty of the kingdom were so great upon the late advance of the Spanish army, that there could at this present be only paid one half of the queen's portion, and that the other half should infallibly be paid within a year, with which she hoped the king her brother would be satisfied; and that for the better doing it, she resolved to send back the same ambassador, who had brought so good a work with God's blessing to so good an end, with her daughter to the king."

The earl of Sandwich was much perplexed, nor did easily resolve what he was to do. His instructions were to receive the whole portion, which he knew the king expected, and which they were not able to pay. He had already received Tangier, and left a strong garrison in it, and had neither authority to restore it, nor wherewithal to carry back the men. And at last, after he had used all the means to have the whole paid, and was so fully informed, that he did in truth believe that they could do no more, he resolved that he would receive the queen aboard the fleet. That which they were ready to deliver for half the portion was not in money, but to be made up by jewels, sugar, and other commodities, which should not be overvalued. The ambassador was contented to give his receipt for the several species of the money they would deliver, leaving the value to be computed in England; but expressly refused to accept the jewels, sugar, and merchandises at any rates or prices; but was contented to receive them on board the ships, and to deliver them in specie at London to any person who should be appointed by them to receive them, who should be obliged to pay the money they were valued [at], and to make up the whole sum that should be paid to the king for the moiety. In conclusion, all things were delivered on board the ships; and Diego Silvas, a Jew of great wealth and full credit at Amsterdam, was sent with it, and obliged to make even the account with the king's ministers at London, and to pay what should remain due. And a new obligation was entered into by the crown of Portugal, for the payment of the other moiety within the space of a year. And the queen with all her court and retinue were embarked on board the fleet; and without any ill accidents her majesty arrived safely at Portsmouth: and having rested only three or four days there, to recover the indisposition contracted in so long a voyage at sea, her majesty, together with the king, came to Hampton-court at the time mentioned before, the twenty-ninth of May, the king's birth-day, full two years after his majesty's return and entering London.

However the public joy of the kingdom was very manifest upon this conjunction, yet in a short time there appeared not that serenity in the court that was expected. They who had formerly endeavoured to prevent it, used ever after all the ill arts they could to make it disagreeable, and to alienate the king's affection from the queen to such a degree, that it might never be in her power to prevail with him to their disadvantage; an effect they had reason to expect from any

notable interest she might gain in his affections, since she could not be uninformed by the ambassador of the disservice they had formerly endeavoured to do her.

There was a lady of youth and beauty, with whom the king had lived in great and notorious familiarity from the time of his coming into England, and who, at the time of the queen's coming, or a little before, had been delivered of a son whom the king owned. And as that amour had been generally taken notice of, to the lessening of the good reputation the king had with the people; so it underwent the less reproach from the king's being young, vigorous, and in his full strength; and upon a full presumption that when he should be married, he would contain himself within the strict bounds of virtue and conscience. And that his majesty himself had that firm resolution, there want not many arguments, as well from the excellent temper and justice of his own nature, as from the professions he had made with some solemnity to persons who were believed to have much credit, and who had not failed to do their duty, in putting him in mind "of the infinite obligations he had to God Almighty, and that he expected another kind of return from him, in the purity of mind and integrity of life:" of which his majesty was piously sensible, albeit there was all possible pains taken by that company which were admitted to his hours of pleasure, to divert and corrupt all those impressions and principles, which his own conscience and reverent esteem of Providence did suggest to him; turning all discourse and mention of religion into ridicule, as if it were only an invention of divines to impose upon men of parts, and to restrain them from the liberty and use of those faculties which God and nature had given them, that they might be subject to their reproofs and determinations; which kind of license was not grateful to the king, and therefore warily and accidentally used by those who had pleasant wit, and in whose company he took too much delight.

The queen had beauty and wit enough to make herself very agreeable to him; and it is very certain, that at their first meeting, and for some time after, the king had very good satisfaction in her, and without doubt made very good resolutions within himself, and promised himself a happy and an innocent life in her company, without any such uxoriousness, as might draw the reputation upon him of being governed by his wife, of which he had observed or been too largely informed of some inconvenient effects in the fortune of some of his nearest friends, and had long protested against such a resignation; though they who knew him well, did not think him so much superior to such a condescension, but that if the queen had had that craft and address and dexterity that some former queens had, she might have prevailed as far by degrees as they had done. But the truth is, though she was of years enough to have had more experience of the world, and of as much wit as could be wished, and of a humour very agreeable at some seasons; yet she had been bred, according to the mode and discipline of her country, in a monastery, where she had only seen the women who attended her, and conversed with the religious who resided there, and without doubt in her inclinations was enough disposed to have been one of that number. And from this restraint she

was called out to be a great queen, and to a free conversation in a court that was to be upon the matter new formed, and reduced from the manners of a licentious age to the old rules and limits which had been observed in better times; and to which regular and decent conformity the present disposition of men or women was not enough inclined to submit, nor the king enough disposed to exact.

There was a numerous family of men and women that were sent from Portugal, the most improper to promote that conformity in the queen that was necessary for her condition and future happiness, that could be chosen: the women for the most part old and ugly and proud, incapable of any conversation with persons of quality and a liberal education. And they desired and indeed had conspired so far to possess the queen themselves, that she should neither learn the English language, nor use their habit, nor depart from the manners and fashions of her own country in any particulars; "which resolution," they told her, "would be for the dignity of Portugal, and would quickly induce the English ladies to conform to her majesty's practice:" and this imagination had made that impression, that the tailor who had been sent into Portugal to make her clothes, could never be admitted to see her or receive any employment. Nor when she came to Portsmouth, and found there several ladies of honour and prime quality to attend her in the places to which they were assigned by the king, did she receive any of them, till the king himself came; nor then with any grace, or the liberty that belonged to their places and offices. She could not be persuaded to be dressed out of the wardrobe that the king had sent to her, but would wear the clothes which she had brought, until she found that the king was displeased, and would be obeyed: whereupon she conformed against the advice of her women, who continued their opiniatrety, without any one of them receding from their own mode, which exposed them the more to reproach.

When the queen came to Hampton-court, she brought with her a formed resolution, that she would never suffer the lady who was so much spoken of to be in her presence: and afterwards to those she would trust she said, "her mother had enjoined her so to do." On the other hand, the king thought that he had so well prepared her to give her a civil reception, that within a day or two after her majesty's being there, himself led her into her chamber, and presented her to the queen, who received her with the same grace as she had done the rest; there being many lords and other ladies at the same time there. But whether her majesty in the instant knew who she was, or upon recollection found it afterwards, she was no sooner sat in her chair, but her colour changed, and tears gushed out of her eyes, and her nose bled, and she fainted; so that she was forthwith removed into another room, and all the company retired out of that where she was before. And this falling out so notoriously when so many persons were present, the king looked upon it with wonderful indignation, and as an earnest of defiance for the decision of the supremacy and who should govern, upon which point he was the most jealous and the most resolute of any man; and the answer he received from the queen, which kept up the obstinacy, displeased him more. Now

the breach of the conditions grew matter of reproach; the payment of but half the portion was objected to the ambassador, who would have been very glad that the quarrel had been upon no other point. He knew not what to say or do; the king being offended with him for having said so much in Portugal to provoke the queen, and not instructing her enough to make her unconcerned in what had been before her time, and in which she could not reasonably be concerned; and the queen with more indignation reproaching him with the character he had given of the king, of his virtue and good-nature: whilst the poor man, not able to endure the tempest of so much injustice from both, thought it best to satisfy both by dying; and from the extreme affliction of mind which he underwent, he sustained such a fever as brought him to the brink of his grave, till some grace from both their majesties contributed much to the recovery of his spirits.

In the mean time the king forbore her majesty's company, and sought ease and refreshment in that jolly company, to which in the evenings he grew every day more indulgent, and in which there were some, who desired rather to inflame than pacify his discontent. And they found an expedient to vindicate his royal jurisdiction, and to make it manifest to the world, that he would not be governed; which could never without much artifice have got entrance into his princely breast, which always entertained the most tender affections; nor was ever any man's nature more remote from thoughts of roughness or hardheartedness. They magnified the temper and constitution of his grandfather, who indeed to all other purposes was a glorious example: "that when he was enamoured, and found a return answerable to his merit, he did not dissemble his passion, nor suffered it to be matter of reproach to the persons whom he loved; but made all others pay them that respect which he thought them worthy of: brought them to the court, and obliged his own wife the queen to treat them with grace and favour; gave them the highest titles of honour, to draw reverence and application to them from all the court and all the kingdom; raised the children he had by them to the reputation, state, and degree of princes of the blood, and conferred fortunes and offices upon them accordingly. That his majesty, who inherited the same passions, was without the gratitude and noble inclination to make returns proportionable to the obligations he received. That he had, by the charms of his person and of his professions, prevailed upon the affections and heart of a young and beautiful lady of a noble extraction, whose father had lost his life in the service of the crown. That she had provoked the jealousy and rage of her husband to that degree, that he had separated himself from her: and now the queen's indignation had made the matter so notorious to the world, that the disconsolate lady had no place of retreat left, but must be made an object of infamy and contempt to all her sex, and to the whole world."

Those discourses, together with a little book newly printed at Paris, according to the license of that nation, of the amours of Henry IV. which was by them presented to him, and too concernedly read by him, made that impression upon his mind, that he resolved to raise the quality

and degree of that lady, who was married to a private gentleman of a competent fortune, that had not the ambition to be a better man than he was born. And that he might do so, he made her husband an earl of Ireland, who knew too well the consideration that he paid for it, and abhorred the brand of such a nobility, and did not in a long time assume the title. The lady thus qualified was now made fit for higher preferment: and the king resolved, for the vindication of her honour and innocence, that she should be admitted of the bedchamber of the queen, as the only means to convince the world, that all aspersions upon her had been without ground. The king used all the ways he could, by treating the queen with all caresses, to dispose her to gratify him in this particular, as a matter in which his honour was concerned and engaged; and protested unto her, which at that time he did intend to observe, "that he had not had the least familiarity with her since her majesty's arrival, nor would ever after be guilty of it again, but would live always with her majesty in all fidelity for conscience sake." The queen, who was naturally more transported with choler than her countenance declared her to be, had not the temper to entertain him with those discourses, which the vivacity of her wit could very plentifully have suggested to her; but brake out into a torrent of rage, which increased the former prejudice, confirmed the king in the resolution he had taken, gave ill people more credit to mention her disrespectfully, and more increased his aversion from her company, and, which was worse, his delight in those, [who meant] that he should neither love his wife or his business, or any thing but their conversation.

These domestic indispositions and distempers, and the impressions they made of several kinds upon the king's spirit and his humour, exceedingly discomposed the minds of the gravest and most serious men; gave the people generally occasion of speaking loudly, and with a license that the magistrates knew not how to punish, for the publication of the scandal: and the wisest men despaired of finding remedies to apply to the dissoluteness and debauchery of the time, which visibly increased. No man appeared to suffer or likely to suffer more than the chancellor, against whom though no particular person owned a malignity, the congregation of the witty men for the evening conversation were enough united against his interest; and thought his influence upon the king's actions and counsels would be too much augmented, if the queen came to have any power, who had a very good opinion of him: and it is very probable, that even that apprehension increased the combination against her majesty.

The lady had reason to hate him mortally, well knowing that there had been an inviolable friendship between her father and him to his death, which had been notorious to all men; and that he was an implacable enemy to the power and interest she had with the king, and had used all the endeavours he could to destroy it. Yet neither she nor any of the other adventured to speak ill of him to the king, who at that time would not have borne it; except for wit's sake they sometimes reflected upon somewhat he had said, or acted some of his postures and manner of speaking, (the skill in mimicry being the best faculty

in wit many of them had;) which license they practised often towards the king himself, and therefore his majesty thought it to be the more free from malice. But by these liberties, which at first only raised laughter, they by degrees got the hardness to censure both the persons, counsels, and actions of those who were nearest his majesty's trust, with the highest malice and presumption; and too often suspended or totally disappointed some resolutions, which had been taken upon very mature deliberation, and which ought to have been pursued. But (as hath been said before) this presumption had not yet come to this length.

The king imparted the trouble and unquietness of his mind to nobody with equal freedom, as he did to the chancellor: to him he complained of all the queen's perverseness and ill humours, and informed him of all that passed between them, and obliged him to confer and advise the queen, who, he knew, looked upon him as a man devoted to her service, and that he would speak very confidently to her whatsoever he thought; and therefore gave him leave to take notice to her of any thing he had told him. It was too delicate a province for so plain-dealing a man as he was to undertake: and yet he knew not how to refuse it, nor indeed did despair totally of being able to do some good, since the queen was not yet more acquainted with any man than with him, nor spake so much with any man as with him; and he believed, that he might hereby have opportunity to speak sometimes to the king of some particulars with more freedom, than otherwise he could well do, at least more effectually.

He had never heard before of the honour the king had done that lady, nor of the purpose he had to make her of his wife's bedchamber. He spake with great boldness to him upon both; and did not believe that the first was proceeded in beyond revocation, because it had not come to the great seal, and gave him many arguments against it, which he thought of weight. But upon the other point he took more liberty, and spake "of the hardheartedness and cruelty in laying such a command upon the queen, which flesh and blood could not comply with." He put him in mind of what he heard his majesty himself say, upon the like excess which a neighbour king had lately used, in making his mistress to live in the court, and in the presence of the queen: that his majesty had then said, "that it was such a piece of ill-nature, that he could never be guilty of; and if ever he should be guilty of having a mistress after he had a wife, which he hoped he should never be, she should never come where his wife was; he would never add that to the vexation, of which she would have enough without it." And yet he told him, "that such friendships were not new in that other court, nor scandalous in that kingdom; whereas in this it was so unheard of and so odious, that a woman who prostituted herself to the king was equally infamous to all women of honour, and must expect the same contempt from them, as if she were common to mankind: and that no enemy he had could advise him a more sure way to lose the hearts and affections of the people, of which he was now so abundantly possessed, than the indulging to himself that liberty, now it had pleased God to

"give him a wife worthy of him. That the excess he had already used in that and other ways had lost him some ground; but that the continuance in them would break the hearts of all his friends, and be only grateful to those who wished the destruction of monarchy;" and concluded with "asking his pardon for speaking so plainly," and besought his majesty to remember "the wonderful things which God had done for him, and for which he expected other returns than he had yet received."

The king heard him with patience enough, yet with those little interruptions which were natural to him, especially to that part where he had levelled the mistresses of kings and princes with other lewd women, at which he expressed some indignation, being an argument often debated before him by those, who would have them looked upon above any other [men's] wives. He did not appear displeased with the liberty he had taken, but said, "he knew it proceeded from the affection he had for him;" and then proceeded upon the several parts of what he had said, more volubly than he used to do, as upon points in which he was conversant, and had heard well debated.

To the first, he began with the story of an accident that had fallen out the day before; he said, "the lady had then told him, that she did hope that the chancellor was not so much her enemy, as he was generally reported to be, for she was sure he was not guilty of one discourtesy of which he had been accused to her, and therefore might be as innocent in others; and then told his majesty, that the day before, the earl of Bristol" (who was never without some reason to engage himself in such intrigues, and had been a principal promoter of all those late resolutions) "came to her, and asked her whether the patent was not yet passed. She answered, "No. He asked if she knew the reason; which she seeming not to do, he told her that he came in confidence to tell her, and that if she did not quickly curb and overrule such presumption, she would often meet it to her prejudice; then told her a long relation, how the patent had been carried to the chancellor prepared for the seal, and that he according to his custom had superciliously said, that he would first speak with the king of it, and that in the mean time it should not pass; and that if she did not make the king very sensible of this insolence, his majesty should never be judge of his own bounty. And then the lady laughed, and made sharp reflections upon the principles of the earl of Bristol," (who had throughout his life the rare good fortune of being exceedingly beloved and exceedingly hated by the same persons, in the space of one month; and now finding that there was a stop of the patent, made a very natural guess where it must be, and gratified his own appetite in the conclusion,) "and pulled the warrant out of her pocket, where she said it had remained ever since it was signed, and she believed the chancellor had never heard of it: she was sure there was no patent prepared, and therefore he could not stop it at the seal."

The truth is: though according to the custom she had assumed the title as soon as she had the warrant, that the other pretence might be prosecuted, she made not haste to pass the patent,

lest her husband might stop it; and after long deliberation was not so confident of the chancellor, as to transmit it to the seal that was in his custody, but, the honour being Irish, sent it into that kingdom to pass the great seal there, where she was sure it could meet no interruption.

When the king had made this relation, and added some sharp remarks upon the earl of Bristol, as a man very particularly known and understood by him; he said, "that he had undone this lady, and ruined her reputation, which had been fair and untainted till her friendship for him; and that he was obliged in conscience and honour to repair her to the utmost of his power. That he would always avow to have a great friendship for her, which he owed as well to the memory of her father as to her own person; and that he would look upon it as the highest disrespect to him, in any body who should treat her otherwise than was due to her own birth, and the dignity to which he had raised her. That he liked her company and conversation, from which he would not be restrained, because he knew there was and should be all innocence in it: and that his wife should never have cause to complain that he brake his vows to her, if she would live towards him as a good wife ought to do, in rendering herself grateful and acceptable to him, which it was in her power to do; but if she would continue uneasy to him, he could not answer for himself, that he should not endeavour to seek content in other company. That he had proceeded so far in the business that concerned the lady, and was so deeply engaged in it, that she would not only be exposed to all imaginable contempt, if it succeeded not; but his own honour would suffer so much, that he should become ridiculous to the world, and be thought too in pupilage under a governor; and therefore he would expect and exact a conformity from his wife herein, and which should be the only hard thing he would ever require from her, and which she herself might make very easy, for the lady would behave herself with all possible duty and humility unto her, which if she should fail to do in the least degree, she should never see the king's face again: and that he would never be engaged to put any other servant about her, without first consulting with her, and receiving her consent and approbation. Upon the whole," he said, "he would never recede from any part of the resolution he had taken and expressed to him: and therefore he required him to use all those arguments to the queen, which were necessary to induce her to a full compliance with what the king desired."

The chancellor addressed himself to the queen with as full liberty and plainness as he had presumed to use to his majesty, but could not proceed so far at a time, nor hold so long conferences at once. When he first lamented the misintelligence he observed to be between their majesties, and she perceived the king had told him some particulars, she protested her own innocence, but with so much passion and such a torrent of tears, that there was nothing left for him to do, but to retire, and tell her, "that he would wait upon her in a fitter season, and when she should be more capable of receiving humble advice from

"her servants, who wished her well;" and so departed.

The next day he waited upon her again at the hour assigned by her, and found her much better composed than he had left her. She vouchsafed to excuse the passion she had been in, and confessed "she looked upon him as one of the few friends she had, and from whom she would most willingly at all times receive counsel: but that she hoped he would not wonder or blame her, if having greater misfortunes upon her, and being to struggle with more difficulties, than any woman had ever been put to of her condition, she sometimes gave vent to that passion that was ready to break her heart." He told her, "he was desirous indeed to serve her, of which he would not make great or many protestations, since she could not but believe it, except she thought him to be a fool, or mad, since nothing could contribute so much to his happiness, as an eminent sympathy between the king and her in all things: and he could not give her a greater evidence of his devotion, than in always saying that to her which was fit for her to hear, though it did not please her; and he would observe no other rule towards her, though it should render him ungracious to her."

She seemed well satisfied with what he said, and told him "he should never be more welcome to her, than when he told her of her faults:" to which he replied, "that it was the province he was accused of usurping with reference to all his friends." He told her, "that he doubted she was little beholden to her education, that had given her no better information of the follies and iniquities of mankind, of which he presumed the climate from whence she came could have given more instances, than this cold region would afford;" though at that time it was indeed very hot. He said, "if her majesty had been fairly dealt with in that particular, she could never have thought herself so miserable, and her condition so insupportable as she seemed to think it to be; the ground of which heavy complaint he could not comprehend." Whereupon with some blushing and confusion and some tears [she said], "she did not think that she should have found the king engaged in his affection to another lady;" and then was able to say no more: which gave the chancellor opportunity to say, "that he knew well, that she had been very little acquainted with or informed of the world; yet he could not believe that she was so utterly ignorant, as to expect that the king her husband, in the full strength and vigour of his [youth], was of so innocent a constitution, as to be reserved for her whom he had never seen, and to have had no acquaintance or familiarity with the sex;" and [asked], "whether she believed, when it should please God to send a queen to Portugal, she should find that court so full of chaste affections." Upon which her majesty smiled, and spake pleasantly enough, but as if she thought it did not concern her case, and as if the king's affection had not wandered, but remained fixed.

Upon which the chancellor replied with some warmth, "that he came to her with a message from the king, which if she received as she ought to do, and as he hoped she would, she would be the happiest queen in the world."



"That whatever correspondences the king had entertained with any other ladies, before he saw her majesty, concerned not her; nor ought she to inquire more into them or after them, than into what other [excesses] he had used in his youth in France, Holland, or Germany. That he had authority to assure her, that all former appetites were expired, and that he dedicated himself entirely and without reserve to her; and that if she met his affection with that warmth and spirit and good humour, which she well knew how to express, she would live a life of the greatest delight imaginable. That her good fortune, and all the joy she could have in this world, was in her own power, and that she only [strove] to drive it from her." She heard all this with apparent pleasure, and infinite expressions of her acknowledgments of the king's bounty; thanked the chancellor more than enough, and desired him "to help in returning her thanks to his majesty, and in obtaining his pardon for any passion or peevishness she might have been guilty of, and in assuring him of all future obedience and duty."

Upon this good temper he approached to the other part of his message, "how necessary it would be that her majesty should gratify this good resolution and justice and tenderness in the king, by meeting it with a proportionable submission and resignation on her part to whatsoever his majesty should desire of her;" and then insinuated what would be acceptable with reference to the lady. But this was no sooner mentioned, than it raised all the rage and fury of yesterday, with fewer tears, the fire appearing in her eyes, where the water was. She said, "that the king's insisting upon that particular could proceed from no other ground but his hatred of her person, and to expose her to the contempt of the world, who would think her worthy of such an affront, if she submitted to it; which before she would do, she would put herself on board any little vessel, and so be transported to Lisbon;" with many other extravagant expressions, which her passion suggested in spite of her understanding; and which he interrupted with a very ill countenance, and told her, "that she had not the disposal of her own person, nor could go out of the house where she was without the king's leave;" and therefore advised her "not to speak any more of Portugal, where there were enough who would wish her to be." He told her, "that he would find some fitter time to speak with her, and till then only desired that she would make show of no such passion to the king; and that whatever she thought fit to deny that the king proposed to her, she should deny in such a manner, as should look rather like a deferring than an utter refusal, that his majesty might not be provoked to enter into the same passion, which would be superior to hers."

The chancellor made the more haste to inform the king of all that had passed, that he might prevail with him to suspend for some little time the prosecuting that argument further with the queen. He gave him an account of all the good and kind things she had said with reference to his majesty, of the professions she had made of all duty and obedience to him throughout the whole course of her life; "that her unwillingness to obey him in this one particular proceeded only from the great

"passion of love which she had for him, that transported her beyond the limits of her reason." He confessed, "he had not discoursed it so fully with her majesty as he resolved to have done, because a sudden passion had seized upon her, which she must have some time to overrule;" and therefore he entreated his majesty "for a day or two to forbear pressing the queen in that matter, till he had once more waited upon her, by which he hoped he might in some degree dispose her majesty to give him satisfaction." And though he was in no degree pleased with the account, yet the other did think, that he would for a little have respited the further discourse of it.

But the king quickly found other counsellors, who told him, "that the thing he contended for was not of so much importance as the manner of obtaining it; that the contention now was, who should govern; and if he suffered himself to be disputed with, he must resolve hereafter to do all things *precario*." And as this advice was more suitable to his present passion and purpose, so it was embraced greedily and resolutely. The fire flamed that night higher than ever: the king reproached the queen with stubbornness and want of duty, and she him with tyranny and want of affection: he used threats and menaces, which he never intended to put in execution, and she talked loudly "how ill she was treated, and that she would return again to Portugal." He replied, "that she should do well first to know whether her mother would receive her: and he would give her a fit opportunity to know that, by sending to their home all her Portuguese servants; and that he would forthwith give order for the discharge of them all, since they behaved themselves so ill, for to them and their counsels he imputed all her perverseness."

The passion and noise of the night reached too many ears to be a secret the next day; and the whole court was full of that, which ought to have been known to nobody. And the mutual carriage and behaviour between their majesties confirmed all that they had heard or could imagine: they spake not, hardly looked on one another. Every body was glad that they were so far from the town, (for they were still at Hampton-court,) and that there were so few witnesses of all that passed. The queen sat melancholic in her chamber in tears, except when she drove them away by a more violent passion in cholerick discourse: and the king sought his diversions in that company that said and did all things to please him; and there he spent all the nights, and in the morning came to the queen's chamber, for he never slept in any other place. Nobody knew how to interpose, or indeed how to behave themselves, the court being far from one mind; with this difference, that the young and frolic people of either sex talked loudly all that they thought the king would like and be pleased with, whilst the other more grave and serious people did in their souls pity the queen, and thought that she was put to bear more than her strength could sustain.

The chancellor came not to the court in two or three days; and when he did come thither, he forbore to see the queen, till the king sent him again to her. His majesty informed him at large, and with more than his natural passion, of all



that had passed; and "of the foolish extravagancy" (as he called it) "of returning to Portugal; and of the positive resolution he had taken, and the orders he had given, for the present sending away all the Portuguese, to whom he did impute all his wife's frowardness." He renewed his former declaration, "that he would gain his point, and never depart from that resolution;" yet was content to be blamed by the chancellor, for having proceeded with so much choler and precipitation, and seemed to think that he had done better, if he had followed his former advice. But then he added, "that besides the uneasiness and pain within himself, the thing was more spoken of in all places, and more to his disadvantage, whilst it was in this suspense, than it would be when it was once executed; which would put a final end to all debates, and all would be forgotten."

The chancellor desired his majesty to believe, "that he would endeavour, by all the ways he could devise, to persuade the queen to submit to his pleasure, because it is his pleasure; and that he would urge some arguments to her, which he could not himself answer; and therefore he was not without hope that they might prevail. But he desired him likewise to believe, that he had much rather spend his pains in endeavouring to convert his majesty from pursuing his resolution, which he did in his conscience believe to be unjust, than in persuading her majesty to comply with it, which yet he would very heartily do." He desired him to give him leave to put him in mind of a discourse his majesty had held with him many years ago, upon an occasion that he had administered by telling him what his father, the late king, had said to him: that he had great reason to acknowledge it [due] to God's immediate blessing, and in truth to his inspiration, that he continued firm in his religion: for though his father had always taken pains himself to inform and instruct him, yet he had been so much deceived by others that he put about him when he was young, a company of "the arrantest knaves and puritans" (they were his own words) "that could be found in the two kingdoms; whereof he named two or three, who were enemies to the church, and used to deride all religion. That when he had related this discourse accidentally of his late majesty, the king replied, that if it should please God ever to give him a wife and children, he would make choice of such people to be about both in all places of near trust, who in their natures and manners, and if it were possible in their very humours, were such as he wished his wife and children should be; for he did believe that most young people (and it may be elder) were upon the matter formed by those whom they saw continually and could not but observe." The king answered with some quickness, "that he remembered the discourse very well, and should think of it; but that the business which he had commended to him must be done, and without delay."

When the chancellor was admitted to the queen, he presumed with all plainness to blame her "for the illimited passion in which she had treated the king, and thereby provoked him to greater indignation than she could imagine, or in truth

sustain:" and [begged], "that for her own sake she would decline and suppress such distempers, which could have no other effect, than in making the wound incurable; which it would do, in a very little time more, inevitably, and reduce all her faithful servants to an incapacity of serving her." She acknowledged with tears, "that she had been in too much passion, and said somewhat she ought not to have said, and for which she would willingly ask the king's pardon upon her knees; though his manner of treating her had wonderfully surprised her, and might be some excuse for more than ordinary commotion. That she prayed to God to give her patience, and hoped she should be no more transported with the like passion upon what provocation soever."

Then he entreated, "that he might find some effect of that her good resolution, in permitting him to enlarge upon the argument he was obliged to discourse to her; and that if he offered any humble advice, it should be such as he was most confident would prove for her benefit, and such as he would himself submit to if he were in her condition." He told her, "he came not to justify and defend the proposition that had been made to her concerning the lady, as a just or a reasonable proposition; he had not dissembled his own opinion as to either, and when he should now insist upon it again, which he must do, he could not but confess that it was a very hard injunction, not to be yielded to it without some reluctance;" but he besought her to tell him, "whether she thought it in her power to divert it; or that it was not in the king's power to impose it upon her."

She answered, "she knew it was in her own power to consent or not to consent to it; and that she could not despair, but that the king's justice and goodness might divert him from the prosecution of a command so unreasonable in him, and so dishonourable to her. She would not dispute the king's power, what it might impose, being sure that she could not rescue herself from it: but," she said, "nobody knew better than he, whether the king was obliged to leave the choice of her own servants to herself; and if it were otherwise, she had been deceived."

He told her, "that she had and would always enjoy that privilege: but that it was always understood in conditions of that nature, that as the husband would not impose a servant, against whom just exceptions could be made; so it was presumed, that no wife would refuse to receive a servant, that was esteemed and commended by her husband. That he did assure her, upon as much knowledge as he was capable to have in affairs of such a nature, that the king would exact an entire conformity to his pleasure in this particular; and then the question would only be, whether it would be better that she conform herself with alacrity to an obedience, with those circumstances which might be obliging and meritorious on her part; or that it should be done without her consent, and with all the repugnancy she could express, which could only be in angry words and ungracious circumstances, which would have a more bitter operation in her own breast and thoughts, than any where else: and therefore he did very importu-

"nately advise her to submit to that cheerfully, that she could not resist; which if she should not do, and do out of hand, she would too late repent."

To which she replied with great calmness, "that it may be worse could not fall out than she expected; but why she should repent the not giving her consent, she could not apprehend, since her conscience would not give her leave to consent;" which when she saw him receive with a face of trouble and wonder, which it was his misfortune and weakness never to be able to conceal or dissemble, she continued her discourse, and said, "she could not conceive how any body could, with a good conscience, consent to what she could not but suppose would be an occasion and opportunity of sin." To which he suddenly replied, "that he now understood her; and that she ought to have no such apprehension, but to believe the professions the king made, of the sincerity whereof she would hereby become a witness; and if there should be any tergiversation, the opportunity, which she fancied, would be more frequent at a distance than by such a relation, which nothing but a resolved innocence could make desirable by either party." To which he added, "that he thought her majesty had a meaner and a lower opinion of her person and her parts, if she thought it could be in the power of any other lady to deprive her of the interest she had a right to, if she did all that became her to retain it; and which in that case she could not lose but by the highest fraud and perjury, which she could not justly entertain the suspicion of."

There cannot be a greater patience and intention of hearing, than the queen manifested during the time of his discourse, sometimes seeming not displeased, but oftener by a smile declaring that she did not believe what he said: and in conclusion, in few words declared, "that the king might do what he pleased, but that she could not consent to it;" and pronounced it with a countenance, as if she both hoped and believed, that her obstinacy would in the end prevail over the king's importunity: and it is very probable, that she had advice given her to that purpose. The chancellor concluded with telling her, "that he would give her no more trouble upon this particular: that he was sorry he had not credit enough to prevail with her majesty in a point that would have turned so much to her benefit; and that she would hereafter be sorry for her refusal." And when he had given the king a faithful account of all that had passed; and "that he believed them both to be very much to blame, and that that party would be most excusable who yielded first," he made it his humble suit, "that he might be no more consulted with, nor employed in an affair in which he had been so unsuccessful."

The king came seldom into the queen's company, and when he did he spake not to her; but spent his time in other divertisements, and in the company of those who made it their business to laugh at all the world, and who were as bold with God Almighty as with any of his creatures. He persevered in all his resolutions without any remorse; directed a day for all the Portugueses to be embarked, without assigning any considerable thing of bounty to any of them, or vouchsafing to

write any letter to the king or queen of Portugal of the cause of the dismission of them. And this rigour prevailed upon the great heart of the queen, who had not received any money to enable her to be liberal to any of those, who had attended her out of their own country, and promised themselves places of great advantage in her family: and she earnestly desired the king, "that she might retain some few of those who were known to her, and of most use, that she might not be wholly left in the hands of strangers;" and employed others to make the same suit to the king on her behalf. Whereupon the countess of Penalva, who had been bred with her from a child, and who, by the infirmity of her eyes and other indisposition of health, scarce stirred out of her chamber, was permitted to remain in the court: and some other inferior servants in her kitchen and in the lowest offices, besides those who were necessary to her devotions, were left here. All the rest [were] transported to Portugal.

The officers of the revenue were required to use all strictness in the receipt of that part of the portion that was brought over with the fleet; and not to allow any of those demands which were made upon computation of the value of money, and other allowances, upon the account: and Diego de Silva, who was designed in Portugal without any good reason to be the queen's treasurer, and upon that expectation had undertaken that troublesome province to see the money paid in London by what was assigned to that purpose, was committed to prison for not making haste enough in the payment and in finishing the account; and his commitment went very near the queen, as an affront done to herself. The Portugal ambassador, who was a very honest man, and so desirous to serve the king that he had upon the matter lost the queen, was heartbroken; and after a long sickness, which all men believed would have killed him, as soon as he was able to endure the air, left Hampton-court, and retired to his own house in the city.

In all this time the king pursued his point: the lady came to the court, was lodged there, was every day in the queen's presence, and the king in continual conference with her; whilst the queen sat untaken notice of: and if her majesty rose at the indignity and retired into her chamber, it may be one or two attended her; but all the company remained in the room she left, and too often said those things aloud which nobody ought to have whispered. The king (who had in the beginning of this conflict appeared still with a countenance of trouble and sadness, which had been manifest to every body, and no doubt was really afflicted, and sometimes wished that he had not proceeded so far, until he was again new chafed with the reproach of being governed, which he received with the most sensible indignation, and was commonly provoked with it most by those who intended most to govern him) had now vanquished or suppressed all those tendernesses and reluctances, and appeared every day more gay and pleasant, without any clouds in his face, and full of good humour; saving that the close observers thought it more feigned and affected than of a natural growth. However, to the queen it appeared very real, and made her the more sensible, that she alone was left out in all jollities, and not suffered to have any part of those pleasant appli-

cations and caresses, which she saw made almost to every body else; an universal mirth in all company but in hers, and in all places but in her chamber; her own servants shewing more respect and more diligence to the person of the lady, than towards their own mistress, who they found could do them less good. The nightly meeting continued with the same or more license; and the discourses which passed there, of what argument soever, were the discourse of the whole court and of the town the day following: whilst the queen had the king's company those few hours which remained of the preceding night, and which were too little for sleep.

All these mortifications were too heavy to be borne: so that at last, when it was least expected or suspected, the queen on a sudden let herself fall first to conversation and then to familiarity, and even in the same instant to a confidence with the lady; was merry with her in public, talked kindly of her, and in private used nobody more friendly. This excess of condescension, without any provocation or invitation, except by multiplication of injuries and neglect, and after all friendships were renewed, and indulgence yielded to new liberty, did the queen less good than her former resoluteness had done. Very many looked upon her with much compassion, commended the greatness of her spirit, detested the barbarity of the affronts she underwent, and censured them as loudly as they durst; not without assuming the liberty sometimes of insinuating to the king himself, "how much his own honour suffered in the neglect and disrespect of her own servants, who ought at least in public to manifest some duty and reverence towards her majesty; and how much he lost in the general affections of his subjects: and that, besides the displeasure of God Almighty, he could not reasonably hope for children by the queen, which was the great if not the only blessing of which he stood in need, whilst her heart was so full of grief, and whilst she was continually exercised with such insupportable afflictions." And many, who were not wholly unconversant with the king, nor strangers to his temper and constitution, did believe that he grew weary of the struggle, and even ready to avoid the scandal that was so notorious, by the lady's withdrawing from the verge of the court and being no longer seen there, how firmly soever the friendship might be established. But this sudden downfall and total abandoning her own greatness, this low demeanour and even application to a person she had justly abhorred and worthily contemned, made all men conclude, that it was a hard matter to know her, and consequently to serve her. And the king himself was so far from being reconciled by it, that the esteem, which he could not hitherto but retain in his heart for her, grew now much less. He concluded that all her former aversion expressed in those lively passions, which seemed not capable of dissimulation, was all fiction, and purely acted to the life by a nature crafty, perverse, and inconstant. He congratulated his own ill-natured perseverance, by which he had discovered how he was to behave himself hereafter, and what remedies he was to apply to all future indispositions: nor had he ever after the same value of her wit, judgment, and understanding, which he had formerly; and was well enough pleased to observe, that the reverence

others had for all three was somewhat diminished.

The parliament assembled together at the same time in February to which they had been adjourned or prorogued, and continued together till the end of July following. They brought the same affection and duty with them towards the king, which they had formerly; but were much troubled at what they had heard and what they had observed of the divisions in court. They had the same fidelity for the king's service, but not the same alacrity in it: the despatch was much slower in all matters depending, than it had used to be. The truth is; the house of commons was upon the matter not the same: three years sitting, for it was very near so long since they had been first assembled, had consumed very many of their members; and in the places of those who died, great pains were taken to have some of the king's menial servants chosen; so that there was a very great number of men in all stations in the court, as well below stairs as above, who were members of the house of commons. And there were very few of them, who did not think themselves qualified to reform whatsoever was amiss in church or state, and to procure whatsoever supply the king would require.

They, who either out of their own modesty, or in regard of their distant relation to his service, had seldom had access to his presence, never had presumed to speak to him; now by the privilege of parliament every day resorted to him, and had as much conference with him as they desired. They, according to the comprehension they had of affairs, represented their advice to him for the conducting his affairs; according to their several opinions and observations represented those and those men as well affected to his service, and others, much better than they, who did not pay them so much respect, to be ill-affected and to want duty for his majesty. They brought those, who appeared to them to be most zealous for his service, because they professed to be ready to do any thing he pleased to prescribe, to receive his majesty's thanks, and from himself his immediate directions how to behave themselves in the house; when the men were capable of no other instruction, than to follow the example of some discreet man in whatsoever he should vote, and behave themselves accordingly.

To this time, the king had been content to refer the conduct of his affairs in the parliament to the chancellor and the treasurer; who had every day conference with some select persons of the house of commons, who had always served the king, and upon that account had great interest in that assembly, and in regard of the experience they had and their good parts were hearkened to with reverence. And with those they consulted in what method to proceed in disposing the house, sometimes to propose, sometimes to consent to what should be most necessary for the public; and by them to assign parts to other men, whom they found disposed and willing to concur in what was to be desired: and all this without any noise, or bringing many together to design, which ever was and ever will be ingrateful to parliaments, and, however it may succeed for a little time, will in the end be attended with prejudice.

But there were two persons now introduced to act upon that stage, who disdained to receive

orders, or to have any method prescribed to them; who took upon them to judge of other men's defects, and thought their own abilities beyond exception.

The one was sir Harry Bennet, who had procured himself to be sent agent or envoy into Spain, as soon as the king came from Brussels; being a man very well known to the king, and for his pleasant and agreeable humour acceptable to him: and he remained there at much ease till the king returned to England, having waited upon his majesty at Fuentarabia in the close of the treaty between the two crowns, and there appeared by his dexterity to have gained good credit in the court of Spain, and particularly with don Lewis de Haro; and by that short negotiation he renewed and confirmed the former good inclinations of his master to him. He had been obliged always to correspond with the chancellor, by whom his instructions had been drawn, and to receive the king's pleasure by his signification; which he had always done, and professed much respect and submission to him: though whatever orders he received, and how positive soever, in particulars which highly concerned the king's honour and dignity, he observed them so far and no further than his own humour disposed him; and in some cases flatly disobeyed what the king enjoined, and did directly the contrary, as in the case of the Jesuit Peter Talbot; who having carried himself with notorious insolence towards the king in Flanders, had transported himself into England, offered his service to Cromwell, and after his death was employed by the ruling powers into Spain, upon his undertaking to procure orders, by which the king should not be suffered longer to reside in Flanders: of all which his majesty having received full advertisement, he made haste to send orders into Spain to sir Harry Bennet, "that he should prepare don Lewis for his reception by letting him know, that though that Jesuit was his natural subject, he had so misbehaved himself, that he looked upon him as a most [inveterate] enemy and a traitor; and therefore his majesty desired, that he might receive no countenance there, being, as he well knew, sent by the greatest rebels to do him prejudice."

This was received by sir Harry Bennet before the arrival of the man, who found no inconvenience by it; and instead of making any complaint concerning him, he writ word, "that Talbot had more credit than he in that court; that he professed to have great devotion for the king; and therefore his advice was, that the king would have a better opinion of him, and employ him in his service:" and himself received him into his full confidence, and consulted with no man so much as with him; which made all men believe that he was a Roman catholic, who did believe that he had any religion. But he had made his full excuse and defence for all this at the interview at Fuentarabia, from whence the king returned with marvellous satisfaction in his discretion as well as in his affection. And until, contrary to all his expectation, he heard of the king's return into England, all his thoughts were employed how to make benefit of the duke of York's coming into Spain to be admiral of the galleys; which he writ to hasten all that might be.

Though he continued his formal correspondence with the chancellor, which he could not decline;

yet he held a more secret intelligence with Daniel O'Neile of the bedchamber, with whom he had a long friendship. As soon as the king arrived in England, he trusted O'Neile to procure any direction from the king immediately in those particulars which himself advised. And so he obtained the king's consent, for his consenting to the old league that had been made between England and Spain in the time of the late king, and which Spain had expressly refused to renew after the death of that king, (which was suddenly proclaimed in Spain, without ever being consulted in England); and presently after leave to return into England without any letter of revocation: both which were procured, or rather signified, by O'Neile, without the privity of the chancellor or of either of the secretaries of state; nor did either of them know that he was from Madrid, till they heard he was in Paris, from whence he arrived in London in a very short time after. So far the chancellor was from that powerful interest or influence, when his credit was at highest.

But he was very well received by the king, in whose affections he had a very good place: and shortly after his arrival, though not so soon as he thought his high merit deserved, his majesty conferred the only place then void (and that had been long promised to a noble person, who had behaved himself very well towards his majesty and his blessed father) upon him, which was the office of privy purse; received him into great familiarity, and into the nightly meeting, in which he filled a principal place to all intents and purposes. The king very much desired to have him elected a member in the house of commons, and commanded the chancellor to use his credit to obtain it upon the first opportunity: and in obedience to that command, he did procure him to be chosen about the time we are now speaking of, when the parliament assembled in February.

The other person was Mr. William Coventry, the youngest son to a very wise father, the lord Coventry, who had been lord keeper of the great seal of England for many years with a universal reputation. This gentleman was young whilst the war continued: yet he had put himself before the end of it into the army, and had the command of a foot company, and shortly after travelled into France; where he remained whilst there was any hope of getting another army for the king, or that either of the other crowns would engage in his quarrel. But when all thoughts of that were desperate, he returned into England; where he remained for many years without the least correspondence with any of his friends beyond the seas, and with so little reputation of caring much for the king's restoration, that some of his own family, who were most zealous for his majesty's service, and had always some signal part in any reasonable design, took care of nothing more, than that nothing they did should come to his knowledge; and gave the same advice to those about the king, with whom they corresponded, to use the same caution. Not that any body suspected his being inclined to the rebels, or to do any act of treachery; but that the pride and censoriousness of his nature made him unconvincible, and his despair that any thing could be effectually done made him incompetent to consult the ways of doing it. Nor had he any conversation with any of the king's party, nor they with him, till the king was

proclaimed in London; and then he came over with the rest to offer his service to his majesty at the Hague, and had the good fortune to find the duke of York without a secretary. For though he had a Walloon that was, in respect of the languages of which he was master, fit for that function in the army, and had discharged it very well for some years; yet for the province the duke was now to govern, having the office of high admiral of England, he was without any fit person to discharge the office of secretary with any tolerable sufficiency: so that Mr. Coventry no sooner offered his service to the duke, but he was received into that employment, very honourable under such a master, and in itself of the greatest profit next the secretaries of state, if they in that respect be to be preferred.

He had been well known to the king and duke in France, and had a brother whom the king loved well and had promised to take into his bed-chamber, as he shortly after did, Harry Coventry, who was beloved by every body, which made them glad of the preferment of the other; whilst they who knew the worst of him, yet knew him able to discharge that office, and so contributed to the duke's receiving him. He was a sullen, ill-natured, proud man, whose ambition had no limits, nor could be contained within any. His parts were very good, if he had not thought them better than any other man's; and he had diligence and industry, which men of good parts are too often without, which made [him] quickly to have at least credit and power enough with the duke; and he was without those vices which were too much in request, and which make men most unfit for business and the trust that cannot be separated from it.

He had sat a member in the house of commons, from the beginning of the parliament, with very much reputation of an able man. He spake pertinently, and was always very acceptable and well heard; and was one of those with whom they, who were trusted by the king in conducting his affairs in the lower house, consulted very frequently; but not so much, nor relied equally upon his advice, as upon some few others who had much more experience, which he thought was of use only to ignorant and dull men, and that men of sagacity could see and determine at a little light, and ought rather to persuade and engage men to do that which they judged fit, than consider what themselves were inclined to do: and so did not think himself to be enough valued and relied upon, and only to be made use of to the celebrating the designs and contrivance of other men, without being signal in the managery, which he aspired to be. Nor did any man envy him the province, if he could indeed have governed it, and that others who had more useful talents would have been ruled by him. However, being a man who naturally loved faction and contradiction, he often made experiments how far he could prevail in the house, by declining the method that was prescribed, and proposing somewhat to the house that was either beside or contrary to it, and which the others would not oppose, believing, in regard of his relation, that he had received newer directions: and then if it succeeded well, (as sometimes it did,) he had argument enough to censure and inveigh against the chancellor, for having taken so ill measures of the temper and

affections of the house; for he did not dissemble in his private conversation (though his outward carriage was very fair) that he had no kindness for him, which in gratitude he ought to have had; nor had he any thing to complain of from him, but that he wished well and did all he could to defend and support a very worthy person, who had deserved very well from the king, against whom he manifested a great and causeless animosity, and desired to oppress for his own profit, of which he had an immoderate appetite.

When those two persons, sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Coventry, (between whom there had been as great a league of friendship, as can be between two very proud men equally ill-natured,) came now to sit together in the house of commons; though the former of them knew no more of the constitution and laws of England than he did of China, nor had in truth a care or tenderness for church or state, but believed France was the best pattern in the world; they thought they should have the greatest wrong imaginable, if they did not entirely govern it, and if the king took his measures of what should be done there from any body but themselves. They made friendships with some young men, who spake confidently and often, [and] upon some occasions seemed to have credit in the house. And upon a little conversation with those men, who, being country gentlemen of ordinary condition and mean fortunes, were desirous to have interest in such a person as sir Harry Bennet, who was believed to have great credit with the king; he believed he understood the house, and what was to be done there, as well as any man in England.

He recommended those men to the king "as persons of sublime parts, worthy of his majesty's caressing: that he would undertake to fix them to his service; and when they were his own, he might carry what he would in the house of commons." The men had parts indeed and good affections, and often had resorted to the chancellor, received advice from him, and thought themselves beholden to him; being at that time entirely governed by sir Hugh Pollard, who was himself still advised by the chancellor (with whom he had a long and fast friendship) how he should direct his friends, having indeed a greater party in the house of commons willing to be disposed of by him, than any man that ever sat there in my time. But now these gentlemen had got a better patron; the new courtier had raised their value, and talked in another dialect to them, of recompenses and rewards, than they had heard formerly. He carried them to the king, and told his majesty in their own hearing, "what men of parts they were, what services they had done for him, and how much greater they could do:" and his majesty received and conferred with them very graciously, and dismissed them with promises which made them rich already.

The two friends before mentioned agreed so well between themselves, that whether they spake together or apart to the king, they said always the same things, gave the same information, and took care that both their masters might have the same opinions and judgments. They magnified the affections of the house of commons, "which were so great and united, that they would do whatsoever his majesty would require. That there were many worthy and able men, of whose

"wisdom the house was so well persuaded, that they commonly consented to whatsoever they proposed : and that these men complained, that they had no directions given to them which way they might best serve the king ; they knew not what he desired, which when they should do, it would quickly appear how much they were at the king's disposal, and all things which now depended long would be hereafter despatched in half the time."

The king wondered very much, "that his friends in the house were no better informed, of which he had never heard any complaint before, and wished them to speak with the chancellor:" for neither of these men were yet arrived at the confidence to insinuate in the least degree any ill-will or prejudice to him, though they were not united in any one thing more than the desire of his ruin, and the resolution to compass it by all the ill arts and devices they could use ; but till it should be more seasonable, they dissembled to both their masters to have a high esteem of him, having not yet credit enough with either to do him harm. They said, "they would very willingly repair to him, and be directed by him : but they desired that his majesty himself would first speak to him (because it would not so well become them) to call those persons, whom they had recommended to him, to meet together with the rest with whom he used to advise ; which the persons they named they were sure would be very glad of, having all of them a great esteem of the chancellor, and being well known to him," as indeed they were, and most of them obliged by him.

The king willingly undertook it : and being shortly after attended by the chancellor, his majesty told him all that the other two had said to him, and did not forget to let him know the great good-will they had both professed towards him. He asked him "what he thought of such and such men," and particularly named Mr. Clifford and Mr. Churchill, and some other men of better quality and much more interest, "who," he said, "took it ill that they were not particularly informed what the king desired, and which way they might best serve him ;" and bade him, "that at the next meeting of the rest, these men might likewise have notice to be present, together with sir Harry Bennet and Mr. William Coventry ;" for Harry Coventry (who was a much wiser man than his brother, and had a much better reputation with wise men) was constantly in those councils.

The chancellor told him, "that great and notorious meetings and cabals in parliament had been always odious in parliament : and though they might produce some success in one or two particulars till they were discovered, they had always ended unluckily ; until they were introduced in the late ill times by so great a combination, that they could not receive any discountenance. Yet that they, who compassed all their wicked designs by those cabals, were so jealous that they might be overmatched by the like practices, that when they discovered any three or four of those, who were used to concur with them, to have any private meetings, they accused them to conspire against the parliament. That when his majesty returned, and all the world was full of joy and delight to serve

him, and persons were willing and importunate to receive direction how they might do it in that convention ; care had been taken without any noise, or bringing any prejudice upon those who were willing to be instruments towards the procuring what was desirable, and to prevent what would be ingrateful, that little notice might be taken of them, which had good success.

"That since this parliament the lord treasurer and he had, by his majesty's direction, made choice of some persons eminent for their affection to the crown, of great experience and known abilities, to confer with for the better preparing and conducting what was to be done in the house of commons : but the number of them was not so great as to give any umbrage. Nor did they meet oftener together with them, than upon accidents and contingencies was absolutely necessary ; but appointed those few who had a mutual confidence in each other, and every one of which had an influence upon others and advised them what to do, to meet by themselves, either at the lord Bridgman's or Mr. Attorney's chambers, who still gave notice to the other two of what was necessary, and received advice. That there were very few of any notable consideration, who did not frequent to both of them, either to dine with them or to perform some office of civility ; with every one of whom they conferred, and said what was necessary to inform and oblige them what was fit for them to do.

"That two of those who were named by his majesty, Mr. Clifford and Mr. Churchill, were honest gentlemen, and received the advice they were to follow from sir Hugh Pollard, who had in truth a very particular influence upon all the Cornish and Devonshire men. And that his majesty might know that he had not been well informed, that the others named by him took it unkindly that they did not know his pleasure, who were leading men, as indeed they were ; he assured his majesty that there was not one of those, who was not particularly consulted with, and advertised by some person who was chosen by every one of them for that [purpose] ; and that they would by no means resort to any meeting, fearing to undergo the odious name of undertakers, which in all parliaments hath been a brand : but as they had never opposed any thing that related to his service, so upon any private insinuation they had been ready to propose any thing which would not have been so acceptable from any, who had been known to have relation to his service, or to depend upon those who had."

He besought his majesty to consider, "whether any thing had hitherto, in near three years, fallen out amiss, or short of what he had expected, in the wary administration that had been in that affair ;" and did not conceal his own fears, "that putting it into a more open and wider channel, his majesty's own too public speaking with the members of parliament, and believing what every man who was present told him passed in debates, and who for want of comprehension as well as memory committed many mistakes in their relations, would be attended with some inconveniences not easy to be remedied." The king was not dissatisfied with the discourse, but seemed to approve it :

however he would have sir Harry Bennet, Mr. Clifford, and Churchill, called to the next meeting; and because they were to be introduced into company they had not used to converse with, that it should be at the chancellor's chamber, who should let the rest know the good opinion his majesty had of those who were added to the number.

By this means and with these circumstances this alteration was made in the conduct of the king's service in the parliament; upon which many other alterations followed by degrees, though not at once. Yet presently it appeared, that this introduction of new confidants was not acceptable to those, who thought they had very well discharged their trust. Sir Harry Bennet was utterly unknown to them, a man unversed in any business, who never had nor ever was like to speak in the house, except in his ear who sat next him to the disadvantage of some who had spoken, and had not the faculties to get himself beloved, and was thought by all men to be a Roman catholic, for which they had not any other reason but from his indifference in all things which concerned the church.

When they met first at the chancellor's chamber, as the king had directed, they conferred freely together with little difference of opinion: though it appeared that they, who had used to be together before, did not use the same freedom as formerly in delivering their particular judgments, not having confidence enough in the new comers, who in their private meetings afterwards took more upon them, rather to direct than to advise; so that the other grew unsatisfied in their [conversation]. And though the meetings continued at one of the places before mentioned, some always discontinued their attendance; so that by degrees there were less resolutions taken than had been formerly; nor was there so cheerful a concurrence, or so speedy a despatch of the business depending in the house, as had been.

However, there appeared nothing of disunion in the parliament, but the same zeal and concurrence in all things which related to the king. The murmurs and discontents were most in the country, where the people began to talk with more license and less reverence of the court and of the king himself, and to reproach the parliament for their raising so much money, and increasing of the impositions upon the kingdom, without having done any thing for the redress of any grievance that lay upon the people. The license with reference to religion grew every day greater, the conventicles more frequent and more insolent, which disturbed the country exceedingly; but not so much as the liberty the papists assumed, who behaved themselves with indiscretion, and bragged as if they had a toleration and cared not what the magistrates could do. The parliament had a desire to have provided against those evils with the same rigour: but though there would have been a general consent in any provision that could be made against the fanatics and the conventicles, yet there would not be the like concurrence against the papists; and it was not possible to carry on the one without the other. And therefore the court, that they might be sure to prevent the last, interrupted all that was proposed against the former, which they wished provided against, and chose to have neither out of fear of

both; which increased the disorders in the country, and caused more reflections upon the court: so that this session of parliament produced less of moment than any other.

And the king, after they had given him four subsidies, which was all the money they could be drawn to give, that he might part as kindly with them as he used to do, and upon discovery of several seditious meetings amongst the officers of the disbanded army, which he could best suppress when he had most leisure, he resolved to prorogue the parliament. And so sending for them upon the twenty-seventh of July, he thanked them for the present which they had made to him of the four subsidies, "which," he told them, "he would not have received from them, if it were not absolutely necessary for their peace and quiet as well as his: and that it would yet do him very little good, if he did not improve it by very good husbandry of his own; and by retrenching those very expenses, which in many respects might be thought necessary enough. But they should see that he would much rather impose upon himself, than upon his subjects; and that if all men would follow his example in retrenching their expenses, (which possibly they might do with much more convenience than he could do his,) the kingdom would in short time gain what they had given him that day." He told them, "he was very glad that they were going into their several countries, where their presence would do much good: and he hoped their vigilance and authority would prevent those disturbances, which the restless spirits of ill and unquiet men would be always contriving, and of which his majesty did assure them they promised themselves some effects that summer. And that there had been more pains and unusual ways taken to kindle the old fatal fears and jealousies, than he thought he should ever have lived to have seen, at least to have seen so countenanced."

He told them, "that he had expected to have had some bills presented to him against the several distempers in religion, against seditious conventicles, and against the growth of popery: but that it might be they had been in some fear of reconciling those contradictions in religion into some conspiracy against the public peace, to which himself doubted men of the most contrary motives in conscience were inclinable enough. He did promise them that he would lay that business to heart, and the mischiefs which might flow from those licenses; and if he lived to meet with them again, as he hoped he should, he would himself take care to present two bills to them to that end. And that, as he had already given it in charge to the judges, in their several circuits, to use their utmost endeavours to prevent and punish the scandalous and seditious meetings of sectaries, and to convict the papists; so he would be as watchful, and take all the pains he could, that neither the one or the other should disturb the peace of the kingdom." And adding many gracious expressions of his esteem and confidence in their affections, he caused them to be prorogued towards the end of March, which would be the beginning of the year 1664.

The king had an intention at that time to have prepared against the next meeting two such bills



as he mentioned to them, and was well enough content that the parliament had not presented such to him, which he well foresaw would not have been such as he should have been pleased with. He would have liked the most rigorous acts against all the other factions in religion, but did not think the papists had deserved the same severities, which would have been provided against them with the other, it being very apparent, that the kingdom generally had resumed their old jealousies of them, provoked by the very unwary behaviour of that people, who bragged of more credit in the court than they could justify, though most men thought they had too much: and that was the reason that he had commanded the chancellor to require the judges, who were then beginning their circuits, to cause the Roman catholics to be convicted, which he believed would allay much of the jealousies in the country, as for the present it did. And then he resolved to cause two such bills to be prepared for several reasons, of which the principal was, that he might divide them into two bills; presuming that when he had sent one against either, they would not affect reducing both into one, which was that which the catholic party most apprehended.

His majesty was himself very unsatisfied with the imprudent carriage of the catholics, and thought they did affect too much to appear as if they stood upon the level with all other subjects: and he received very particular and unquestionable information, that some priests had made it an argument to some whom they endeavoured to make their proselytes, "that the king was of their religion in his heart, and would shortly declare it to all the world;" with which his majesty was marvellously offended, and did heartily desire that any of those indiscreet persons might be proceeded against with severity. Yet he had no mind that any man should be put to death, which could hardly be avoided if any man should be brought to trial in the case aforesaid, except he had granted his pardon, which with these circumstances would have carried scandal in it. Besides, he did think the wisest of that party had not carried themselves with modesty enough, with what was good for themselves and for his majesty's honour. And therefore he had, without imparting it to any friends of theirs, given that direction to the judges for convicting them, as the best means to reclaim them to a better temper: and he had a purpose, that the bill he meant should be prepared should more effectually perform that part, without exposing them to any notable inconveniences in their persons or their fortunes, if they behaved themselves well and warily.

He did believe, that it was necessary for his service that they should be all convicted, that it might be evident to himself what their numbers consisted of and amounted to, which he believed would be found much inferior to what they were generally computed, and then the danger from their power would not be thought so formidable: and it could be no prejudice to them without a further proceeding upon their conviction, which he was resolved to restrain, as he well might, and had done hitherto; resolving within himself, that no man should suffer under those penal laws which had been made against them in the age before, if they lived like good subjects, and administered no occasion of scandal. And as he

was not reserved in declaring that his gracious purpose towards them, (as hath been said before;) so hitherto it had not been attended by any murmurs: and yet he was not without a purpose of keeping such a power over them, as might make them wholly depend upon him.

His majesty did, in his judgment and inclination, put a great difference between those Roman catholics, who being of ancient extraction had continued of the same religion from father to son, without having ever been protestant, amongst whom there were very few who had not behaved themselves very worthily; and those, who since the late troubles had apostatized from the church of England to that of the Roman, without any such evidence of conscience, as might not administer just reason to suspect, that their inducements had been from worldly temptations. And he did resolve in his bill to make a distinction between those classes, and to prevent, or at least to discourage, those lapses which fell out too frequently in the court; nor did men believe that they need make any apology for it, but appeared the more confidently in all places. He did resolve likewise to contract and lessen the number of the ecclesiastical persons, who upon missions resorted hither as to an infidel nation, (which was and is a grievance that the catholics would be glad to be eased in,) and to reduce them into such an order and method by this bill, that he might himself know the names of all priests remaining in the kingdom, and their several stations where they resided; which must have produced such a security to those who stayed, and to those with whom they stayed, as would have set them free from any apprehension of any penalties imposed by preceding parliaments.

But this design (which comprehended many other particulars) vanished as soon as it was discovered. The king's own discourse of a bill that he would cause to be drawn against the Roman catholics awakened great jealousies; nor did they want instruments or opportunities to discover what the meaning of it could be. Nor was the king reserved in the argument, but communicated it with those who he knew were well affected to that party, and to one or two of themselves who were reputed to be moderate men, and to desire nothing but the exercise of their religion with the greatest secrecy and caution, and who often informed him and complained "of the folly and vanity of some of their friends, and more particularly of the presumption of the Jesuits." And such kind of factions and divisions there are amongst them, which might be cultivated to very happy productions: but such ingenuity, as to be contented with what might gratify all their own pretences, there is not amongst them.

These moderate men complained already, "that the king was deceived by their enemy the chancellor," who indeed was generally very odious to them, for no other reason, but because they knew he was irreconcilable to their profession; not that they thought he desired that the laws should be put in execution against them; and some of the chief of them believed him to be much their friend, and had obligations to him. But they all lamented this direction given to the judges for their conviction, "which," they informed the king, "was the necessary preamble to the highest persecution the law had prepared against them."



"That till they were convicted they were in the same predicament with the rest of his subjects; but as soon as they were convicted," (which the judges now caused to be prosecuted throughout the kingdom,) "they were liable to all the other penalties, which his majesty was inclined to protect them from." They presented to him a short memorial of the disadvantages which were consequent to a conviction, in which they alleged some particulars which were not clear in the law, at least had never been practised in the severest times.

Though the king had well weighed all he had done before he did it, and well knew, after all their insinuations and allegations, that none of those inconveniences could ensue to them, if he restrained any further prosecution, which he always had intended to do; yet they wrought so far upon him, that he was even sorry that he had proceeded so far: and though it was not fit to revoke any part of it, yet he cared not how little it was advanced. And for the bill he meant to present in the next session, they said, "all their security and quiet they had enjoyed since his majesty's happy return depended wholly upon the general opinion, that he had favour for them, and satisfaction in their duty and obedience as good subjects, and their readiness to do him any service, which they would all make good with their lives and all that they had. But if he should now discover any jealousy of their fidelities, and that there was need of a new law against them, which his purpose of providing a bill implied, what mitigation soever his majesty intended in it, it would not be in his majesty's power to restrain the passion of other men; but all those animosities which had been hitherto covered and concealed, as grateful to him, would upon this occasion break out to their destruction: and therefore they hoped, that whatever bitterness the parliament might express against them when they came together, they should receive no invitation or encouragement by any jealousy or displeasure his majesty should manifest to have towards them."

These and the like arguments, or the credit of those who urged them, made that impression, that he declined any further thought of that bill; nor was there ever after mention of it. The catholics grew bolder in all places, and conversant in those rooms of the court into which the king's chaplains never presumed to enter; and to crown all their hopes, the lady declared herself of that faith, and inveighed sharply against the church she had been bred in.

During the interval of the parliament, there was not such a vacation from trouble and anxiety as was expected. The domestic unquietness in the court made every day more noise abroad: infinite scandals and calumnies were scattered amongst the people; and they expressed their discontents upon the great taxes and impositions which they were compelled to pay, and publicly reproached the parliament; when they were in truth vexed and grieved at heart for that which they durst not avow, and did really believe that God was angry with the nation, and resolved to exercise it under greater tribulation than he had so lately freed them from. The general want of money was complained of, and a great decay of trade; so that the native commodities of the

kingdom were not transported. Yet both these were but pretences, and resulted from combinations rather than from reason. For it appeared by the customs, that the trade was greater than it had ever been, though some of our native commodities, especially cloth, seemed for some time to be at a stand; which proceeded rather from the present glut, which in the general license the interlopers had irregularly transported in great quantities, by which the prices were brought low, and could only be recovered by a restraint for some time, which the merchant adventurers put upon themselves, and would have put upon the interlopers, who were at last too hard for them, even upon the matter to the suppressing the company, that had stood in great reputation for very many years, and had advanced that manufacture to a great height; and whether it deserved that discountenance, time must decide. How unreasonable the other discourse was of want of money, there needs no other argument, but the great purchases which were every day made of great estates; nor was any considerable parcel of land in any part of England offered to be sold, but there was a purchaser at hand ready to buy it.

However, these pretences, together with the sudden bringing up all the money, that was collected for the king, in specie to London, which proceeded from the bankers' advancing so much present money for the emergent occasions, for which they had those assignments upon the money of the country, did really produce such a sudden fall of the rents throughout the kingdom, as had never been known before: so that men were compelled to abate generally a fourth part of their annual rents at the least, or to take their lands into their own hands, for which they were as ill provided. All this mischief fell upon the nobility and greatest gentry, who were owners of the greatest estates, every body whose estate lay in land undergoing a share in the suffering, which made the discontent general; which they thought the best [way] to remedy would be to raise no more taxes, which they took to be the cause why the rents fell. In the mean time the expenses of the court, and of all who depended upon it, grew still higher, and the king himself less intent upon his business, and more loved his pleasures, to which he prescribed no limits, nor to the expenses which could not but accompany them.

There was cause enough to be jealous of the public peace; there being every day discoveries made of private meetings and conferences between officers of the old army; and that correspondences were settled between them throughout the kingdom in a wonderful method; and that they had a grand committee residing in London, who had the supreme power, and which sent orders to all the rest, who were to rise in one day, and meet at several rendezvous. Hereupon several persons were apprehended and committed to prison; and the king himself often took the pains to examine them; and they confessed commonly more to his majesty himself than upon any other examination. Proclamations issued often for the banishing all officers who had ever borne arms against the king twenty miles from London, which did more publish the apprehension of new troubles.

There can be no doubt, but that there were many seditious purposes amongst that people, of

which there often appeared so full evidence, that many were executed for high treason, who were tried and condemned by the judges at the general sessions at Newgate: yet there was often cause to believe that many men were committed, who in truth had not been more faulty, than in keeping ill company and in hearing idle discourses. Informing was grown a trade, which many affected to get money by: and as the king's ministers could not reject in a time of so much jealousy, so the receiving them gave them great trouble; for few of them were willing to be produced as evidence against those they accused, pretending, sometimes with reason, "that if they were known they should be rendered useless for the future," whereas they were yet unsuspected and admitted "into all councils." All the sects in religion spake with more boldness in their meetings, and met more frequently, than they had used to do in the times that sir Richard Browne and sir John Robinson had been lord mayors; and the officers who succeeded them proved less vigilant. A general despondency seemed to possess the minds of men, as if they little cared what came to pass; which did not proceed so much from malice, as from the disease of murmuring, which had been contracting above twenty years, and became almost incorporated into the nature of the nation.

There happened about this time an alteration in the court, that produced afterwards many other alterations which were not then suspected, yet even at that time was not liked in the court itself, and less out of it. The keeper of the privy purse, who was more fit for that province than for any other to which he could be applied, did not think himself yet preferred to a station worthy of his merit and great qualifications. Some promises the king had made to him when he was at Fuentarabia, and had long much kindness for his person and much delight in his company: so that his friend, Mr. O'Neile, who was still ready to put his majesty in mind of all his services, had nothing hard to do but to find a vacancy that might give opportunity for his advancement; and he was dexterous in making opportunities which he could not find, and made no scruple to insinuate to the king, "that the abilities of neither of his secretaries were so great but that he might be better served." Indeed his majesty, who did not naturally love old men, had not so much esteem of them as their parts and industry and integrity deserved, and would not have been sorry if either or both of them had died.

Secretary Nicholas had served the crown very many years with a very good acceptance, was made secretary of state by the late king, and loved and trusted by him in his nearest concerns to his death: nor had any man, who served him, a more general reputation of virtue and piety and unquestionable integrity throughout the kingdom. He was a man to whom the rebels had been always irreconcilable; and from the end of the war lived in banishment beyond the seas, was with his majesty from the time he left France (for whilst the king was in France with his mother, to whom the secretary was not gracious, he remained at a distance; but from the time that his majesty came into Germany he was always with him) in the exercise of the same function he had under his father, and returned

into England with him, with hope to repair his fortune by the just perquisites of his office, which had been very much impaired by his long sufferings and banishment. He had never been in his youth a man of quick and sudden parts, but full of industry and application, (which it may be is the better composition,) and always versed in business and all the forms of despatch. He was now some years above seventy, yet truly performed his office with punctuality, and to the satisfaction of all men who repaired to him: and the king thought it an envious as well as an ill-natured thing, to discharge such an officer because he lived too long.

The other secretary was secretary Morrice, whose merit had been his having transacted all that had been between the king and the general, which was thought to be much more than it was. Yet he had behaved himself very well, and as much disposed the general as he was capable of being disposed; and his majesty had preferred him to that office purely to gratify and oblige the general; and he had behaved himself very honestly and diligently in the king's service, and had a good reputation in the house of commons, and did the business of his office without reproach. He had lived most part of his time in the country, with the repute of a wise man and a very good scholar, as indeed he was both in the Latin and Greek learning; but being without any knowledge in the modern languages, he gave the king often occasion to laugh at his unskilful pronunciation of many words. In the Latin despatches, which concern all the northern parts, he was ready, and treated with those ambassadors fluently and elegantly; and for all domestic affairs no man doubted his sufficiency, except in the garb and mode and humour of the court.

And the inducement that brought him in made it unfit to remove him, lest it might grieve the general, whose friend and kinsman he was: so that there was no expedient to provide for sir Harry Bennet, but by removing secretary Nicholas by his own consent; for the king would not do it otherwise to so old and faithful a servant. And his majesty was the more inclined to it, because it would give him the opportunity to bring another person into the office of the privy purse, of whom he was lately grown very fond, and towards whom he had, when he came into England, a greater aversion than to any gentleman who had been abroad with him; and that was sir Charles Berkley, who was then captain of the duke of York's guard, and much in the good grace of his royal highness.

Whilst this intrigue was contriving and depending, great care was taken that it might not come to the notice of the chancellor, lest if he could not divert the king from desiring it, which they believed he would not attempt, he might dissuade his old friend the secretary, with whom he had held a long and particular friendship, from hearkening to any proposition, or to accept any composition; which they believed not unreasonably that the other would be very solicitous in, as well to keep a man in, whom he could entirely trust, as to keep another out, of whose abilities he had no esteem, and in whose affection he had no confidence: and it was thought by many, that the same apprehension prevailed with the good old man himself to cherish the secrecy. Certain

it is, that the whole matter was resolved and consented to, before ever the chancellor had a suspicion of it.

O'Neile, who had always the skill to bring that to pass by others which he could not barefaced appear in himself, insinuated to Mr. Ashburnham, who pretended, and I think had, much friendship for the secretary, "that the king thought the secretary too old to take so much pains, and often wished that his friends would persuade him to retire, that there might be a younger man in the office, who could attend upon his majesty at all hours and in all journeys; but that his majesty always spake kindly of him, and as if he resolved to give him an ample recompense;" and in confidence told him, "that the king had an impatient desire to have sir Harry Bennet secretary of state." Ashburnham was well versed in the artifices of court too; and thought he might very well perform the office of a friend to his old confident, and at the same time find a new and more useful friend for himself, by having a hand in procuring a large satisfaction for the old, and likewise facilitating the way for the introduction of a new secretary, who could not forget the obligation. So he told O'Neile, "that all the world knew that he had for many years professed a great friendship for secretary Nicholas," (they had been both servants at the same time to the duke of Buckingham, when he was killed,) "and that he should be much troubled to see him displaced in his old age with contempt; but if his majesty would dismiss him with honour and reward, that he might be able to provide for his wife and children, he would make no scruple to persuade him to quit his employment." O'Neile had all he looked for, and only enjoined him secrecy, "that it might not come to the king's ear that he had communicated this secret to any man; and he did presume, that before any resolution was taken in it, his majesty would speak of it to the chancellor."

Within a day or two the king sent for Ashburnham, and told him "he knew he was a friend to the secretary, who was now grown old, and not able to take the pains he had done; that he had served his father and himself very faithfully, and had spent his fortune in his service; that if he were willing to retire, for without his consent he would do nothing, he would give him ten thousand pounds, or any other recompense he should choose," implying a title of honour: but intimated, though he referred all to his own will, "that he wished, and that it would be acceptable to him, that the office might be vacant and at his majesty's disposal."

He undertook the employment very cheerfully, and quickly imparted all that had passed from the king, and all that he knew before, to the secretary; who was not fond of the court, and thought he had lived long enough there, having seen and observed much that he was grieved at heart to see. He considered, that though this message was very gracious, and offered a noble reward for his service, it did withal appear that the king did desire he should be gone; and having designed a successor to him, who had already much credit with him, if he should seem sullen or unwilling, he might in a short time be put out without any

consideration, or at most with the promise of one. Thereupon he wished his friend "to assure the king, that he would very readily do whatsoever his majesty thought necessary for his service; but he hoped, that after above forty years spent in the service of the crown, he should not be exposed to disgrace and contempt. That he had a wife and children, who had all suffered with him in exile till his majesty's return, and for whom he could not make a competent provision without his majesty's bounty; and therefore he hoped, that before his majesty required the signet, he would cause the recompense he designed to be more than what he had mentioned, and to be first paid."

This province could not be put into a fitter hand, for it was managed with notable skill. And as soon as it was known that the secretary would willingly resign, which was feared, and that only a better recompense was expected, every body was willing that the king should [make] the act look as graciously as might be, that the successor might be attended with the less envy. And Mr. Ashburnham cultivated their impatience so skillfully, that it cost the king, in present money and land or lease, very little less than twenty thousand pounds, to bring in a servant whom very few cared for, in the place of an old servant whom every body loved: and he received all that was promised, before he resigned his place. And if the change had been as good for the king, as it was for the good old secretary, every body would have been glad. And thus sir Harry Bennet was at the king's charge accommodated, even to the satisfaction of his own ambition: and his majesty was as well pleased, that he had gotten sir Charles Berkley into the other office about his person, whom he every day loved with more passion, for what reason no man knew nor could imagine.

And from this time they who stood at any near distance could not but discern, that the chancellor's interest and credit with the king manifestly declined: not that either of these two pretended to be his rival, or appeared to cross any thing in council that he proposed or advised; on the contrary, they both professed great respect towards him. One of them, being no privy counsellor, made great professions and addresses to him by himself, and by some friends who had much credit with him; protested "against meddling at all in business, and that he only hoped to gain a fortune by his majesty's favour, upon which he might be able to live;" nor did it appear afterwards, that he did to his death wish that the chancellor's power should be lessened: and the other made all the professions imaginable of affection and respect to him, and repaired upon occasions to him for advice and for direction. Nor in truth could either of them have done him any prejudice at that time with the king by pretending to do it; but by pretending the contrary by degrees got power to do it.

His majesty did not in the least degree withdraw his favour from him, heard him as willingly, came as often to him, was as little reserved in any thing; only in one particular he did with some solemnity conjure him never to mention it to him again, in which he did not yet punctually obey him, nor avoid seasonably saying any thing to him which he believed to be his duty, and

which his majesty never seemed to take ill. And whenever he spake to him of either of the other two gentlemen, which he frequently did with much kindness, he always added somewhat of both their respects and esteem for him, as a thing that pleased him well; and said once, "that it concerned them, for whenever he should discern it to be otherwise, he should make them repent it." Yet notwithstanding all this, from that time counsels were not so secret, and greater liberty taken to talk of the public affairs in the evening conversation, than had been before, when they happened sometimes to be shortly mentioned in the production of some wit or jest; but now they were often taken into debate, and censured with too much liberty with reference to things and persons; and the king himself was less fixed and more irresolute in his counsels; and inconvenient grants came every day to the seal for the benefit of particular persons, against which the king had particularly resolved, and at last by importunity would have passed. Lastly, both these persons were most devoted to the lady, and much depended upon her interest, and consequently were ready to do any thing that would be grateful to her.

There was another mischief contrived about this time, that had a much worse influence upon the public, except we shall call it the same, because it did in truth proceed from it. Though the public state of affairs, in respect of the distempers and discomposures which are mentioned before, and that the expenses exceeded what was assigned to support it, whereby the great debt was little diminished, yielded little delight to those who were most trusted to manage and provide for them, and who had a melancholic and dreadful apprehension of consequences: yet whilst the nation continued in peace, and without any danger from any foreign enemy, that the prospect was so pleasant, especially to those who stood at a distance, that they saw nothing worthy of any man's fear; and there was reasonable hope, that the expenses might every year be reduced within reasonable [bounds]. But all that hope vanished, when there appeared an immoderate desire to engage the nation in a war.

Upon the king's first arrival in England, he manifested a very great desire to improve the general traffick and trade of the kingdom, and upon all occasions, conferred with the most active merchants upon it, and offered all that he could contribute to the advancement thereof. He erected a council of trade, which produced little other effect than the opportunity of men's speaking together, which possibly disposed them to think more, and to consult more effectually in private, than they could in such a crowd of commissioners. Some merchants and seamen made a proposition by Mr. William Coventry and some few others to the duke of York, "for the erection of a company in which they desired his royal highness to preside," (and from thence it was called the Royal Company,) "to which his majesty should grant the sole trade of Guinea, which in a short time they presumed would bring great advantage to the public, and much profit to the adventurers, who should begin upon a joint stock, to be managed by a council of such as should be chosen out of the adventurers."

This privilege had before the troubles [been] granted by the late king to sir Nicholas Crisp and others named by him, who had at their own charge sent ships thither: and sir Nicholas had at his own charge bought a nook of ground, that lay into the sea, of the true owners thereof, (all that coast being inhabited by heathens,) and built thereon a good fort and warehouses, under which the ships lay; and he had advanced this trade so far before the troubles, that he found it might be carried on with very great benefit. After the rebellion began, and sir Nicholas betook himself to serve the king, some merchants continued the trade, and either by his consent or Cromwell's power had the possession of that fort, called Cormantine; which was still in the possession of the English when his majesty returned, though the trade was small, in respect the Dutch had fixed a stronger quarter at no great distance from it, and sent much more ships and commodities thither, and returned once every year to their own country with much wealth. The chief end of this trade was, besides the putting off great quantities of our own manufactures according as the trade should advance, to return with gold, which that coast produced in good quantity, and with slaves, blacks, which were readily sold to any plantation at great prices.

The model was so well prepared, and the whole method for governing the trade so rationally proposed, that the duke was much pleased with it, and quickly procured a charter to be granted from the king to this company with ample privileges, and his majesty himself to become an adventurer, and, which was more, to assist them for the first establishment of their trade with the use of some of his own ships. The duke was the governor of the company, with power to make a deputy: all the other officers and council were chosen by the company, which consisted of persons of honour and quality, every one of which brought in five hundred pounds for the first joint stock, with which they set out the first ships; upon the return whereof they received so much encouragement and benefit, that they compounded with sir Nicholas Crisp for his propriety in the fort and castle; and possessed themselves of another place upon the coast, and sent many ships thither, which made very good returns, by putting off their blacks at the Barbadoes and other the king's plantations at their own prices, and brought home such store of gold that administered the first occasion for the coinage of those pieces, which from thence had the denomination of *guineas*; and what was afterwards made of the same species, was coined of the gold that was brought from that coast by the royal company. In a word, if that company be not broken or disordered by the jealousy that the gentlemen adventurers have of the merchants, and their opinion that they understand the mysteries of trade as well as the other, by which they refuse to concur in the necessary expedients proposed by the other, and interpose unskilful overtures of their own with pertinacy, it will be found a model equally to advance the trade of England with that of any other company, even that of the East Indies.

From the first entrance into this trade, which the duke was exceedingly disposed to advance, and was constantly present himself at all councils,

which were held once a week in his own lodgings at Whitehall, it was easily discovered that the Dutch had a better trade there than the English, which they were then willing to believe that they had no right to, for that the trade was first found out and settled there by the English; which was a sufficient foundation to settle it upon this nation, and to exclude all others, at least by the same law that the Spaniard enjoys the West Indies, and the Dutch what they or the Portuguese possessed in the East. But this they quickly found would not establish such a title as would bear a dispute: the having sent a ship or two thither, and built a little fort, could not be allowed such a possession as would exclude all other nations. And the truth was, the Dutch were there some time before us, and the Dane before either: and the Dutch, which was the true grievance, had planted themselves more advantageously, upon the bank of a river, than we had done; and by the erection of more forts were more strongly seated, and drove a much greater trade, which they did not believe they would be persuaded to quit. This drew the discourse from the right to the easiness, by the assistance of two or three of the king's ships; to take away all that the Dutch possessed in and about Guinea, there having never been a ship of war seen in those parts; so that the work might be presently done, and such an alliance made with the natives, who did not love the Dutch, that the English [might] be unquestionably possessed of the whole trade of that country, which would be of inestimable profit to the kingdom.

The merchants took much delight to enlarge themselves upon this argument, and shortly after to discourse "of the infinite benefit that would accrue from a barefaced war against the Dutch, how easily they might be subdued, and the trade carried by the English. That Cromwell had always beaten them, and thereby gotten the greatest glory he had, and brought them upon their knees; and could totally have subdued them, if he had not thought it more for his interest to have such a second, whereby he might the better support his usurpation against the king. And therefore, after they had consented to all the infamous conditions of the total abandoning his majesty, and as far as in them lay to the extirpation of all the royal family, and to a perpetual exclusion of the prince of Orange, he made a firm peace with them; which they had not yet performed, by their retaining still the island of Poleroone, which they had so long since barbarously taken from the English, and which they had expressly promised and undertaken to deliver in the last treaty, after Cromwell had compelled them to pay a great sum of money for the damages which the English had sustained at Amboyna, when all the demands and threats from king James could never procure any satisfaction for that foul action."

These discourses, often reiterated in season and out of season, made a very deep impression in the duke; who having been even from his childhood in the command in armies, and in his nature inclined to the most difficult and dangerous enterprises, was already weary of having so little to do, and too impatiently longed for any war, in which he knew he could not but have the chief command. But these kind of debates, nor the

place in which they were made, could contribute little to an affair of so huge an importance, other than by inciting the duke, which they did too much, to consider and affect it, and to dispose others who were near him to inculcate the same thoughts into him, as an argument in which his honour would be much exalted in the eye of all the world: and to the good offices they were enough disposed by the restlessness and unquietness of their own natures, and by many other motives for the accomplishing their own designs, and getting more power into their own hands.

But there was lately, very lately, a peace fully concluded with the States General upon the same terms, articles, and conditions, which they had formerly yielded to Cromwell, being very much more advantageous than they had ever granted in any treaty to the crown. And at the time of the conclusion of the peace, they delivered their orders from the States General and their East India company for the delivery of the island of Poleroone to the English, and which Cromwell himself had extorted from them with the greatest difficulty: so that there was now no colour of justice to make a war upon them. Besides that there were at present great jealousies from Spain upon the marriage with Portugal; nor did France, which had broken promise in making a treaty with Holland, make any haste to renew the treaty with England. And therefore it could not but seem strange to all men, that when we had only made a treaty of peace with Holland, and that so newly, and upon so long consideration, and had none with either of the crowns, we should so much desire to enter into a war with them.

However, the duke's heart was set upon it, and he loved to speak of it, and the benefits which would attend it. He spake of it to the king, whom he found no ways inclined to it, and therefore he knew it was unfit to propose it in council: yet he spake often of it to such of the lords of whom he had the best opinion, and found many of them to concur with him in the opinion of the advantages which might arise from thence. And sometimes he thought he left the king disposed to it, by an argument which he found prevailed with many: "that the differences and jealousies in point of trade, which did every day fall out and would every day increase between the English and the Dutch, who had in the late distractions gotten great advantages, would unavoidably produce a war between them; and then that the question only was, whether it were not better for us to begin it now, when they do not expect it, and we are better prepared for it than probably we shall be then; or to stay two or three years, in which the same jealousy would provoke them to be well provided, when probably we might not be ready. That we had the best sea officers in the world, many of whom had often beaten the Dutch, and knew how to do it again; and a multitude of excellent mariners and common seamen: all which, if they found that nothing would be done at home, would disperse themselves in merchant voyages to the Indies and the Straits; and probably so many good men would never be found together again."

And with such arguments he many times thought that he left the king much moved: but when he spake to him again (though he knew

that he had no kindness for the Dutch) his majesty was changed, and very averse to a war; which he imputed to the chancellor, who had not dissembled, as often as his highness spake to him, to be passionately and obstinately against it. And he did take all the opportunities he could find to confirm the king in his aversion to it, who was in his heart averse from it, by presenting to him the state of his own affairs, "the great debt that yet lay upon him, which with peace and good husbandry might be in some time paid; but a war would involve him in so much greater, that no man could see the end of it. That he would be able to preserve himself against the factions and distempers in his own kingdom, and probably suppress them, if he were without a foreign enemy: but if he should be engaged in a war abroad, his domestic divisions, especially those in religion, would give him more trouble than he could well struggle withal."

"That it was an erroneous assumption, that the Dutch would be better provided for a war two or three years hence, and his majesty worse, for which there was no reason. That within that time it would be his own fault, if the distempers in his three kingdoms were not composed, which would make him much fitter for a war; whereas now neither of them could be said to be in peace, that of Ireland being totally unsettled, and that of Scotland not yet well pleased, and England far from it. That in that time it was very probable that the two crowns would be again engaged in a war; since it was generally believed, and with great reason, that France only expected the death of the king of Spain, who was very infirm, and meant then to fall into Flanders, having at the same time with great expense provided great magazines of corn and hay upon the borders, which could be for no other end. That whilst he continued in peace, his friendship would be valuable to all the princes of Europe, and the two crowns would strive who should gain him: but if he engaged in a war, and in such a war as [that with] Holland, which would interrupt and disturb all the trade of the kingdom, upon which the greatest part of his revenue did rise; all other princes would look on, and not much esteem any offices he could perform to them. And lastly, that a little time might possibly administer a just occasion of a war, which at present there was not."

These, and better arguments which the king's own understanding suggested to him, made him fully resolve against the war, and to endeavour to change his brother from affecting it, which wrought not at all upon him; but finding that many things fell from the king in the argument, which had been alleged to himself by the chancellor, he concluded the mischief came from him, and was displeased accordingly, and complained to his wife, "that her father should oppose him in an affair upon which he knew his heart was so much set, and of which every body took so much notice;" which troubled her very much. And she very earnestly desired her father, "that he would no more oppose the duke in that matter." He answered her, "that she did not enough understand the consequence of that affair; but that he would take notice to the duke of what she had said, and give him the best answer he could." And accordingly he

waited upon the duke, who very frankly confessed to him, "that he took it very unkindly, that he should so positively endeavour to cross a design so honourable in itself, so much desired by the city of London; and he was confident would be very grateful to the parliament, and that they would supply the king with money enough to carry it on, which would answer the chief objection. That he was engaged to pursue it, and he could not but be sorry and displeased, that every body should see how little credit he had with him."

The chancellor told him, "that he had no apprehension that any sober man in England, or his highness himself, should believe that he could fail in his duty to him, or that he would omit any opportunity to make it manifest, which he could never do without being a fool or a madman. On the other hand, he could never give an advice, or consent to it whoever gave it, which in his judgment and conscience would be very mischievous to the crown and to the kingdom, though his royal highness or the king himself were inclined to it." He did assure him, "that he found the king very averse from any thought of this war, before he ever discovered his own opinion of it;" but denied not, "that he had taken all opportunities to confirm him in that judgment by arguments that he thought could not be answered; and that the consequence of that war would be very pernicious. That he did presume that many good men, with whom he had conferred, did seem to concur with his highness out of duty to him, and as they saw it would be grateful to him, or upon a sudden, and without making those reflections which would afterwards occur to them, and make them change their minds. That a few merchants, nor all the merchants in London, were [not] the city of London, which had had war enough, and could only become rich by peace. That he did not think the parliament would be forward to encourage that war; nor should the king be desirous that they should interpose their advice in it, since it was a subject entirely in the king's own determination: but if they should appear never so forward in it, he was old enough to remember when a parliament did advise, and upon the matter compel, his grandfather king James to enter into a war with Spain, upon promise of ample supplies; and yet when he was engaged in it, they gave him no more supply; so that at last the crown was compelled to accept of a peace not very honourable."

Beside the arguments he had used to the king, he besought his highness to reflect upon some others more immediately relating to himself, "upon the want of able men to conduct the counsels upon which such a war must be carried on; how few accidents might expose the crown to those distresses, that it might with more difficulty be buoyed up than it had lately been;" with many other arguments, which he thought made some impression upon the duke. And for some months there was no more mention or discourse in the court of the war; though they who first laid the design still cultivated it, and made little [doubt] of bringing it at last to pass.

At or about this time there was a transaction of

great importance, which at the time was not popular nor indeed understood, and afterwards was objected against the chancellor in his misfortunes, as a principal argument of his infidelity and corruption; which was the sale of Dunkirk: the whole proceeding whereof shall be plainly and exactly related from the beginning to the end thereof.

The charge and expense the crown was at; the pay of the land forces and garrisons; the great fleets set out to sea for the reduction of the Turkish pirates of Algiers and Tunis, and for guarding the narrow seas, and security of the merchants; the constant yearly charge of the garrison of Dunkirk, of that at Tangier, and the vast expense of building a mole there, for which there was an establishment, together with the garrisons at Bombayne and in Jamaica, (none of which had been known to the crown in former times;) and the lord treasurer's frequent representation of all this to the king, as so prodigious an expense as could never be supported; had put his majesty to frequent consultations how he might lessen and save any part of it. But no expedient could be resolved upon. The lord treasurer, who was most troubled when money was wanted, had many secret conferences with the general and with the best seamen, of the benefit that accrued to the crown by keeping of Dunkirk; the constant charge and expense whereof amounted to above one hundred and twenty thousand pounds yearly: and he found by them that it was a place of little importance. It is true that he had conferred of it with the chancellor, with whom he held a fast friendship; but found him so averse from it, that he resolved to speak with him no more, till the king had taken some resolution. And to that purpose he persuaded the general to go with him to the king and to the duke of York, telling them both, "that the chancellor must know nothing of it:" and after several debates the king thought it so counsellable a thing, that he resolved to have it debated before that committee which he trusted in his most secret affairs; and the chancellor being then lame of the gout, he commanded that all those lords should attend him at his house. Beside his majesty himself and the duke of York, there appeared the lord treasurer, the general, the earl of Sandwich, the vice-chamberlain sir George Carteret, who had been a great commander at sea, and the two secretaries of state. When the king entered the room with the lord treasurer, he desired his majesty, smiling, "that he would take the chancellor's staff from him, otherwise he would break his head." When they were all sat, the king told him, "they were all come to debate an affair that he knew he was against, which was the parting with Dunkirk; but he did believe, when he had heard all that was said for it and against it, he would change his mind, as he himself had done." And so the debate was entered into in this method, after enough was said of the straits the crown was in, and what the yearly expense was.

1. "That the profit which did or could accrue to the kingdom by the keeping of Dunkirk was very inconsiderable, whether in war or peace. That by sea it was very little useful, it being no harbour, nor having place for the king's ships to ride in with safety; and that if it were in the hand of an enemy, it could do us little pre-

judice, because three or four ships might block it up, and keep it from infesting its neighbours: and that though heretofore it had been a place of license at sea, and had much obstructed trade by their men of war, yet that proceeded only from the unskilfulness of that time in applying proper remedies to it; which was manifested by Cromwell's blocking them up, and restraining them when he made war upon them, insomuch as all the men of war left that place, and betook themselves to other harbours. That it was so weak to the land (notwithstanding the great charge his majesty had been at in the fortifications, which were not yet finished) by the situation and the soil, that it required as many men within to defend it, as the army should consist of that besieged it; otherwise that it could never hold out and endure a siege of two months: as it appeared clearly by its having been taken and retaken so many times within the late years, in all which times it never held out so long, though there was always an army at no great distance to relieve it.

2. "That the charge of keeping and maintaining it, without any accidents from the attempt of an enemy, did amount unto above one hundred and twenty thousand pounds by the year, which was a sum the revenue of the crown could not supply, without leaving many other particulars of much more importance unprovided for." And this was not lightly or cursorily urged; but the state of the revenue, and the constant and indispensable issues, were at the same time presented and carefully examined.

3. "It could not reasonably be believed, but that if Dunkirk was kept, his majesty would be shortly involved in a war with one of the two crowns. The Spanish ambassador had already demanded restitution of it in point of justice, it having been taken from his master by the late usurper, in a time when there was not only a peace between his majesty and the king of Spain, but when his majesty resided, and was entertained by the catholic king, in Flanders: and at this time both France and Spain inhibited their subjects from paying those small contributions to the garrison at Dunkirk, and endeavoured to restrain the governor himself from enjoying some privileges, which had been always enjoyed by him from the time that it had been put into Cromwell's hands." And it was upon this and many other reasons then conceived, that as it would be very hard for the king to preserve a neutrality towards both crowns, even during the time of the war between them, (which temper was thought very necessary for his majesty's affairs;) "so it would be much more difficult long to avoid a war with one of them upon the keeping Dunkirk, if the peace that was newly made should remain firm and unshaken."

Upon these reasons, urged and agreed upon by those who could not but be thought very competent judges, in respect of their several professions and great experience, the king resolved to ease himself of the insupportable burden of maintaining Dunkirk, and to part with it in such a manner as might be most for his advantage and benefit. There remained then no other question, than into what hand to put it: and the measure of that was only who would give most money for



it, their being no inclination to prefer one before another. It was enough understood, that both crowns would be very glad to have it, and would probably both make large offers for it. But it was then as evident, that whatsoever France should contract for, the king would be sure to receive, and the business would be soon despatched: whereas on the other hand it was as notorious and evident to his majesty, and to all who had any knowledge of the court of Spain, and of the scarcity of money there and in Flanders; that how large offers soever the Spaniard might make, they could not be able in any time to pay any considerable sum of money; and that there would be so much time spent in consult between Madrid and Brussels before it could be despatched, that the keeping it so long in his majesty's hands would in the expense disappoint him of a good part of the end in parting with it. Besides that it seemed at that time probable, that the Spaniard would shortly declare himself an enemy; for besides that he demanded Dunkirk as of right, so he likewise required the restitution of Tangier and Jamaica upon the same reason, and declared, "that without it there could be no lasting peace between England and Spain," and refused so much as to enter upon a treaty of alliance with the king, before he should promise to make such a restitution.

There wanted not in this conference and debate the consideration of the States of the United Provinces, as persons like enough to desire the possession of Dunkirk, from whence they had formerly received so much damage, and were like enough to receive more whenever they should be engaged in any war: and if in truth they should have any such desire, more money might be reasonably required, and probably be obtained from them, than could be expected from either of the kings. But upon the discussion of that point, it did appear to every man's reason very manifest, that though they had rather that Dunkirk should be put into the hands of the Spaniard than delivered to France, or than it should be detained by the English; yet they durst not receive it into their own possession, which neither of the two crowns would have approved of, and so it would have exposed them to the displeasure, if not to the hostility, of both the kings.

Upon this full deliberation, his majesty inclined rather to give it up to France than to Spain; but deferred any positive resolution till he had imparted the whole matter to the council-board, where the debate was again resumed, principally, "whether it were more counsellable to keep it at so vast a charge, or to part with it for a good sum of money." And in that debate the mention of what had been heretofore done in the house of commons upon that subject was not omitted, nor the bill that they had sent up to the house of peers for annexing it inseparably to the crown: but that was not thought of moment; for as it had been suddenly entertained in the house of commons, upon the Spanish ambassador's first proposition for the restitution, so it was looked upon in the house of peers as unfit in itself, and so laid aside after once being read, (which had been in the first convention soon after the king's return,) and so expired as soon as it was born. After a long debate of the whole matter at the council-board, where all was averred con-

cerning the uselessness and weakness of the place, by those who had said it at the committee; there was but one lord of the council who offered his advice to the king against parting with it: and the ground of that lord's dissenting, who was the earl of St. Alban's, was enough understood to have nothing of public in it, but to draw the negotiation for it into his own hands. In conclusion, his majesty resolved to put it into the hands of France, if that king would comply with his majesty's expectation in the payment of so much money as he would require for it: and a way was found out, that the king might privately be advertised of that his majesty's resolution, if he should have any desire to deal for it.

The advertisement was very welcome to the French king, who was then resolved to visit Flanders as soon as he should know of the death of the king of Spain, which was expected every day. Nor had he deferred it till then, upon the late affront his ambassador had received at London from the Spanish ambassador, (who by a contrived and laboured stratagem had got the precedence for his coach before the other; which the king of France received with that indignation, that he sent presently to demand justice at Madrid, commanded his ambassador to retire from thence, and would not suffer the Spanish ambassador to remain in Paris till he should have satisfaction, and was resolved to have begun a war upon it,) if the king of Spain had not acknowledged the fault of his ambassador, and under his hand declared the precedence to belong to France; which declaration was sent to the courts of all princes: and so for the present that spark of fire was extinguished, or rather raked up.

The king sent M. D'Estrades privately to London to treat about Dunkirk, without any character, but pretending to make it his way to Holland, whither he was designed ambassador. After he had waited upon the king, his majesty appointed four or five of the lords of his council, whereof the chancellor and treasurer and general were three, to treat with M. D'Estrades for the sale of Dunkirk; when the first conference was spent in endeavouring to persuade him to make the first offer for the price, which he could not be drawn to: so that the king's commissioners were obliged to make their demand. And they asked the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, to be paid upon the delivery of Dunkirk and Mardike into the possession of the king of France; which sum appeared to him to be so stupendous, that he seemed to think the treaty at an end, and resolved to make no offer at all on the part of his master. And so the conference brake up.

At the next meeting he offered three millions of livres, which according to the common account amounted to three hundred thousand pistoles, which the king's commissioners as much undervalued; so that any further conference was discontinued, till he had sent an express or two into France, and till their return: for as the expectation of a great sum of ready money was the king's motive to part with it, besides the saving the monthly charge; so they concluded that his necessities would oblige him to part with it at a moderate price. And after the return of the expresses, the king's commissioners insisting still upon what D'Estrades thought too much, and he offering what they thought too little, the treaty



seemed to be at an end, and he prepared for his return. In conclusion, his majesty being fully as desirous to part with it as the king of France could be to have it, it was agreed and concluded, "that upon the payment of five hundred thousand pistoles in specie at Calais to such persons as the king should appoint to receive it, his majesty's garrison of Dunkirk and Mardike should be withdrawn, and those places put into the hands of the king of France;" all which was executed accordingly. And without doubt it was a greater sum of money than was ever paid at one payment by any prince in Christendom, upon what occasion soever; and every body seemed very glad to see so vast a sum of money delivered into the Tower of London, as it was all together; the king at the same time declaring, "that no part of it should be applied to any ordinary occasion, but be preserved for some pressing accident, as an insurrection or the like," which was reasonably enough apprehended.

Nor was [there] the least murmur at this bargain in all the sessions of the parliament which sat after, until it fell out to some men's purposes to reproach the chancellor: and then they charged him "with advising the sale of Dunkirk, and that the very artillery, ammunition, and stores amounted to a greater value than the king received for the whole;" when upon an estimate that had been of all those, they were not esteemed to be more worth than twenty thousand pounds sterling; and the consideration of those, when the king's commissioners insisted upon their being all shipped for England, and the necessity of keeping them upon the place where they were, had prevailed with M. D'Estrades to consent to that sum of five hundred thousand pistoles. But whether the bargain was ill or well made, there could be no fault imputed to the chancellor, who had no more to do in the transaction than is before set down, the whole matter having been so long deliberated and so fully debated. Nor did he ever before, or in, or after the transaction, receive the value of half a crown for reward or present, or any other consideration relating to that affair: and the treatment he received after his coming into France was evidence enough, that that king never thought himself beholden to him.

A little before this time, the queen mother returned again for England, having disbursed a great sum of money in making a noble addition to her palace of Somerset-house. With the queen there came over a youth of about ten or a dozen years of age, who was called by the name of Mr. Crofts, because the lord Crofts had been trusted to take care of his breeding; but he was generally thought to be the king's son, begotten upon a private Welch woman of no good fame, but handsome, who had transported herself to the Hague, when the king was first there, with a design to obtain that honour, which a groom of the bed-chamber willingly preferred her to; and there it was this boy was born. The mother lived afterwards for some years in France in the king's sight, and at last lost his majesty's favour: yet the king desired to have the son delivered to him, that he might take care of his education, which she would not consent to. At last the lord Crofts got him into his charge; and the mother dying at Paris, he had the sole tuition of him, and took

care for the breeding him suitable to the quality of a very good gentleman. And the queen after some years came to know of it, and frequently had him brought to her, and used him with much grace; and upon the king's desire brought him with her from Paris into England, when he was about twelve years of age, very handsome, and performed those exercises gracefully which youths of that age used to learn in France. The king received him with extraordinary fondness, and was willing that every body should believe him to be his son, though he did not yet make any declaration that he looked upon him as such, otherwise than by his kindness and familiarity towards him. He assigned a liberal maintenance for him; but took not that care for a strict breeding of [him] as his age required.

The general, during the time of his command in Scotland, had acquaintance with a lady of much honour there, the countess of Weemes, who had been before the wife of the earl of Buccleugh, and by him had one only daughter, who inherited his very great estate and title, and was called the countess of Buccleugh, a child of eight or ten years of age. All men believed, that the general's purpose was to get this lady for his own son, a [match] suitable enough: but the time being now changed, the lord Lautherdale, being a good courtier, thought his countrywoman might be much better married, if she were given to the king for this youth, towards whom he expressed so much fondness, those kinds of extractions carrying little disadvantage with them in Scotland; and the general, whatever thoughts he had before, would not be so ill a courtier as not to advance such a proposition. The lady was already in possession of the greatest fortune in Scotland, which would have a fair addition upon the death of her mother.

The king liked the motion well; and so the mother was sent to, to bring up her daughter to London, they being then both in Scotland. And when they came, the king trusted the earl of Lautherdale principally to treat that affair with the mother, who had rather have been referred to any other body, having indeed some just exceptions. They were both yet under the years of consent; but that time drawing on, such a contract was drawn up as had been first proposed to the king, which was, "that the whole estate, for want of issue by the young lady, or by her death, should be devolved upon the young man who was to marry her, and his heirs forever; and that this should be settled by act of parliament in Scotland." Matters being drawn to this length, and writings being to be prepared, it was now necessary that this young gentleman must have a name, and the Scots advocate had prepared a draught, in which he was styled the king's natural son: and the king was every day pressed by the great lady, and those young men who knew the customs of France, to create him a nobleman of England; and was indeed very willing to be advised to that purpose.

Till this time, this whole matter was treated in secret amongst the Scots: but now the king thought fit to consult it with others; and telling the chancellor of all that had passed, shewed him the draught prepared by the Scots advocate, and asked him "what he thought of it," and likewise implied, "that he thought fit to give him some

"title of honour." After he had read it over, he told his majesty, "that he need not give him any other title of honour than he would enjoy by his marriage, by which he would by the law of Scotland be called earl of Buccleugh, which would be title enough; and he desired his majesty to pardon him, if he found fault with and disliked the title they had given him who prepared that draught, wherein they had presumed to style him the king's natural son, which was never, at least in many ages, used in England, and would have an ill sound in England with all his people, who thought that those unlawful acts ought to be concealed, and not published and justified. That France indeed had, with inconvenience enough to the crown, raised some families of those births; but it was always from women of great quality, and who had never been tainted with any other familiarity. And that there was another circumstance required in Spain, which his majesty should do well to observe in this case, if he had taken a resolution in the main; which was, that the king took care for the good education of that child whom he believed to be his, but never publicly owned or declared him to be such, till he had given some notable evidence of his inheriting or having acquired such virtues and qualities, as made him in the eyes of all men worthy of such a descent. That this gentleman was yet young, and not yet to be judged of: and therefore if he were for the present married to this young lady, and assumed her title, as he must do, his majesty might defer for some years making any such declaration; which he might do when he would, and which at present would be as unpopular an action in the hearts of his subjects as he could commit."

Though the king did not seem to concur in all that was said, he did not appear at all offended, and only asked him, "whether he had not conferred with the queen his mother upon that subject." When he assured him, "he had not, nor with any other person, and though he had heard some general discourse of his majesty's purpose to make that marriage, he had never heard either of the other particulars mentioned;" the king said, "he had reason to ask the question, 'because many of those things which he had said had been spoken to him by the queen his mother, who was entirely of his opinion, which she used not to be;' and concluded, 'that he would confer with them together,' seeming for the present to be more moved and doubtful in the matter of the declaration, than in the other of the creation; and said, 'there was no reason, since she brought all the estate, that she should receive no addition by her husband.' The queen afterwards took an occasion to speak at large to the chancellor of it with much warmth, and manifestation that she did not like it. But the king spake with neither of them afterwards upon it, but signed the declaration, and created him to be duke of Monmouth; very few persons dissuading it, and the lady employing all her credit to bring it to pass: and the earl of Bristol (who in those difficult cases was usually consulted) pressed it as the only way to make the king's friendship valuable.

Since the earl of Bristol is mentioned upon this occasion, it will not be unseasonable to give him

the next part in this relation. Though he had left no way unattempted to render himself gracious to the king, by saying and doing all that might be acceptable unto him, and contriving such meetings and jollities as he was pleased with; and though his majesty had been several ways very bountiful to him, and had particularly given him at one time ten thousand pounds in money, with which he had purchased Wimbleton of the queen, and had given him Ashdown-forest and other lands in Sussex: yet he found he had not that degree of favour and interest in the king's affections, as he desired, or desired that other people should think he had. The change of his religion kept him from being admitted to the council, or to any employment of moment. And whereas he made no doubt of drawing the whole dependance of the Roman catholics upon himself, and to have the disposal of that interest, and to that purpose had the Jesuits firm to him; he found that he had no kind of credit with them, nor was admitted by them to their most secret consultations, and that the fathers of the society had more enemies than friends amongst the catholics.

His estate had been sold and settled by his own consent, upon the marriage of his eldest son twice to great fortunes: so that when he returned from beyond the seas, he could not return to his estate as others did, and had little more to subsist upon than the king's bounty; and that was not poured out upon him in the measure he wished, though few persons tasted more of it. He was in his nature very covetous, and ready to embrace all ways that were offered to get money, whether honourable or no, for he had not a great power over himself, and could not bear want, which he could hardly avoid, for he was nothing provident in his expenses, when he had any temptation from his ambition or vanity. Besides, his appetite to play and gaming, in which he had no skill, and by which he had all his life spent whatever he could get, was not at all abated. He spent as much money at Wimbleton in building and gardening, as the land was worth.

By all these means he found himself in straits, which he could neither endure nor get from, and which transported him to that degree, that he resolved to treat the king in another manner than he had ever yet presumed to do. And having asked somewhat of him that his majesty did not think fit to grant, he told him, "he knew well the cause of his withdrawing his favour from him; that it proceeded only from the chancellor, who governed him and managed all his affairs, whilst himself spent his time only in pleasures and debauchery;" and in this passion upbraided him with many excesses, to which no man had contributed more than he had done. He said many truths which ought to have been more modestly and decently mentioned, and all this in the presence of the lord Aubigny, who was as much surprised as the king; and concluded, "that if he did [not give him satisfaction] within such a time," (the time allowed did not exceed four and twenty hours,) "he would do somewhat that would awaken him out of his slumber, and make him look better to his own business;" and added many threats against the chancellor. The king stood all this time in such confusion, that though he gave him more sharp words than

were natural to him, he had not that presentness of mind (as he afterwards accused himself) as he ought to have had; and said, "he ought presently to have called for the guard," it being in his own closet, "and sent him to the Tower."

The court and the town was full of the discourse that the earl of Bristol would accuse the chancellor of high treason, who knew nothing of what had passed with the king. And it seems when the time was past that he prescribed to the king to give him satisfaction, he came one morning to the house of peers with a paper in his hand; and told the lords, "that he could not but observe, that after so glorious a return with which God had blessed the king and the nation, so that all the world had expected, that the prosperity of the kingdom would have far exceeded the misery and adversity that it had for many years endured; and after the parliament had contributed more towards it, than ever parliament had done: notwithstanding all which, it was evident to all men, and lamented by those who wished well to his majesty, that his affairs grew every day worse and worse; the king himself lost much of his honour, and the affection he had in the hearts of the people. That for his part he looked upon it with as much sadness as any man, and had made inquiry as well as he could from whence this great misfortune, which every body was sensible of, could proceed; and that he was satisfied in his own conscience, that it proceeded principally from the power and credit and sole credit of the chancellor: and therefore he was resolved, for the good of his country, to accuse the lord chancellor of high treason; which he had done in the paper which he desired might be read, all written with his own hand, to which he subscribed his name."

The paper contained many articles, which he called Articles of High Treason and other Misdemeanors; amongst which one was, "that he had persuaded the king to send a gentleman (a creature of his own) to Rome with letters to the pope, to give a cardinal's cap to the lord Aubigny, who was almoner to the queen." The rest contained "his assuming to himself the government of all public affairs, which he had administered unskilfully, corruptly, and traitorously; which he was ready to prove."

The chancellor, without any trouble in his countenance, told the lords, "that he had had the honour heretofore to have so much the good opinion and friendship of that lord, that he durst appeal to his own conscience, that he did not himself believe one of those articles to be true, and knew the contrary of most of them. And he was glad to find that he thought it so high a crime to send to Rome, and to desire a cardinal's cap for a catholic lord, who had been always bred from his cradle in that faith: but he did assure them, that that gentleman was only sent by the queen to the pope, upon an affair that she thought herself obliged to comply with him in, and in hope to do some good office to Portugal; and that the king had neither writ to the pope, nor to any other person in Rome." He spake at large to most of the articles, to shew the impossibility of their being true, and that they reflected more upon the king's honour than upon his; and concluded, "that he

"was sorry that lord had not been better advised, for he did believe that though all that was alleged in the articles should be true, they would not all amount to high treason, upon which he desired the judges might be required to deliver their opinion; the which the lords ordered the judges to do." It was moved by one of the lords, "that the copy of the articles might be sent to the king, because he was mentioned so presumptuously in them;" which was likewise agreed; and the articles were delivered to the lord chamberlain to present to the king.

The chancellor had promised that day to dine in Whitehall, but would not presume to go thither till he had sent to the king, not thinking it fit to go into his court, whilst he lay under an accusation of high treason, without his leave. His majesty sent him word, "that he should dine where he had appointed, and as soon as he had dined that he should attend him." Then his majesty told him and the lord treasurer all that had passed between the earl of Bristol and him in the presence of the lord Aubigny; and in the relation of it expressed great indignation, and was angry with himself, "that he had not immediately sent him to the Tower, which," he said, "he would do as soon as he could apprehend him." He used the chancellor with much grace, and told him, "that the earl of Bristol had not treated him so ill as he had done his majesty; and that his articles were more to his dishonour, and reflected more upon him, for which he would have justice."

His majesty commanded the lord chamberlain to return his thanks to the house, "for the respect they had shewed to him in sending those articles to him;" and to let them know, "that he looked upon them as a libel against himself more than a charge against the chancellor, who upon his knowledge was innocent in all the particulars charged upon him;" which report the lord chamberlain made the next morning to the house; and at the same time the judges declared their opinion unanimously, "that the whole charge contained nothing of treason though it were all true." Upon which the earl of Bristol, especially upon what the lord chamberlain had reported from the king, appeared in great confusion, and lamented his condition, "that he, for endeavouring to serve his country upon the impulsion of his conscience, was discountenanced, and threatened with the anger and displeasure of his prince; whilst his adversary kept his place in the house, and had the judges so much at his devotion that they would not certify against him." The chancellor moved the house, "that a short day might be given to the earl, to bring in his evidence to prove the several matters of his charge; otherwise that he might have such reparation, as was in their judgments proportionable to the indignity." The earl said, "he should not fail to produce witnesses to prove all he had alleged, and more: but that he could not appoint a time when he could be ready for a hearing, because many of his most important witnesses were beyond the seas, some at Paris, and others in other places; and that he must examine the duke of Ormond, who was lieutenant in Ireland, and the earl of Lautherdale, who was then in Scotland, and must desire commissions to that purpose."

But from that day he made no further instance : and understanding that the king had given warrants to a sergeant at arms to apprehend him, he concealed himself in several places for the space of near two years ; sending sometimes letters and petitions by his wife to the king, who would not receive them. But in the end his majesty was prevailed with by the lady and sir Harry Bennet to see him in private ; but would not admit him to come to the court, nor repeal his warrants for his apprehension : so that he appeared not publicly till the chancellor's misfortune ; and then he came to the court and to the parliament in great triumph, and shewed a more impotent malice than was expected from his generosity and understanding.

We shall in the next place take a view of Scotland, whither we left Middleton sent the king's commissioner, who performed his part with wonderful dexterity and conduct, and with more success than some of his countrymen were pleased with. We have remembered before the debate upon his instructions, and the earnest advice and caution given by Lautherdale against any hasty attempt to make alteration in the matters of the church, which was at last left to the discretion of the commissioner, to proceed in such a manner, and at such a time, as he found most convenient. As soon as he came thither, he found himself received with as universal an exclamation, and the king's authority as cheerfully submitted to, as can be imagined or could be wished ; and such a consent to every thing he proposed, that he made no question but any thing his majesty required would find an entire obedience. The earl of Glen-carne, who was chancellor, and the earl of Rothes, and all the nobility of any interest or credit, were not only faithful to the king, but fast friends to Middleton, and magnified his conduct in all their letters.

The earl of Crawford alone, who was treasurer, which is an office that cannot be unattended by a great faction in that kingdom, retained still his rigid affection for the presbytery, when the ministers themselves grew much less rigid, and were even ashamed of the many follies and madnesses they had committed. But the earl of Crawford did all he could to raise their spirits, and to keep them firm to the kirk. In all other particulars he was full of devotion to the king, being entirely of the faction of Hamilton, and nearly allied to it ; and when the king was in Scotland had served him signally, and had then been made by him high treasurer of that kingdom ; and upon Cromwell's prevailing and conjunction with Argyle, was as odious as any man to them both, and had for many years been prisoner in England till the time of the king's return. There was always a great friendship between him and Lautherdale ; the former being a man of much the greater interest, and of unquestionable courage ; the other excelling him in all the faculties which are necessary to business, and a master in dissimulation.

Middleton, and the lords who went with him, and the general, (upon whose advice the king depended as much in the business of Scotland,) were all earnest with his majesty to remove the earl of Crawford from that great office, which would enable him to do mischief. But the king's good-nature prevailed over him, though he knew him as well as they did : and he thought it too

hardhearted a thing to remove a man, whom he found a prisoner for his service, from an office he had formerly conferred upon him for his merit, and which he had not forfeited by any miscarriage. And it may be it was some argument to him of his sincerity, that when others, who to his majesty's own knowledge were as rigid presbyterians as he, were now very frank in renouncing and disclaiming all obligations from it, he, of all the nobility, was the only man who still adhered to it, when it was evident to him that he should upon the matter be undone by it. However, the king sent him down with the rest into Scotland, being confident that he would do nothing to disserve him, as in truth he never did ; and that, when the business of the church came to be agitated, if he did continue still refractory, he would take the staff from him, and resolved to confer it upon Middleton : who, though all things were very fair between him and Lautherdale, to whom all his despatches must be addressed, yet depended more upon those of the English council, to whom the king had required the secretary to communicate all that he received from the commissioner, and all the despatches which he should make to him. And by this means no orders were sent from the king which restrained him from proceeding in the matter of the church according to discretion, as he was appointed by his instructions ; though Lautherdale did not dissemble, when letters came from Scotland " of the good posture the king's " affairs were in there, and that any thing might " be brought to pass that he desired," to receive other letters to which he gave more credit ; and was still as solicitous that nothing might be attempted with reference to the kirk.

As soon as the parliament was convened at Edinburgh, and the commissioner found the temper of them to be such as he could wish, the marquis of Argyle (who had been sent by sea from the Tower of London to Leith) was brought to his trial upon many articles of treason and murder ; wherein all his confederacies with Cromwell were laid open, and much insisted upon to prove his being privy to the resolution of taking the king's life, and advising it : and though there was great reason to suspect it, and most men believed it, the proofs were not clear enough to convict him. But then the evidence was so full and clear of so many horrid murders committed by his order upon persons in his displeasure, and his immediate possessing himself of their estates, and other monstrous and unheard of acts of oppression ; that the parliament condemned him to be hanged upon a gallows of an unusual height, and in or near the place where he had caused the marquis of Mountrose to be formerly executed : all which was performed the same day with the universal joy of the people ; the unfortunate person himself shewing more resolution and courage than was expected from him, and expressing much affection and zeal for the covenant, for which he desired all men should believe he was put to death. There was likewise one seditious preacher, Gilasp, who had been a notorious and malicious rebel against the last and the present king, underwent the same trial and judgment, with the same faith in the covenant, and without show of repentance. And it was much wondered at, that no more of that tribe, which had kindled the fire that had almost burned two kingdoms,

and never had endeavoured to extinguish it, were ever brought to justice; and that the lives of two men should be thought a sufficient sacrifice for that kingdom to offer for all the mischief it had done.

When this work was done, the parliament without hesitation repealed all those acts prejudicial to the crown and the royal dignity, which had been made since the beginning of the rebellion, and upon which all the rebellions had been founded; and branded their beloved covenant with all the reproaches it deserved, and this even with the consent and approbation of the general assembly of the kirk. By all which the obstructions were removed; and it was now in the power of the king to make bishops as heretofore, and to settle the church in the same government to which it had formerly been subject. But the commissioner thought not this enough; and apprehended that the king might yet be persuaded, though there was no such appearance, "that the people were against it, and that it would be better to defer it:" and therefore the parliament prepared a petition to the king, highly aggravating the wickedness of the former time in destroying episcopacy, without which they could not have brought their wicked devices to pass; and therefore they were humble suitors to his majesty, "that he would make choice of such grave divines, as he thought fit to be consecrated bishops, for all the vacant sees," they being at that time all vacant, there being not one bishop of the nation alive.

And the commissioner having declared that he meant to prorogue the parliament, they appointed a draught of an oath or subscription to be prepared against the next session, whereby every man, who was possessed of a church or any other ecclesiastical promotion in that kingdom, should be bound to renounce the covenant upon the penalty of being deprived; intimating likewise, that they resolved, at the next meeting, "that no man should be capable of holding any office, or of being a privy counsellor, who would not formally subscribe the same."

They settled a standing militia of forty thousand men, to be always ready to march upon the king's orders; and raised two good troops of horse, and provided for the payment of them; and granted such a sum of money to the king, as could be reasonably expected from so poor and harassed a country, and which would serve the defraying the necessary expenses thereof. And all this being done, and the prorogation made, the commissioner and some of the other lords came to London to kiss the king's hand, and to receive his further directions, having so fully despatched all his former orders. They brought likewise with them some other propositions, which will be mentioned anon.

The king received the commissioner with open arms, and was very well pleased with all that he had done; and nobody seemed to magnify it more than Lautherdale, who was least satisfied with it. Nor could he now longer oppose the making of bishops there: so having presented the names of such persons to the king who were thought fit to be consecrated bishops, whereof some had been with his majesty abroad, they were all sent for to London; and such of them who had not before received their ordination from a bishop,

but from the presbytery in Scotland, whereof the archbishop of St. Andrew's was one, first received orders of deacon and priest from the bishop of London, and were afterwards consecrated in the usual form by the bishops who were then near the town, and made so great a feast as if it had been at the charge of their country.

The commissioner, the chancellor, the earl of Rothes and others, with the lord Lautherdale, were deputed by the parliament to be humble suitors to the king; "since they had performed on their part all that was of the duty of good subjects, and were ready to give any other testimony of their obedience that his majesty would require; and since the whole kingdom was entirely at his devotion, and in such a posture that they were able as well as willing to preserve the peace thereof, and to suppress any seditious party that should attempt any disturbance; that his majesty would now remove the English garrisons from thence, and permit the fortifications and works, which had been erected at a vast charge, to be demolished, that there might remain no monuments of the slavery they had undergone." And thus they demanded as in justice due to them, "since there were few men now alive, none in the least power, who had contributed to the ills which had been committed; and all the men of power had undergone for ten or a dozen years as great oppression as could be put upon them, because they would not renounce their fidelity to the king: and since it had pleased God to restore his majesty, they hoped he would [not] continue those yokes and shackles upon them, which had been prepared and put upon them to keep them from returning to their allegiance."

This was proposed in the presence of those of the English council, who had been formally admitted to be of the council of Scotland, and continued to meet upon that affair. The Scots lords enlarged with much warmth "upon the intolerable oppression that nation had undergone, on the poverty they still suffered, and the impossibility of being able to bear any part of the charge, and the jealousy that it would keep up between the nations, which could not be to the king's profit and convenience." They had privately spoken before with the king upon it, and had prevailed with him to think what they desired had reason and justice in it; and the English lords could not upon the sudden, and without conference together, resolve what was fit for them to say: so that they desired, without expressing any inclination in the matter, "that the debate might be put off to another day;" which the Scots took very ill, as if the very deferring it were an argument that they thought it might be denied. But when they saw they would not presently speak to it, they were content that another day should be appointed for the consideration of it: and they afterwards desired the king, "that he would call the committee of the English council, who used to attend him in the most secret affairs, to consult what was to be done." Nobody could deny but that the Scots had reason to demand it. And they who thought it a bridle fit to keep in their mouths, to restrain them from future rebellions which they might be inclined to, could not easily resolve what answer should be given to them in the negative. And they who

thought the demand to be so just and reasonable, and so much for the king's benefit and advantage, that it ought to be granted, did believe likewise that it was a thing so capable of censure and reproach, in regard of the general prejudice which the English have against that people, that no particular person was able to bear the odium of the advice; nor that the king himself should take the resolution upon himself without very mature deliberation.

That which advanced the proposition as fit to be granted, was the charge of maintaining those forces; which that kingdom was so incapable of bearing, that Middleton and Glencarne (whose duties and entire devotion to the king were above all exception or suspicion) declared not only to the king, but to those of the lords with whom they would confer freely, "that if the king thought it necessary to keep that people still there, he must send more forces of horse and foot thither; otherwise they were not strong enough to subdue the whole kingdom, but would as soon as they stirred out of their garrisons be knocked in the head; nor would the country pay any thing towards their support, but what should be extorted by force: so that his majesty would not be thought to possess that kingdom in peace, which otherwise he would unquestionably do."

And this consideration was improved by the reflection upon the body of men of which those forces consisted, which was a parcel of the worst affected men to the king of the whole army, and which the general had therefore left in Scotland, when he marched into England under the command of major general Morgan, (who was worthy of any trust,) because he was not sure enough of their fidelity to take them with him, yet [thought them] fit enough to be left to restrain the Scots from any sudden insurrection. But now they saw all their model brought to confusion, they were not so much above temptation, but that they might, especially if they were drawn together, concur in any desperate design with a discontented party in Scotland, or with their brethren of the disbanded army of England, who at that season had rebellious resolutions in the north. And that which was of no small importance, there was at this very time an opportunity to transport all those forces (the very disbanding whereof would not be without danger for the reasons aforesaid) to Portugal, in compliance with the king's obligation upon his marriage.

On the contrary, it was very notorious that the people generally throughout England, of what quality soever, a few London presbyterians excepted, were marvellously pleased to see the Scots so admirably chastised and yoked; nor had Cromwell ever done an act that more reconciled the affections of the English to him, than his most rigorous treatment of that nation; and they never contributed money so willingly towards any of his designs, as for the erecting those forts in the several quarters of the kingdom; which, with a little addition of force, they had good experience would suffice to keep it from giving any disturbance to their neighbours. And the demolishing all those structures in one instant, and leaving an unquiet and an impoverished people to their own inclinations, could not be grateful.

The king had, during the time that he resided

in Scotland before his march to Worcester, contracted, and had brought with him from thence, a perfect detestation of their kirk and presbyterian government, and a great prejudice against the whole family of Argyle and some other persons. But he was exceedingly reconciled to the nation; and besides the esteem he had of the persons of very many noblemen, he did really believe the burgesses and common people to be as heartily affected to him, and as much at his disposal, as any subjects he had. And the lord Lautherdale cultivated this gracious credulity with so much diligence, that he assured the king, "that he might depend upon the whole Scots nation as upon one man, to be employed as one man in his service and commands of what kind soever, and against what enemy soever." His majesty upon the debate of this business declared, "that he did not only think it good husbandry in respect of the expense, and good policy, that he might keep Scotland entirely at his devotion, whilst Ireland remained in this confusion, and England itself was threatened by such factions in religion, to gratify them in what they desired; but that he held himself obliged in honour, justice, and conscience, to send all the forces out of that kingdom, and to deface the monuments of that time: and that there would be no more to be consulted, but what to do with those forces," (which was quickly resolved, that they should be all sent for Portugal; and order was presently given for ships upon which they were to be embarked,) "and then to consider in what method the other should be done."

The Scots were very well [satisfied] with the king's resolution upon the main, but troubled at somewhat that the English lords proposed for the way, "that the privy-council first, and then the parliament, should be informed of his majesty's intentions: which," they said, "would be against the honour and the interest and the right of Scotland, which never submitted any of their concerns to be debated at the council-board of England; and the innovation would be no less in remitting it to the parliament, which had no pretence of jurisdiction over them." To both which they were answered, "that the withdrawing the English forces, and demolishing the English fortifications, concerned England no less than the other kingdom; and that his majesty did not intend it should be proposed to them, as a thing of which he made any doubt or required their advice, but only as a matter of fact, which would prevent all murmurings or censures, which otherwise might arise." The English lords desired, "that the king's orders might be very positive, and that the commissioner might see them executed, for the utter demolishing all those fortifications which the English were to abandon, that they might not be continued for the entertainment of new garrisons of the natives, which would administer matter of new jealousies:" all which they cheerfully consented to, well knowing that they might afterwards perform what they found convenient; and many did since believe, that there remains enough in some of the places to be shelter to a rebellion hereafter.

The king appointed the chancellor to make a relation, at a conference between the two houses of parliament, "of the good posture his majesty's

"affairs of Scotland stood in; of their having repealed all those ill laws which had been made by the advantage of the rebellion, and all that concerned the church; upon which that his majesty forthwith resolved to settle bishops in that kingdom, which appeared very unanimously devoted to his service: and that the king could not but communicate this good news to them, which he knew would give them cause of rejoicing." And then he told them, "that the Scots parliament, in regard of the peace and quiet that they enjoyed, without the least apprehension of trouble from abroad or at home, had desired the king, that the English forces might be withdrawn and all the fortifications razed; and that those forces might be convenient, if his majesty thought fit, to be transported to Portugal;" without discovering what his majesty had resolved to do, or asking any opinion from them, which however they might have given if they pleased. The effect was, that both houses sent their humble thanks to the king "for his having vouchsafed to let them know the good condition of Scotland, of which they wished his majesty much joy; and hoped his other dominions would in a short time be in the same tranquillity:" without taking any notice of withdrawing the garrisons. And so that affair ended.

During this agitation in London, it was discernible enough that there were great jealousies between the Scots lords. The commissioner and the other had cause to believe, that the king gave much more credit to Lautherdale than to them, and looked upon him as a man of great interest in that country, when they knew he had none, being neither in his quality or fortune amongst those who were esteemed men of power and dependance. And he thought them linked in a faction against him, to lessen the value the king had of him, which indeed was the foundation of all his credit and interest. What countenance soever he set upon it, he was sensibly afflicted at the downfall of the presbytery, and that Middleton had brought that to pass without any difficulty, (as he had before told the king he would,) which he had assured his majesty was impossible to be effected but in long time and by many stratagems.

The marquis of Argyre had been a man universally odious to the whole nation, some ministers and preachers excepted: and there had been always thought to have been an implacable animosity from Lautherdale towards him; and after the king's return no man had appeared more against him, nor more insisted upon his not being admitted to his majesty's presence, or for his being sent into Scotland to be tried. Yet after all this it was discovered, that he had interposed all he could with his majesty to save him, and employed all his interest in Scotland to the same purpose. And the marquis was no sooner executed, but the earl of Lautherdale had prevailed with the king immediately to give his son, the lord Lorne, (who had remained in London to solicit on his father's behalf,) leave to kiss his hand, and to create him earl of Argyre, and to confer on him the office of general justice in the Highlands, by which his father had been qualified to do most of the wickednesses he had committed; all which the parliament of Scotland should [have treated as] the most sensible affront to them that they could undergo.

It was well known that this young man, who was captain of the king's guard when he was in Scotland, had treated his majesty with that rudeness and barbarity, that he was much more odious to him than his father; and in all the letters which Lautherdale had found opportunity to write, whilst he was a prisoner in England, to the king when he was beyond the seas, he inveighed equally against the son as the father, and never gave him any other title than, "That Toad's Bird:" so that nobody could imagine from whence this change could proceed, but from a design to preserve an interest in the presbyterian party against the time he should have occasion to use them.

Then there were circumstances in this grace of the king to the lord Lorne, that exceeded all men's comprehension: for his majesty caused all the estate of the marquis of Argyre, which did not appear in any degree so considerable as it was generally believed to have been, to be seized upon as forfeited to him; and then would grant it to the son so absolutely, that neither the owners should recover what had been injuriously and violently taken from them for their loyalty to the king, nor the creditors receive satisfaction for the just debts which were due to them, and which must have been satisfied if the king had retained the forfeiture. But upon the application of the commissioner and the other lords, that the king would hear all persons concerned, there was some mitigation in those particulars, notwithstanding all the opposition which Lautherdale did barefaced make on the behalf of the lord Lorne, and which the other bore with great indignation: which he knew very well, and did believe that the oath and subscription, which he well knew they had contrived for the next session of parliament, was levelled at him; that not taking it, as they did not believe he would do, the secretary of Scotland's place might become void, which they had much rather should have been in any man's hand than in his. And therefore he took all occasions to profess and declare, besides his constant raillery against the presbytery, "that if they should require him to subscribe that he is a Turk, he would do it before he would lose his office."

The matter of these offences being most in private, and so not publicly taken notice of, they made a fair show and kept good quarter towards each other. And the king consenting to all that the commissioner proposed with reference to the public, being indeed abundantly satisfied with his comportment, and at parting promising to give him the office of treasurer, when by Crawford's refusing to subscribe it should become void; they, with all their bishops, returned again for Scotland with incurable jealousy of Lautherdale, who remained waiting upon the king, and resolved to cross all their designs he could, and quietly to expect a better opportunity to undo what he could not for the present prevent.

It is time now to return to the parliament of England, which, according to the time of the prorogation, met again in March towards the entrance into the year 1664: when at their first meeting the king informed them at large of the insurrection that had been endeavoured in the summer before in Yorkshire, which, how foolishly soever contrived, was a very great instance of the distemper



of the nation; that three years after the disbanding of the army, the officers thereof should remain still so unquiet, as to hope to give any signal disturbance to the peace of the kingdom, by such a commotion as they could upon their credit raise.

The continual discourse of plots and insurrections had so wearied the king, that he even resolved to give no more countenance to any such informations, nor to trouble himself with inquiry into them; but to leave the peace of the kingdom against any such attempts to the vigilance of the civil magistrates, and the care of the officers of the militia, which he presumed would be sufficient to quell and suppress any ordinary fanatic design. And upon this resolution, and to avoid the reproach of the late times, of contriving plots only to commit men to prison against whom there was any prejudice, he totally neglected the first information he received of this seditious purpose. But when the intelligence was continued from several parts, and so particular for the time and place of the rendezvous, and for the seizing upon the city of York; and there was evidence that some men of estate and fortune, and who were held wary and discreet men, were engaged in it; his majesty thought it time to provide against it, and not only commended the care of it to the lords lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of the counties adjacent, but sent likewise several troops of his own horse to possess the city of York before the day appointed, and to attend some of the places of the rendezvous. And they came very seasonably, and surprised many upon the very place, before their company was strong enough to make resistance. Others did make some resistance, but quickly fled and were dispersed. Many were taken, and upon their examination behaved themselves as if they were sure to be quickly rescued; for it appeared that they did believe that the insurrection would have been general throughout the kingdom, and that all the disbanded army would have been brought together at several rendezvous.

All the prisons in the north were so full, that the king thought it necessary to send down four or five of the judges of the several benches of Westminster-hall to York, with a commission of oyer and terminer, to examine the whole matter. There, though the judges did not believe that they had discovered the bottom of the whole conspiracy, they found cause to condemn very many; whereof seventeen or eighteen were executed, some reprieved, and very many left in prison to be tried at the next assizes. Amongst those who were executed, the man who was most looked upon was one Rymer, of the quality of the better sort of grand-jurymen, and held a wise man, and was known to be trusted by the greatest men who had been in rebellion: and he was discovered by a person of intimate trust with him, who had heretofore the same affections with him, but would venture no more. He was a sullen man, and used few words to excuse himself, and none to hurt any body else; though he was thought to know much, and that having a good estate he would never have embarked in a design that had no probability of success. Some of the prisoners declared, "that they were assured by those who engaged them, that such and such great men would appear at the rendezvous or soon after." But that was not thought a sufficient ground to

trouble any man, though some of them were very liable to suspicion; since in all combinations of that kind, it is a most usual artifice to work upon weak men, by persuading them that other men, of whom they have great esteem, are engaged in it, who in truth know nothing of it.

The judges were returned from York little time before the parliament met; and therefore the king thought it fit to awaken them to much vigilance, by informing them with what secrecy that conspiracy had been carried. And his majesty assured them, "that he was not yet at the bottom of that business; and that it appeared manifestly, that this conspiracy was but a branch of that which he had discovered as well as he could to them about two years since, and had been then executed nearer hand, if he had not by God's goodness come to the knowledge of some of the principal contrivers, and so secured them from doing the mischief they intended."

His majesty told them, "that they would wonder (yet he said what was true) that they were now even in those parts, when they see their friends under trial and execution, still pursuing the same consultations: and it was evident that they had correspondence with desperate persons in most counties, and a standing council in London itself, from which they received their directions, and by whom they were advised to defer their last intended insurrection. But those orders served only to distract them, and came too late to prevent their destruction." He said, "he knew more of their intrigues, than they thought he did; and hoped he should shortly discover the bottom: in the mean time he desired the parliament, that they might all be as watchful to prevent, as they were to contrive their mischief." He said, "he could not upon this occasion omit to tell them, that these desperate men in their counsels (as appeared by several examinations) had not been all of one mind in the ways of carrying on their wicked resolutions. Some would still insist upon the authority of the long parliament, of which they say they have members enough willing to meet: others have fancied to themselves, by some computation of their own, upon some clause in the triennial bill, that this present parliament was at an end some months since; and that for want of new writs they may assemble themselves, and choose members for parliament; and that this is the best expedient to bring themselves together for their other purposes. For the long parliament," his majesty said, "that he and they together could do no more than he had done to inform and compose the minds of men; let them proceed upon that at their peril. But he thought there had been nothing done to disabuse men in respect of the triennial bill. He confessed that he had often himself read over that bill; and though there is no colour for the fancy of the determination of this parliament; yet he would not deny to them, that he had always expected that they would, and even wondered that they had not considered the wonderful clauses in that bill, which had passed in a time very uncareful for the dignity of the crown, or the security of the people." His majesty desired the speaker and the gentlemen of the house of commons, "that they would once give that triennial bill a read-



"ing in their house; and then in God's name they might do what they thought fit for him, themselves, and the whole kingdom." His majesty said, "that he needed not tell them how much he loved parliaments: never king was so much beholding to parliaments as he had been; nor did he think that the crown could ever be happy without frequent parliaments. But he wished them to assure themselves, that if he should think otherwise, he would never suffer a parliament to come together by the means prescribed by that bill."

He renewed his thanks to them "for the free supply they gave him the last session of four subsidies; yet he could not but tell them, that that supply was fallen much short of what he expected and they intended. That it would hardly be believed, yet they knew it to be true, that very many persons, who have estates of three or four thousand pounds by the year, do not pay for these four subsidies sixteen pounds: so that whereas they intended and declared, that they should be collected according to former precedents, they do not now arise to half the proportion they did in the time of queen Elizabeth; and yet sure the crown wants more now than it did then, and the subject is at least as well able to give." His majesty said, "the truth is, by the license of the late ill time, and ill humour of this, too many of the people, and even of those who make fair professions, believe it to be no sin to defraud the crown of any thing that is due to it. That they no sooner gave him tonnage and poundage, than men were devising all the means they could to steal custom; nor could the farmers be so vigilant for the collection, as others were to steal the duties. They gave him the excise, which all people abroad believed to be the most insensible imposition that can be laid upon a people: what conspiracies and combinations were entered into against it by the brewers, who he was sure did not bear the burden themselves, even to bring that revenue to nothing, they would hear in Westminster-hall. They had given him the chimney-money, which they had reason to believe was a growing revenue, for men build at least fast enough; and they would therefore wonder, that it was already declined, and that this half year brings in less than the former did." He desired them therefore, "that they would review that bill; and since he was sure that they would have him receive whatsoever they gave, that he might have the collecting and husbanding of it by his own officers, and then he doubted not but to improve that receipt, and he would be cozened as little as he could."

His majesty concluded with "desiring and conjuring them to keep a very good correspondence together, that it might not be in the power of any seditious or factious spirits to make them jealous of each other, or either of them jealous of him, till they see him pretend one thing and do another, which he was sure they had never yet done." He assured them, "it should be in nobody's power to make him jealous of them." And so desired them, "that they would despatch what they found necessary, that they might be ready for a session within two months or thereabout, because the

"season of the year would invite them all to take the country air."

It was very happy for his majesty, that he did cut out their work to their hand, and asked no money of them, and limited them a short time to continue together. It made their counsels very unanimous: and though they raised no new taxes and impositions upon the people, they made what they had before raised much more valuable to the king than it was before, by passing other acts and declarations for the explaining many things, and the better collecting the money they had formerly given; which much added to his majesty's profit without grieving the people, who were rather gratified in the remedies which were provided against frauds and cozenage.

The parliament had sat but very little more than ten days, when they presented a bill to his majesty for the repeal of the triennial bill, which he had recommended to them; and which was so grateful to him, that he came in person to the house to pass it and to thank them: and he told them, "that every good Englishman would thank them for it; for it could only have served to discredit parliaments, to make the crown jealous of parliaments and parliaments of the crown, and persuaded neighbour princes that England was not governed under a monarch." The truth is: it had passed in a very jealous and seditious time, when the wickedness was first in hatching, that ripened afterwards to a dismal perfection; and when all, who were sworn never to consent to the disherison of the crown, thought only of preserving their own inheritance which they had gotten, or improving it at the expense of the crown; and made it manifest enough, that it should wither, at least while it stood upon the head of that king; for at that time the conspiracy went no further, that is amongst those who had then credit to promote its passage, though they were weak men who thought it could rest there.

As they made this entrance, so they were wholly intent upon matters of moment, and despatched all they intended to do within the two months, in which the king desired they would be ready for a prorogation. And as there was greater order and unanimity in their debates, so they despatched more business of public importance and consequence, than any other parliament had done in twice the time: for, besides the repeal of the odious bill before mentioned, they made a very good additional bill for the chimney-money, which made that revenue much more considerable; and they passed likewise another bill against the frequenting of conventicles, which was looked upon as the greatest discountenance the parliament had yet given to all the factions in religion, and if it had been vigorously executed would no doubt have produced a thorough reformation. They made likewise a very good act, and very necessary for a time of such corruption, that had contracted new ways of dishonesty and villany that former times had not thought of, when many unworthy and cowardly masters of ships and seamen had been contented to be robbed, and to [suffer] all their owners' goods to be taken, upon an allowance made to them by the pirates; for the discovery and punishment whereof the law had not enough provided. They therefore presented a bill to the king, "for the discovery and punishment of all such treacherous and infamous

"actions; and for the reward of such honest and stout seamen, as should manfully and courageously defend their owners' goods, and therein maintain the honour of the nation."

All this they presented to his majesty, and was confirmed by his royal assent on the seventeenth of May; when his majesty, after giving such thanks to them as they deserved, told them, "he did not intend to bring them together again till the month of November, that they might enjoy the summer in the transaction of their own affairs: yet because there might some emergent occasion fall out, that might make him wish to find them together sooner, he would prorogue them only to August; and before the day they should have seasonable notice, by proclamation, not to give their attendance, except such occasion should fall out." And so they were prorogued to a day in August, but met not till November following.

During this short session of parliament, they, who were very solicitous to promote a war with Holland, forgot not what they had to do; but they quickly discerned that it was not a good season to mention the giving of money, (which the king himself had forborne to mention, that the people might see one session of parliament pass without granting new impositions, which they had not yet seen,) and therefore it would be as unseasonable to speak of a war. However, they made such an approach towards it, as might make a further advance much more easy.

The merchants in the committee of trade much lamented the obstructions and discouragements, which they had long found in their commerce by sea, and with other nations, and which were not removed even by the blessed return of the king; all which they imputed to the pride and insolence of the Hollanders, "who," they said, "observed no laws of commerce, or any conditions which themselves consented to. That by their fraud and practice the English were almost driven out of the East and West Indies, and had their trade in Turkey and in Africa much diminished. In sum, that besides many insufferable indignities offered by them to his majesty and to the crown of England, his subjects had in few years sustained the damage of seven or eight hundred thousand pounds sterling."

All which with some particular instances being reported from the committee of trade to the house, they had desired an audience from his majesty, and then presented this grievance to him, and desired his majesty, "that he would give such order in it, as to his wisdom should seem fit, that might produce just and honourable satisfaction." The king, who continued firm to his former resolution, answered them, "that he would transmit the address they had presented to him to his resident at the Hague, with order that he should inform the States of it, and require satisfaction, which he hoped the States General would yield unto, rather than they compel him to demand justice in another way." The answer pleased them well, nor could they wish that the prosecution should be put into a better hand than the resident's, who was a member of the house, and a man who had inflamed them more than the merchants themselves against the Dutch.

That resident was sir George Downing, a man of an obscure birth, and more obscure education,

which he had received in part in New England: he had passed through many offices in Cromwell's army, of chaplain, scoutmaster, and other employments, and at last got a very particular credit and confidence with him, and under that countenance married a beautiful lady of a very noble extraction, which was the fate of many bold men in that presumptuous time. And when Cromwell had subdued the Dutch to that temper he wished, and had thereupon made a peace with them, he sent this man to reside as his agent with them, being a man of a proud and insolent spirit, and [who] would add to any imperious command of his somewhat of the bitterness of his own spirit.

And he did so fully execute his charge in all things, especially when he might manifest his animosity against the royal party, that when the king himself had once, during his residence at Brussels, for his divertisement made a journey incognito, with not above four persons, to see Amsterdam, and from thence the towns of North Holland; Downing coming to have notice of it delivered a memorial to the States of Holland, wherein he enclosed the third article of their treaty, by which they were obliged "not to suffer any traitor, rebel, or any other person, who was declared an enemy to the commonwealth of England, to reside or stay in their dominions;" and told them, "that Charles Stuart and the marquis of Ormond had been lately in Amsterdam, and were still in some places adjacent;" and required "that they might not be permitted to remain in any part of their dominions." Whereupon the States of Holland sent presently to the princess royal, who was then at her country house at Hounslerdike, "that if her brother were then with her or should come to her, he should forthwith depart out of their province:" and not satisfied herewith, they published an order in the Hague to the same purpose, which was sent to Amsterdam and other towns according to their custom.

With this rude punctuality he behaved himself during the life of Cromwell, and whilst his son retained the usurpation; but when he saw him thrown out with that contempt, and that the government was not like to be settled again till there was a resort to the old foundation, he bethought himself how he might have a reserve of the king's favour. And the marquis of Ormond making about that time a journey incognito to the Hague, [to treat of] a marriage for his eldest son with a noble lady whose friends lived there, Downing found opportunity to have a private conference with him, and made offer of his service to the king, if his devotion might be concealed, without which it would be useless to his majesty. And for an earnest of his fidelity, he informed him of some particulars which were of moment for the king to know: amongst which one was, "that a person, who in respect of his very honourable extraction, and the present obligations himself had to the royal family, was not suspected, gave him, as he had long done, constant intelligence of what the king did, and of many particulars which in their nature deserved to be more secret, which he had always sent to Cromwell whilst he was living; but since his death, having a resolution to serve the king, he had never dis- served him, and would hereafter give him notice of any thing that it would be necessary [for

"him] to be informed of with reference to England or to Holland."

The marquis thought it very fit to accept of such an instrument, and promised him "to acquaint his majesty with his good affection, who he presumed would receive it graciously, and give him as much encouragement to continue it as his present condition would permit." To which the other replied, "that he knew the king's present condition too well to expect any reward from him: but if his majesty would vouchsafe, when he should be restored, to confirm to him the office he then held of a teller in the exchequer, and continue him in this employment he then had in Holland, where he presumed he should be able to do him more service than a stranger could do, he would think himself abundantly rewarded." Of all which when the marquis advertised the king at his return to Brussels, he had authority to assure him "of the king's acceptance, and that all that he expected should be made good."

This was the ground and reason, that when the king came to the Hague the year following to embark for England, he received Downing so graciously, and knighted him, and left him there as his resident; which they who were near the king, and knew nothing of what had passed, wondered at as much as strangers who had observed his former behaviour. And the States themselves, who would not at such a time of public joy do any thing that might be ingratul to his majesty, could not forbear to lament in private, "that his majesty would depute a person to have his authority, who had never used any other dialect to persuade them to do any thing he proposed, but threats if they should not do it, and who at several times had disoblged most of their persons by his insolence." And from the time of his majesty's departure from thence, he never made those representations which men in those ministeries used to do, but put the worst commentaries upon all their actions. And when he sat afterwards as a member of the house, returning still in the interval of parliament to his employment at the Hague, he took all opportunities to inveigh against their usurpations in trade; and either did or pretended to know many of their mysteries of iniquity, in opening of which he rendered himself acceptable to the house, though he was a voluminous speaker, which naturally they do not like.

When this province was committed to him of expostulation for the injuries sustained in several places from the Dutch, he had his wish, and used little modesty in the urging of it. They answered, "that most of the particulars of which he complained were put under oblivion by the late treaty, and that in consideration thereof they had yielded to many particulars for the benefit of the English; and that for the other particulars, they were likewise by the same treaty referred to a process in justice, of which they had yet no cause to complain: nor had there been any action pretended to be committed since the treaty was concluded," which was not many months before, "that might occasion a misunderstanding." And surely at this time when these things were urged all this was true: but he, according to the method he had been accustomed [to], insisted upon his own demands; and fre-

quently reproached them with their former submissions to Cromwell, and their present presumptions upon the goodness and generosity of the king.

It is without question, that the States General did, by the standard of their own wariness and circumspection, not suspect that the king did intend to make a war upon them. They well knew the straits and necessities in which his affairs stood, with reference to money, and to the several distempers of the nation in matters of religion, which might probably grow more dangerous if there were a foreign war; and concluded, that Downing's importunities and menaces were but the results of his own impetuosity, and that the king would not be solicitous to interrupt and part with his own peace. And therefore their own ships they sent out as they used to do, and those for the coast of Guinea better prepared and stronger than of course. Nor was the royal company less vigilant to carry on that trade, but about the same time sent a stronger fleet of merchants' ships than they had ever before done; and for their better encouragement the king lent them two of his own ships for a convoy.

And at this time they gave the king an advantage in point of justice, and which concerned all other nations in point of traffick and commerce. It had been begun by them in the East Indies; where after they had planted themselves in great and strong towns, and had many harbours well fortified, in which they constantly maintained a great number of good and strong ships; by which they were absolute masters of those seas, and forced the neighbour kings and princes to enter into such terms of amity with them as they thought fit to require. And if they found that any advantageous trade was driven in any port by any other nation, they presently sent their ships to lie before that port, and denounced war against the prince to whom that port belonged; which being done, they published a declaration, "that it should not be lawful for any nation whatsoever to trade in the territories of that prince with whom they then were in war." And upon this pretence they would not suffer an English ship, belonging to the East India company, to enter into a port to lade and take in a cargason of goods, that had been provided by their factors there before there was any mention or imagination of such a war, and of which there was no other instance of hostility than the very declaration. And at this time they transplanted this new prerogative to Guinea: and having, as they said, for there was no other evidence of it, a war with one of those princes, they would not suffer the English ships to enter into those harbours where they had always traded. The king received animadversion of this unheard of insolence and usurpation, and added this more just complaint to the former, and required his resident "to demand a positive renunciation of all pretence to such an odious usurpation, and a revocation of those orders which their officers had published." To this complaint and demand they deferred to make answer, till their ambassador had presented a grievance to the king.

One of those ships of war, which the king had lent to the royal company for the convoy of their fleet to Guinea, had in the voyage thither assaulted and taken a fort belonging to the Dutch near Cape Verde; which was of more incommodity to

them than of benefit to the English. Of this invasion their ambassador made a loud complaint, and demanded, "that the captain might be punished severely; and in the mean time that the king would give a present order to him, the ambassador, for the redelivery of the place and all that was in it, and he would send it to his masters, who would forthwith send a ship to demand it." The king had in truth heard nothing of it; and assured the ambassador, "that the captain, if he had done any such thing, had not the least commission or authority for the doing it; and that he was sure he was upon his way homeward, so that he might be expected speedily; and then he should be sure to undergo such punishment as the nature of his offence required, when the matter should be examined, and they should then receive full reparation." This answer, how reasonable soever, satisfied them not: nothing would serve [their] turn but a present restitution, before his majesty could be informed of the provocation or ground that had produced so unwarrantable an action. They gave present orders for the equipping a very great fleet, and the raising many land soldiers, making greater preparations for war than they had made in many years before. They likewise prepared a strong fleet for Guinea, and granted a commission (which was published in print) to the commander in chief, "to make war upon the English in those parts, and to do them all the mischief they could."

Prince Rupert, who had been heretofore with the fleet then under his command, in the beginning of the king's reign, upon the coast of Guinea, (and by the report and testimony he gave of that coast the royal company had received great encouragement,) and now upon this insolent demeanour of the Dutch, and publishing the commission they had sent to their commander in chief, he offered his service to the king, "to sail into those parts with such a fleet as his majesty thought fit to send, with which he made little doubt to secure trade, and abate the presumption of the Dutch." And hereupon a fleet was likewise preparing for that purpose, to be commanded by prince Rupert.

The parliament had before declared, when they made their address to the king against the Dutch for obstructing the trade, "that they would with their lives and fortunes assist his majesty against all oppositions whatsoever, which he should meet with in the removal of those obstructions;" which they believed would terrify, but in truth made the Dutch merry: and in some of their declarations or answers to Downing's memorials, they mentioned it with too much pride and contempt. And in this posture the disputes were when the parliament met again in November, which came together for the most part without a desire either to give money or make war. And Downing, who laboured heartily to incense us and to provoke them, in all his despatches declared, "that all those insolences proceeded only from the malignity of the States of Holland, which could vent itself no further than in words; but that the States General, without whose concurrence no war could be made, abhorred the thought of it:" and there is no doubt that was true. And the Dutch ambassador, who remained at London, and was a very honest weak man, and did all the offices he could to prevent it, did not

think it possible it could come to pass; "and that there might be some scuffles upon the coast of Guinea, by the direction of the West India company, of whose actions the States General took notice, but would cause justice to be done upon complaint, and not suffer the public peace to be disturbed upon their pretences." And so the king forbore to demand any supply from the parliament, because an ordinary supply would rather discredit his demands than advance them, and he could not expect an extraordinary supply but when the war was unquestionable. And the States General at this time were made a property by the States of Holland, (who had given private orders for their own concernments,) and presented an humble desire to the king by their ambassador, "that prince Rupert's fleet might stay in harbour, as theirs likewise that was prepared for Guinea should do, till some means might be found for the accommodation of all differences." Whereas before they pretended, that they would send their Guinea fleet through the Channel, convoyed by their admiral with a fleet of fifty sail; which report had before stopped prince Rupert, when he was under sail for Guinea, to wait and expect that piece of bravery. But this address from the States General made all men believe there would be an accommodation, without so much as any hostility in Guinea.

But it was quickly discovered, that they were the honestest men when they gave the worst words. For before the States General sent to the king to stop prince Rupert in harbour, "and that their fleets should likewise remain in their harbours," the States of Holland, or that committee that was qualified by them, had with great privacy sent orders to De Ruyter, who was in the Mediterranean, "to make all possible haste with his fleet to go to the coast of Guinea, and not only to retake the fort near Cape Verde that the English had taken from them, but likewise to take what places he could which were in possession of the English, and to do them what damage he could in those parts:" so that they might well offer that their fleet should now remain in their harbours in Holland.

When De Ruyter had been sent into the Mediterranean, the pretence was, that it was against the pirates of Algiers and Tunis, who had in truth preyed very much upon the Dutch, taken very many of their ships, and had abundance of their subjects in chains. And when that fleet was sent into the Mediterranean, their ambassador had desired the king, "that his majesty's fleet that was then in those parts might upon all occasions join with De Ruyter, when opportunity should be offered thereby to infest the Turks;" which the king consented to, and sent orders accordingly. But the Dutch had no such purpose: his business was to ransom their captives with money, and not to exact the delivery of them by force; and to make an accommodation for the time to come as well as he could. And when the English fleet was at any time in pursuit of any of the Turks' vessels, and expected that the Dutch, by whom they must pass, would have given a little stop to their flight, which they might easily have done; they rather assisted than obstructed their escape. And having made a very dishonourable peace with the pirates, he made haste to prosecute his orders for the coast of Guinea.

As soon as the king knew of this impudent affront, and that De Ruyter was in truth gone out of the Mediterranean, he thought he might justly seize upon any ships of theirs, to satisfy the damage that he could not but sustain by De Ruyter in Guinea: and so, it being the season of the year that the Dutch fleet returned with their wines from Bourdeaux, Rochelle, and other parts of France, such of them as were forced by the weather to put into the English harbours were seized upon. And the duke of York, having put himself on board with a fleet of about fifty sail, upon the report of the Dutch being come out to defend their ships, took many others, even upon their own coasts; which they chose rather to suffer, than to venture out of their ports to relieve them. However, there was not any one of all those ships suffered to be unladen, or any prejudice done to them; but they were all preserved unhurt, till notice might arrive from Guinea what De Ruyter had done there. But undoubted intelligence arrived in a very short time after, that De Ruyter had declared and begun the war upon the coast of Africa, not only by a forcible retaking the fort which had been taken from them, and which his majesty had offered to deliver, but by seizing upon several English ships in those parts, and by assaulting and taking other his majesty's forts and places, and exercising all the acts of hostility which his commission authorized [him] to do.

And in a very short time after, the East India company complained and informed the king, "that when their officer had demanded the redelivery of the isle of Poleroone according to the article of the late treaty, and delivered the letters and orders from the States General and States of Holland, which their ambassadors had given at London, to the governor and captain of that island; who, after making him stay two or three days there with his ship and the men he had brought with him, told him, that upon a better perusal of the orders which he had brought, he found that they were not sufficient; and therefore till he should receive fuller orders, he could not give up the place." And so the officer and ship, which had been sent at a great charge, were necessitated to return without any [other] effect than the affront and indignity to his majesty.

When there was now no remedy, and the war was actually made upon the king upon what provocation soever, there was nothing to be done but to resort to the parliament, which had been so earnest to enter into it. A fleet must be prepared equal to what the Dutch would infallibly make ready against the spring, and worthy of the presence of the duke of York, who was impatient to engage his own person in the conduct of it; and the king had given his promise to him that he should, when he had, God knows, no purpose that there should be a war. It was now quickly discovered, that there was not the same alacrity towards a war now, after it was begun, in the parliament, as there had been when they made their vote: and they would have been glad that any expedient might have been found for a reconciliation, and that the captain might have been called in question, who first gave offence by taking the fort from the Dutch near Cape Verde, which some had pressed for when he came home, before any more mischief [was] done; and the

not calling him in question made many believe, that he had done nothing without warrant or promise of protection.

The Dutch still disclaimed all thought or purpose of war, and seemed highly offended with their governor of Poleroone, and protested, "that the not-delivery of the place proceeded only from want of an order from the governor of Batavia, which order came the next day after the English ship was departed: but that they had given notice of it to the English factory at Bantam, that the same or another English ship might return and receive it; and they were confident that it was then in the hand of the English." But it was now too late to expect any honourable peace, at least without making very notable preparations for a war, which [could] not be done without ready money. And whatever orders had been given for the preservation of the Dutch ships, it quickly appeared that much of them had been embezzled or disposed of, before they were brought to any judicatory, or adjudged to be prize; and there was too much cause to fear, that the rest would be disposed of to other purposes than the support of the war; though nothing was more positively spoken, than that the war would maintain itself.

The parliament still promised fairly, and entered upon consultation how and what money to raise. And now the king commanded the chancellor and the treasurer to meet with those members of the house of commons, with whom they had used to consult, and to whom the king had joined others upon whom he was told he might more depend, and to adjust together what sum should be proposed, and how and in what manner to propose and conduct it. It was about the month of January. And though the duke took indefatigable pains, by going himself sometimes to Portsmouth and sometimes to Chatham, to cause the ships and all provisions to be ready, that he might be at sea before the Dutch; yet let what advance could be made, as indeed there was great, nothing could be said to be done, till a great stock of ready money could be provided; and it would be long after the parliament had done their part, before ready money would be got; and therefore no more time must be lost, without taking a particular resolution.

The meeting of those persons the king appointed was at Worcester-house, where the chancellor and treasurer (who were known to be averse from the war) told the rest, "that there was no more debate now to be, war or no war: it was come upon us, and we were now only to contrive the best way of carrying it on with success; which could only be done by raising a great present sum of money, that the enemy might see that we were prepared to continue it as well as to begin." They who were most desirous of the war, as sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Coventry, (who were in truth the men who brought it upon the nation,) with their friends, were of the opinion, "that there should not be a great sum demanded at present, but only so much as might carry out the fleet in the spring, and sufficient provisions might be made for the summer service: and then, when the war was once thoroughly entered into, another and a better supply might be gotten about Michaelmas, when there was reason to hope, that

"some good success would dispose all men to a frank prosecution of the war." Whereas these gentlemen had hitherto inflamed the king with an assurance, "that he could not ask more money of the parliament than they would readily give him, if he would be engaged in this war which the whole kingdom so much desired."

The chancellor and the treasurer were of opinion, "that the house of commons could never be in a better disposition to give, than they were at present; that hereafter they might grow weary, and apt to find fault with the conduct, especially when they found the country not so well pleased with the war as they were now conceived to be: whereas, now the war was begun, and the king engaged in it as much as he could be after ten battles, and all upon their desire and their promise; they could not refuse to give any thing proposed within the compass of that reason, which all understanding men might examine and judge of. That it was evident enough, that the true ground of all the confidence the Dutch had was from their opinion of the king's necessities and want of money, and their belief that the parliament would supply him very sparingly, and not long to continue such an expense, as they very well knew that a war at sea would require: and they would be much confirmed in this their imagination, if at the beginning they should see the parliament give him such a sum of money, as seemed to be implied by what had been said. That they therefore thought it absolutely necessary, that the king should propose as much, that is, that his friends should move for such a sum, as might upon a reasonable computation, which every man would be ready to make, and of which wise men upon experience would easily make an estimate, carry on the war for a full year; that is, for the setting out the present fleet and paying it off upon its return, and for the setting out another fleet the next spring. If this were now done, his majesty would not be involved in importunate necessities the next winter; but he might calmly and deliberately consult upon such further supplies, as the experience of what would be then past should suggest to be necessary: and that this would give his majesty such a reputation with all his neighbours, and such terror to his enemies, that it would probably dispose them to peace."

They told them, "the best method to compute what the expense might amount to in a year, would be by reflecting upon the vast disproportion of the charge we were now already engaged in, and what had been estimated four months since, when the war was designed. That it was well known to Mr. Coventry, who had been always present at those conferences, that it had been said by the most experienced sea-officers, and those who had fought all the late battles against the Dutch, that a fleet of forty or fifty such ships, as the king's were, would be strength sufficient to beat all the ships the Dutch had out of the narrow seas; and one very eminent man amongst them said, he would not desire above fifty ships to fight with all they had, and that he was confident that a greater number than fifty could never be brought to fight orderly or usefully: and yet that there were at present no fewer than fourscore good ships

"preparing for the duke. And the charge in many other particulars appeared already to amount to double the sum that was first computed."

They concluded, "that a less sum than two millions and a half" (which is five and twenty hundred thousand pounds sterling) "ought not to be proposed, and being once proposed ought to be insisted on and pursued without consenting to any diminution; for nobody could conceive that it would do more than maintain the war one year, which the parliament could not refuse to provide for in the beginning, and there being already so much in truth of it already expended in the preparations and expedition the duke had made in November, when he went to sea upon the fame of the Dutch fleet's intention to convoy their Guinea ships through the channel."

There was not a man in the company, who did not heartily wish that that sum or a greater might be proposed and granted: but they all, though they agreed in few other things, protested, "that they could not advise that so prodigious a sum should be as much as named; and that they did not know any one man, since it could not be thought fit that any man who had relation to the king's service should move it, who had the courage to attempt it, or would be persuaded to it."

The two lords continued very obstinate, "that a less sum should not be named for the reasons they had given," which the other confessed to be just; and they acknowledged too, "that the proposition ought not to be made by any man who [was] related to the court, or was thought to be in any grace there that might dispose him, nor yet by any gentleman, how well soever thought of, who was of a small estate, and so to pay little of so great a sum he was so liberal to give." They therefore desired them "to name some of those members, who were honest worthy men, and looked upon as lovers of their country, and of great fortunes, unsuspected to have any designs at court; and if they were not enough acquainted with them, the lords would find some way by themselves or others to move them to it." Whereupon they named five or six persons very well known, of whom the house had a very good esteem, but without any hope that either of them would be prevailed with to undertake it. The lords said, "they would try what might be done, and give them notice the next day, that if it were possible it might be the business of the following day."

The chancellor and the treasurer chose three Norfolk gentlemen of those who had been named, because they were good friends and grateful to each other, and desired them the next day "that they might confer together." They told them, "they knew well the state of affairs; the parliament had engaged the king in a war, that could not be carried on without a vast expense: and therefore if at the entrance into it there should be a small or an ordinary supply given, it would blast all their hopes, and startle all other princes from joining, with whom the Dutch were not in favour, and who would be inclined to the king, if they saw such a provision for the war as would be sufficient to continue it for some time. And therefore they desired to confer with them,

"who upon all occasions manifested good affections to the king, and whose advice had a great influence upon the house, upon the whole matter how it might be conducted." They all consented to what had been said, and promised their own concurrence and utmost endeavours to compass what the king should desire. The lords said, "they promised themselves more from them, and that they would not only concur, but propose what should be necessary to be granted." And thereupon they enlarged upon the charge which was already in view, and upon what was to be expected, and concluded "that two millions and a half were necessary to be insisted on;" and desired, "that when the debate should be entered upon, which they hoped might be the next day, one of them would propose this sum and the other would second it."

They looked long one upon another, as if they were surprised with the sum. At last one of them said, "that the reasons were unanswerable for a liberal supply; yet he did not expect that so prodigious a sum, which he believed had never yet been mentioned in parliament to be granted at one time, would be proposed: however, he did not think it too much, and that he would do the best he could to answer any objections which should be made against it, as he doubted many would; but he confessed he durst not propose it." Another was of the same mind, and with many good professions desired to be excused as to the first proposing it. The third, who was sir Robert Paston, a person of a much greater estate than both the other, who had yet very good fortunes, and a gentleman of a very ancient extraction by his father, (and his mother was daughter to the earl of Lindsey,) declared very frankly, "that he was satisfied in his conscience, that it would be very good for the kingdom as well as for the king that such a sum should be granted: and therefore if they thought him fit to do it, he would propose it the next morning, let other men think what they would of him for it."

The lords gave him the thanks they ought to do, and said what was necessary to confirm him, and to thank the other gentlemen for their promise to second him, and gave notice to the rest of the resolution, that they might call for the debate the next day; which was entered into with a general cheerfulness, every man acknowledging the necessity and the engagement of the house, but no man adventuring to name the proportion that should be given. When the house was in a deep silence expecting that motion, sir Robert Paston, who was no frequent speaker, but delivered what he had a mind to say very clearly, stood up, mentioned shortly the obligation, the charge of the war, and "that the present supply ought to be such as might as well terrify the enemy as assist the king; and therefore he proposed that they might give his majesty two millions and a half, which would amount to five and twenty hundred thousand pounds." The silence of the house was not broken; they sat as in amazement, until a gentleman, who was believed to wish well to the king, without taking notice of what had been proposed, stood up, and moved that they might give the king a much less proportion. But then the two others, who had promised to second, renewed the motion one after

the other; which seemed to be entertained with a consent of many, and was contradicted by none: so that, after a short pause, no man who had relation to the court speaking a word, the speaker put it to the question, "whether they would give the king five and twenty hundred thousand pounds for the carrying on the war against the Dutch;" and the affirmative made a good sound, and very few gave their negative aloud, and it was notorious very many sat silent. So the vote was presently drawn up into an order; and the house resolved the next day to be in a committee, to agree upon the way that should be taken for the raising this vast sum, the proportion whereof could no more be brought into debate.

This brave vote gave the king the first liking of the war: it was above what he had expected or indeed wished to be proposed. And they, who had been at the first conference, and delivered the resolution of the two lords as impossible to be compassed, not without insinuation as if it were affected only to indispose the house to the war, (yet they did not think fit to vary from the proportion, till they saw the success of the proposition, which the lords were engaged to procure a fit person to make,) when they found the conclusion to be such as could be wished, they commended the counsel, and fell into another extreme, that in the thing itself and in the consequence did very much harm; which shall be next mentioned, after I have said that there appeared great joy and exaltation of spirit upon this vote, and not more in the court than upon the exchange, the merchants generally being unskilfully inclined to that war, above what their true interest could invite them to, as in a short time afterwards they had cause to confess.

The king sent to the lord mayor to call a common council, and commanded the chancellor, treasurer, and other lords of his council, to go thither; who, upon the credit of this vote of the house of commons for this noble supply, prevailed with the city presently to furnish the king with the loan of two hundred thousand pounds; which being within few days paid into the hands of the treasurer of the navy, all preparations for the fleet, and of whatever else was necessary for the expedition, were provided with marvellous alacrity: and the parliament made what haste was possible to despatch the bill, by which their great present might be collected from the people.

It hath been said before, that in most vacant places, upon the death of any members, ways were found out to procure some of the king's domestic servants elected in their places; so that his majesty had many voices there at his devotion; which did not advance his service. These men confidently ran out of the house still to inform the king of what was doing, commended this man, and discommended another who deserved better; and would many times, when his majesty spake well of any man, ask his majesty "if he would give them leave to let that person know how gracious his majesty was to him, or to bring him to kiss his hand." To which he commonly consenting, every one of his servants delivered some message from him to a parliament-man, and invited him to court as if the king would be willing to see him. And by this means the rooms at court, where the king was, were always full of the members of the house of commons; this man brought



to kiss his hand, and the king induced to confer with that man, and to thank him for his affection, which never could conclude without some general expression of grace or promise, which the poor gentleman always interpreted to his own advantage, and expected some fruit from it that it could never yield: all which, being contrary to all former order, did the king no good, and rendered those unable to do him service who were inclined to it.

The new secretary, and sir Charles Berkley, who by this time was entered very far into the king's favour and his confidence, were the chief, and by their places had access to him in all places and hours: and they much disliked the officiousness of the others, as if they presumed to invade their province. They thought it but their due, that the king should take his measures of the house of commons by no other report but theirs, nor dispense his graces there through any other conduit. They took this occasion to caress sir Robert Paston, who was a stranger to them, and to magnify the service he had done the king, and the great sense the king had of it, and [that he] did long to give him his own thanks: they invited him to come to the court, and sir Charles Berkley told him as from the king, "that his majesty resolved to make him a baron." And by these daily courtships and importunities the gentleman, who was well satisfied with what he had done, and never proposed any advantage to himself from it, was amused, and thought he was not to refuse any honour the king thought him worthy of, nor to neglect those graces which were offered to him by persons of their interest. Yet he made not haste to go to the court, believing that it might make him less capable of serving the king, and that any favour his majesty should do him would be more seasonable hereafter than at present, lest he might be thought to have made that motion in the house upon promise of the other reward. Yet after continued invitations he went thither, and those gentlemen presented him to the king, who spake very graciously to him, told him, "he had done him great service, which he would never forget," and many other princely expressions, and "that he should be glad to see him often," but no particular to that purpose which had been mentioned to him.

When he went next, he found his majesty's countenance the same: but they, who had courted and amused him so much, grew every day more dry and reserved towards him; of which he complained to a friend of his who he knew had interest in the chancellor, and desired him to acquaint him with all that had passed, who had not till then heard that he had been at court, and when he was informed of the whole relation was very much troubled, well knowing, that how acceptable soever those kinds of courtships were for few days, they were attended with many inconveniences when the end was not correspondent with the beginning. He knew well the resolution the king had taken to create no more noblemen, the number whereof already too much exceeded: however, he was very sorry, that a person of that quality and merit should be exposed to any indignity, for having endeavoured in such a conjuncture to do his majesty a signal service, and succeeded so well; and spake with the king at large of it, and gave his majesty a full account of the modesty

and temper of the gentleman, of his quality and interest, and what had been said and promised to him. The king was troubled, owned all that he had said himself to him, as being very hearty, and "that he would never forget the service he had done, but requite it upon any opportunity;" but protested, "that he had never made any such promise, nor given sir Charles Berkley any authority to mention any such thing to him, which would prove very inconvenient;" and therefore wished, "that his friend would divert him from prosecuting such a pretence, which he knew to be contrary to his resolution."

The chancellor knew not what to say, but truly advertised his friend of all the king had said, who again informed sir Robert Paston, who thought himself very hardly treated, and went to sir Charles Berkley, who had not the same open arms, yet assured him, "that he had said nothing to him but by the king's direction, which he must aver." That he did not use to interpose or move the king in any of his affairs: but if he would desire the chancellor to take notice of it, who he knew had a great affection for him, and upon whose desire he had performed that great service, he was confident it would be attended with the success he wished, to which he would contribute all his endeavours;" intimating, "that if he had not what he desired, he might impute it to the chancellor." Upon which sir Robert, who was well assured of the chancellor's kindness, concluded that his court friends had deluded him, or expected money, which he would not give: and so the matter ended with prejudice to the king.

Notwithstanding these and the like very inconvenient activities, which lost more friends than were gotten by them, the noise of this stupendous supply, given to the king at one time, made good impressions upon all who had any affections for the king, and was wondered at in those places where money was most plenty. In Holland it wrought even to consternation, and the common people cried aloud for peace, and the States pretended to have great hope as well as desire of it, and sent their ambassador, who remained still in England, new orders to solicit it.

In the mean time the king neglected not to apply what endeavours he could use, to dispose his allies to act such parts as their own interest might reasonably invite them to. From France he expected only neutrality, by reason he knew he had renewed the alliance with the States; but never suspected, that it was in such a manner as would hinder the neutrality. Spain could do little good or harm, nor durst it to engage against Holland: yet all was done that was necessary towards a good correspondence with it. The two northern kings would find themselves concerned, at least to wish better to one side than to the other; and had been both so disobliged by the Dutch, that had it not been for the irreconcilable jealousy they had of each other, they might have been united to the interest of England. But Denmark had in the late war given what they could not keep nor recover, and yet could hardly be without; and Sweden looked with too much contempt upon the weakness and inactivity of their neighbour, to give back any thing they had got: and this restrained them both from provoking an enemy that might give strength to the other.



Yet Denmark had the year before by Hannibal Zested, who went ambassador into France and made England his way, made many complaints to the king "of the oppression the crown of Denmark underwent by the Dutch, and the resolution it had to shake off that yoke as soon as an opportunity should be offered;" and made a request to the king, "that he would endeavour to make the alliance so fast between Denmark and Sweden, that the jealousy of each other might hinder neither of them from doing any thing that was for their own interest, without prejudice to the other." And when the difficulty was alleged, in regard that Sweden would never be persuaded to part with Elsinour, and those other places which had been given up in the late treaty; Hannibal Zested consented that what was done in that treaty should be again confirmed, and said "his master was willing and desirous that the king of England should undertake and be cautious for the observation of this treaty;" implying, "that if this were done, and thereby the fear of any further attempt from Sweden were extinguished, Denmark would not be long without redeeming itself from the vexation which it endured from Holland, which, upon former necessities and ill bargains, upon the matter had an exemption from paying all duties upon their own great trade through the Sound, as much to the prejudice of all other princes as of the poor crown of Denmark." This having so lately passed from a minister of that crown, the king thought it a good time to endeavour to do that office between the two crowns, and thereby to unite them both to the king in this conjunction against the Dutch; at least that they might both remain good friends to his majesty, and supply him with all those provisions without which his navy could not be supported, and as far as was possible restrain the Dutch from those supplies, by making such large contracts with the English, that there would not be enough left for the other.

Upon this ground he sent Mr. Henry Coventry of his bedchamber to the Swede, whose friendship he much more valued as more able to assist him, and upon whose word he could more firmly depend. And to Denmark he sent sir Gilbert Talbot, who was acceptable to that crown by his having performed many offices of respect to the prince of Denmark, when he had been incognito in England, and waited upon [him] to several parts of the kingdom which he had a mind to see, and so caused him to be entertained in several gentlemen's houses in his journey, of which the prince seemed very sensible when he departed. That which was expected from that negotiation, except the confidence could be created between the two crowns, was only to preserve Denmark a friend, that he might not favour the Dutch, and might recall all his subjects out of their service; and that we might have the same freedom of trade, and the security of his ports for our men of war.

Whilst the king took this care for the advancement of his affairs abroad, there was an advantage offered him, that looked as if it came from Heaven. There came one day a gentleman, who looked rather like a carter, who spoke ill English, and desired that he might have a private audience with the chancellor; who presently sent for him, and in a short time knew him to be a Benedictine monk, who had been sometimes with him at

Cologne, and belonged to the English abbey at Lamspring in Westphalia, where a very reverend person of the family of Gascoigne in Yorkshire was abbot, with whom the chancellor had much acquaintance, and esteemed him very much; and he had, during the time the king stayed in Cologne, sent this monk several times thither, who was likewise a gentleman, but by living long in Germany had almost forgot the language as well as the manners of his own country. His business now was to deliver him a letter (whereof he knew little of the contents) from the bishop of Munster, upon the edge of whose dominions that English abbey was seated, which had likewise a territory that extended to the principality of the other, and received much favour and protection from the other; who desired the abbot to give him an honest man, that would carry a letter from him to the court of England: upon which this monk was deputed, the rather because he was known to the chancellor. The matter of the letter was no more, than "that if the war against Holland was to be resolutely prosecuted by the king of England, he (the bishop) conceived that a conjunction with those allies, who could infest the Dutch by land as his majesty would do by sea, might not be unacceptable to his majesty; and in that case, upon the answer to this letter, he would send a fit person to make some propositions to the king and to treat with him." The instructions the monk had, were "to make all possible haste back, and that as soon as he returned on that side the sea, he should send the answer he had received, by the post, so directed as was appointed; and then that himself should stay at Brussels till he received further orders."

The chancellor quickly informed the king of this despatch, to whom the monk was likewise known; and his majesty immediately assembled those lords with whom he consulted in the most secret cases. Every body knew so much of the bishop of Munster, that he was a warlike prince, having had command in armies before he dedicated himself to the church, and that he had a great animosity against Holland, which had obliged him in the highest point, by encouraging his subjects to rebel against him, and those of his city of Munster to shut their gates against him: and when he endeavoured to reduce them by force, and to that purpose had besieged them with his army, the Dutch sent an army to relieve it, and declared that they would protect that city. And by this means, and by the mediation of the neighbour princes, who had no mind that the peace of their country should be disturbed by such an incursion, the bishop was hindered from taking that vengeance upon his rebel subjects which he intended, and compelled to accept of such conditions as did not please him. And all this was but two years before, and boiled still in his breast, that was naturally very hot. But he was a poor prince, unable to give any disturbance to the United Provinces, whose dominions extended within a day's march of his. However, every man was of opinion, that the proposition ought to be very kindly received, and the bishop invited to send his agent. And to that purpose the chancellor wrote to him, and the monk was despatched the next day. And having observed his orders in sending away the answer, he was very few days at Brussels, when a servant of the

bishop arrived with orders that the monk should accompany him back into England: and so they both arrived in London in less time than could be expected.

The gentleman who came from the bishop was a very proper man, well-bred, a baron of that country, but a subject to the bishop: he brought with him a letter of credit from the bishop to the king, and full authority to treat and conclude according to his instructions, which he likewise presented to his majesty. He brought likewise a letter to the chancellor from the elector of Mentz, in which he recommended to him the person whom the bishop of Munster should send, and declared "that he believed the bishop of Munster would be able to perform whatsoever he should undertake:" which letter was a very great encouragement to the king: for his majesty knew the elector of Mentz very well to be a very wise prince and notoriously his friend, and that he would not say so much of the ability of the bishop to perform, except he knew particularly his design, and what he would undertake to do.

The baron's instructions were to propose, "that his majesty would cause one hundred thousand pounds to be immediately paid, by bills of exchange at Hamburgh or Cologne or Francfort, to such persons as the bishop should appoint to receive it; and should promise to pay fifty thousand pounds by the month in the same places for three months to come: afterwards he hoped the army would provide for its own support. This being undertaken on his majesty's part, the bishop would be engaged, within one month after the first bills of exchange for the one hundred thousand pounds should be delivered into the hands of his agent the baron, that he would be in the dominions of the States General with an army of sixteen thousand foot and four thousand horse; with which he was very confident he should within few days be possessed of Arnheim, and shortly after of Utrecht: and if the king's fleet came before Amsterdam, that army of the bishop should march to what place or quarter his majesty should direct."

The baron was asked, "how it could be possible for the bishop, though a gallant prince and very active, to draw together such an army in so short a time out of his small province; and how he was sure that his neighbours, who two years before had compelled him to make so disadvantageous a peace with the Dutch, would not again use the same violent importunity to obstruct his proceedings." To which he answered, "that the bishop would never undertake to bring such an army together in so short a time, in which they could not be levied, but that he knows they are already levied, and upon an assurance of money can be brought together in the short time proposed: for the other, the interposition of his neighbours, he had not then, when they prevailed, half that army which he was sure he should now have; besides, those neighbours were now as much incensed against the Dutch as his master was, and would all engage with him against them; and that many of the army that is designed were at present quartered in their dominions; and that the bishop intended not to march in his own private capacity, but as general of the empire, for which the elector of Mentz had undertaken to

"procure him a commission." He was demanded "how his master stood with France, and whether he did not fear that it would either prevent the enterprise by mediation, or disappoint it by sending aid to Holland." He answered, "his master was confident France would not do him any harm: that he had sent an agent, from whom he should be sure to receive letters by every post." And within few days after, he shewed a letter that he had received from that agent, in which he said, "that Monsieur de Lionne bade him assure the bishop, that his Christian majesty would do nothing to his prejudice."

This being the state of that affair, the king considered what he was to do. The propositions made by the bishop were such, as it was not possible for him to comply with. But then it was presumed by every body, that very much would be abated of the money that was demanded: for it was not an auxiliary army that was to be raised for the king's service, whose conquests were to be applied to his benefit, but an army raised to revenge the injuries which himself had received, and what he should get must be to his own account; and his majesty's hostility at sea would as much facilitate his enterprise at land, as the marching of his army might probably disturb and distract their preparations for the sea. Yet it could not be expected, that the bishop could draw this army together (and the attempt was not to be made with less force) without a good supply of money, nor keep it together without pay.

The advantage, that would with God's blessing attend this conjunction, spread itself to a very large prospect. That the people generally in the provinces were very unsatisfied with this war, was a thing notorious; and that the province of Holland which began it, and was entirely governed by De Wit, did even compel the other provinces to concur with them, partly upon hope that a further progress would be prevented by treaty, or that a peace would follow upon the first engagement. But when they should see an army of twenty thousand men, which they suspected not, to invade their country at land, and in that part where they were most secure, and from whence so much of their necessary provisions were daily brought; they must be in great consternation, and draw all their land army together, which they had not done in near twenty years, and could not be done to any effect without vast charge, which would put the people into a loud distraction. Finally, there was great reason to cherish the design: and therefore the king resolved by an unanimous advice to undertake any thing towards it, that could be in his power to perform.

There was one difficulty occurred, that had not been thought of nor so much as apprehended by the baron, which was the return of the money, whatsoever should be assigned to that service; for of the three places proposed by him, besides the secrecy that was requisite, all the trade of London could not assign one thousand pounds in the month to be paid upon Cologne and Francfort; nor could Hamburgh itself be charged with twenty thousand pounds in three months' time: which when the agent knew, he seemed amazed, and said, "they had believed that it had been as easy to have transmitted money to those three towns, as it was for them to receive it from thence."

In conclusion, the king gave his answer in writing, what sum of money he would cause to be paid at once for the first advance, that the bishop might begin his march, and what he would afterwards cause to be paid by the month; which being less than the baron's instructions would admit him to accept, he sent an express with it to the bishop: and "till his return," he desired, "that the king would appoint some person of experience to confer with him; and they might together inform themselves of the best expedients to return money into Germany, since his majesty had hitherto only undertaken to pay his assignations in London." What success this treaty afterwards had will be related in its place.

These advantages from abroad being in this manner deliberated and designed, it may be very seasonable to look back, and consider what preparations were made at home towards the carrying [on] this war, for which the parliament had provided so bountifully: and if ordinary prudence had been applied to the managery, if any order and method had been consulted and steadily pursued for the conducting the whole, the success would have been answerable, and at least any inconvenience from the sudden want of money would have been prevented. But whoever was at any distance in that time when those transactions were in agitation, as there are yet many worthy men who were, or shall be able to procure a sincere information of the occurrences of that time, will be obliged to confess, that they who contrived the war had the entire conducting it, and were the sole causes of all the ill effects of it; which cannot be set down particularly without wounding those, who were by their confidence in ill instruments made accessory to those mischiefs, in which themselves suffered most. Nor is it the end of this true relation to fix a brand upon the memory of those, who deserve it from the public and from very many worthy men, but is to serve only for a memorial to cast my own eyes upon, when I cannot but reflect upon those proceedings; and by my consent shall never come into any hands but theirs, who for their own sakes will take care to preserve it from any public view or perusal.

It cannot be denied and may very truly be averred, that from the hour of the king's return, and being possessed of the entire government, the naval affairs were never put into any order. That province, being committed to the duke as lord high admiral of England, was so entirely engrossed by his servants, in truth by Mr. Coventry, who was newly made his secretary, and who made use of his other servants, who were better known to him, to infuse into his highness the opinion, "that whoever presumed to meddle in any thing that related to the navy or the admiralty, invaded his jurisdiction, and would lessen him in the eyes of the people; and that he ought to be jealous of such men, as of those who would undermine his greatness; and that as he was superior to all men by being the king's brother, so being high admiral he was to render account to none but to the king, nor suffer any body else to interpose in any thing relating to it." Whereas in truth there is no officer of the crown more subject to the council-board than the admiral of England, who is to give an account of all his actions and of every branch of his office constantly

to the board, and to receive their orders: nor hath he the nomination of the captains of the ships, till upon the presentation of their names he receives their approbation, which is never denied. Nor was there any counsellor who had ever sat at the board in the last king's time, to whom this was not as much known as any order of the table.

But there was no retrieving this authority, not only from the influence Mr. Coventry, and they of the family who adhered to him, had upon the duke, but from the king's own inclination, who thought that those officers, who immediately depended upon himself and only upon himself, were more at his devotion than they who were obliged to give an account to any other superior. And from the time that he came first into France, he had not been accustomed to any discourse more than to the undervaluing the privy-council, as if it shadowed the king too much, and usurped too much of his authority, and too often superseded his own commands. And the queen his mother had, upon these discourses, always some instances of the authority which in such a case the council had assumed against the king's judgment; the exception to which, according to the relation which nobody could question, seemed to be very reasonable. This kind of discourse, being the subject of every day, made so great impression that it could never be defaced, and made the election and nomination of counsellors less considered, since they were to be no more advised with afterwards than before.

Another argument, that used to be as frequently insisted upon by the queen, and with more passion and indignation, was of the little respect and reverence that by the law or custom of England was paid to the younger sons of the crown; and though there was nobody present in those conversations who knew any thing of the law or custom in those cases, yet all that was said was taken as granted. And not only the duke but the king himself had a marvellous prejudice to the nation in that part of good manners: and it was easily agreed, that the model of France was in those and other cases much more preferable, and which was afterwards observed in too many.

This being then the state and temper of the royal family when the king returned, which then consisted of the duke of Gloucester, and two princesses more than it now hath; the very next morning after the fleet came to Scheveling, the duke went on board and took possession of it as lord high admiral: and so his secretary provided new commissions for all the officers who were in present command, for which it is probable they all paid very liberally; for with him the custom began to receive five pounds for every warrant signed by the duke, and for which no secretary to any lord admiral formerly had ever received above twenty shillings. Mr. Coventry, who was utterly unacquainted with all the rules and customs of the sea, and knew none of the officers, but was much courted by all, as the secretary to the admiral always is, made choice of captain Pen, whom the king knighted as soon as he came on board; who from a common man had grown up under Cromwell to the highest command, and was in great favour with him till he failed in the action of St. Domingo, when he went admiral at sea, as Venables was general at land, for which they were both imprisoned in the Tower by

Cromwell, nor ever employed by him afterwards : but upon his death he had command again at sea, as he had at this time under Mountague when he came to attend the king. With this man Mr. Coventry made a fast friendship, and was guided by him in all things.

All the offices which belonged to the ships, to the navy, to the yards, to the whole admiralty, (except the three superior officers, which are not in the disposal of the admiral,) were now void, and to be supplied by the duke, that is, by Mr. Coventry ; who by the advice of sir William Pen, who was solely trusted by him in the brocage, conferred them upon those (without observing any other rule) who would give most money, not considering any honest seaman who had continued in the king's service, or suffered long imprisonment for him. And because an incredible sum of money was and would rise this way, some principal officers in the yards, as the master smith and others, and the keepers of the stores, yielding seven, eight hundred, or a thousand pounds ; he had the skill to move the duke to bestow such money as would arise upon such place upon sir Charles Berkley, for another to another, and for some to be divided between two or three : by which means the whole family was obliged, and retained to justify him ; and the duke himself looked upon it as a generosity in Mr. Coventry, to accommodate his fellow servants with what he might have asked or kept for himself. But it was the best husbandry he could have used : for by this means all men's mouths were stopped, and all clamour secured ; whilst the lesser sums for a multitude of offices of all kinds were reserved to himself, and which, in the estimation of those who were at no great distance, amounted to a very [great] sum, and more than any officer under the king could possibly get by all the perquisites of his place in many years. By this means, the whole navy and ships were filled with the same men who had enjoyed the same places and offices under Cromwell, and thereby were the better able to pay well for them ; whereof many of the most infamous persons which that time took notice of were now become the king's officers, to the great scandal of their honest neighbours, who observed that they retained the same manners and affections, and used the same discourses they had formerly done.

Besides many other irreparable inconveniences and mischiefs which resulted from this corruption and choice, one grew quickly visible and notorious, in the stealing and embezzling all manner of things out of the ships, even when they were in service : but when they returned from any voyages, incredible proportions of powder, match, cordage, sails, anchors, and all other things, instead of being restored to the several proper officers which were to receive them, were embezzled and sold, and very often sold to the king himself for the setting out other ships and for replenishing his stores. And when this was discovered (as many times it was) and the criminal person apprehended, it was alleged by him as a defence or excuse, "that he had paid so dear for his place, that he could not maintain himself" and family without practising such shifts : and none of those fellows were ever brought to exemplary justice, and most of them were restored to their employments.

The three superior officers of the navy were possessed of their offices by patents under the great seal of England before the king's return ; and they are the natural established council of the lord high admiral, and are to attend him when he requires it, and always used of course to be with him one certain day in a week, to render him an account of all the state of the office, and to receive his orders and to give their advice. And now, because these three depended not enough upon him, but especially out of animosity against sir George Carteret, who, besides being treasurer of the navy, was vice-chamberlain of the king's household, and so a privy counsellor ; Mr. Coventry proposed to the duke, "that in regard of the multiplicity of business in the navy, much more than in former times, and the setting out greater fleets than had been accustomed in that age when those officers and that model for the government of the navy had been established, his royal highness would propose to the king to make an addition, by commissioners, of some other persons always to sit with the other officers with equal authority, and to sign all bills with them ;" which was a thing never heard of before, and is in truth a lessening of the power of the admiral. It is very true, there have frequently been commissioners for the navy ; but it hath been in the same [place] of the admiral and to perform his office : but in the time of an admiral commissioners have not been heard of. One principal end in this was, to draw from the treasurer of the navy (whose office Mr. Coventry thought too great, and had implacable animosity against him from the first hour after he had made his friendship with Pen) out of his fees (which, though no greater than were granted by his patent and had been always enjoyed by his predecessors, were indeed greater than had used to be in times of peace, when much less money passed through his hands) what should be enough to pay those commissioners ; for it was not reasonable they should serve for nothing, nor that they should be upon the king's charge, since the treasurer's perquisites might be enough for all.

The duke liked the proposition well, and, without conferring with any body else upon it, proposed it to the king at the council-board, where nobody thought fit to examine or debate what the duke proposed ; and the king approved it, and ordered, "that the commissioners should receive each five hundred pounds by the year : " but finding afterwards that the treasurer of the navy's fees were granted to him under the great seal, his majesty did not think it just to take it from him, but would bear it himself, and appointed the treasurer to pay and pass those pensions in his account. The commissioners named and commended by the duke to the king were the lord Berkley, sir John Lawson, sir William Pen, and sir George Ayscue ; the three [last] the most eminent sea-officers under Cromwell, but it must not be denied but that they served the king afterwards very faithfully. These the king made his commissioners, with a pension to each of five hundred pounds the year, and in some time after added Mr. Coventry to the number with the same pension : so that this first reformation in the time of peace cost the king one way or other no less than three thousand pounds yearly, without the

least visible benefit or advantage. The lord Berkeley neither understood any thing that related to the office or employment, and therefore very seldom was present in the execution. But after he had enjoyed the pension a year or thereabout, he procured leave to sell his place, and procured a gentleman, Mr. Thomas Harvey, to give him three thousand pounds for it : so soon this temporary commission, which might have expired within a month, got the reputation of an office for life by the good managery of an officer.

This was the state of the navy before the war with Holland was resolved upon. Let us in the next place see what alterations were made in it, or what other preparations were made, or counsels entered upon, for the better conduct of this war : and a clear and impartial view or reflection upon what was then said and done, gave discerning men an unhappy presage of what would follow. There was no discourse now in the court, after this royal subsidy of five and twenty hundred thousand pounds was granted, but, "of giving the law to the whole trade of Christendom ; of making all ships which passed by or through the narrow seas to pay an imposition to the king, as all do to the king of Denmark who pass by the Sound ; and making all who pass near to pay contribution to his majesty ;" which must concern all the princes of Christendom : and the king and duke were often desired to discountenance and suppress this impertinent talk, which must increase the number of the enemies. Commissioners were appointed to reside in all or the most eminent port-towns, for the sale of all prize-goods ; and these were chosen for the most part out of those members of the house of commons, who were active to advance the king's service, or who promised to be so, to whom liberal salaries were assigned.

There were then commissioners appointed to judge all appeals, which should be made upon and against all sentences given by the judge of the admiralty and his deputies ; and these were all privy counsellors, the earl of Lauderdale, the lord Ashley, and the secretaries of state, who were like to be most careful of the king's profit. But then the rules which were prescribed to judge by were such as were [warranted] by no former precedents, and acknowledged to be just by the practice of any neighbour nation, and such as would make all ships which traded for Holland, from what kingdom soever, lawful prize ; which was foreseen would bring complaints from all places, as it did as soon as the war begun. French and Spaniard and Swede and Dane were alike treated ; whilst their ambassadors made loud complaints every day to the king and the council for the injustice and the rapine, without remedy, more than references to the admiralty, and then to the lords commissioners of appeal, which increased the charge, and raised and improved the indignity. Above all, the Hanse-Towns of Ham-burgh, Lubeck, Bremen, and the rest, (who had large exemptions and privileges by charter granted by former kings and now renewed by this,) had the worst luck ; for none of them could ever be distinguished from the Dutch. Their ships were so like, and their language so near, that not one of their vessels were met with, from what part of the world soever they came, or whithersoever they [were] bound, but they were brought [in] ;

and if the evidence was such as there could be no colour to retain them, but that they must be released, they always carried with them sad remembrances of the company they had been in.

There was one sure rule to make any ship prize, which was, if above three Dutch mariners were aboard it there need [no] further proof for the forfeiture ; which being no where known could not be prevented, all merchants' ships, when they are ready for their voyage, taking all seamen on board of what nation soever who are necessary for their service : so that those Dutchmen who run from their own country to avoid fighting, (as very many did, and very many more would have done,) and put themselves on board merchants' ships of any other country, where they were willingly entertained, made those ships lawful prize in which they served, by a rule that nobody knew nor would submit to.

It was resolved that all possible encouragement should be given to privateers, that is, to as many as would take commissions from the admiral to set out vessels of war, as they call them, to take prizes from the enemy ; which no articles or obligations can restrain from all the villany they can act, and are a people, how countenanced soever or thought necessary, that do bring an unavoidable scandal, and it is to be feared a curse, upon the justest war that was ever made at sea. A sail ! A sail ! is the word with them ; friend or foe is the same ; they possess all they can master, and run with it to any obscure place where they can sell it, (which retreats are never wanting,) and never attend the ceremony of an adjudication. Besides the horrible scandal and clamour that this classis of men brought upon the king and the whole government for defect of justice, the prejudice which resulted from thence to the public and to the carrying on the service is unspeakable : all seamen run to them. And though the king now assigned an ample share of all prizes taken by his own ships to the seamen, over and above their wages ; yet there was great difference between the condition of the one and the other : in the king's fleet they might gain well, but they were sure of blows, nothing could be got there without fighting ; with the privateers there was rarely fighting, they took all who could make little resistance, and fled from all who were too strong for them. And so those fellows were always well manned, when the king's ships were compelled to stay many days for want of men, who were raised by pressing and with great difficulty. And whoever spake against those lewd people, upon any case whatsoever, was thought to have no regard for the duke's profit, nor to desire to weaken the enemy.

In all former wars at sea, as there was great care taken to appoint commissioners for the sale of all prize-goods, who understood the value of those commodities they had to sell, yet were compelled to sell better bargains than are usually got in public markets ; so there was all strictness used in bringing all receivers to as punctual an account, as any other of the king's receivers are bound to make, and to compel them to pay in all the money they receive into the exchequer, that it might be issued out to the treasurer of the navy or to other officers for the expense of the war. And it had been a great argument in the first consultations upon this war, "that it would

"support itself; and that after one good fleet should be set out once to beat the Dutch," (for that was never thought worthy of a doubt,) "the prizes, which would every day after be taken, would plentifully do all the rest; besides the great sum that the Dutch would give to purchase their peace, and the yearly rent they would give for the liberty of fishing;" with all which it was not thought fit to allow them "to keep above such a number of ships of war, limited to so many ton and to so many guns;" with many particulars of that nature, which were carefully digested by those who promoted the war. But now, after this supply given by the parliament, there was no more danger of want of money: and many discourses there were, "that the prize-money might be better disposed in rebuilding the king's houses, and many other good uses which would occur;" and the king forbore to speak any more of appointing receivers and treasurers for that purpose, when all or most other officers, who were judged necessary for the service, were already named; and the lord treasurer, who by his office should have the recommendation of those officers to the king, had a list of men, who for the reputation and experience they had were in his judgment worthy to be trusted, to be presented to the king when he should enter upon that subject.

But one evening a servant of the lord Ashley came to the chancellor with a bill signed, and desired in his master's name, "that it might be sealed that night." The bill was, "to make and constitute the lord Ashley treasurer of all the money that should be raised upon the sale of all prizes, which were or should be taken in this present war, with power to make all such officers as should be necessary for the service; and that he should account for all monies so received to the king himself, and to no other person whatsoever, and pay and issue out all those monies which he should receive, in such manner as his majesty should appoint by warrant under his sign manual, and by no other warrant; and that he should be free and exempt from accounting into the exchequer." When the chancellor had seen the contents, he bade the messenger tell his lord, "that he would speak with the king before he would seal that grant, and that he desired much to speak with himself."

The next morning he waited upon the king, and informed him "of the bill that was brought to him, and doubted that he had been surprised: that it was not only such an original as was without any precedent, but in itself in many particulars destructive to his service and to the right of other men. That all receivers of any part of his revenue were accountable in the exchequer, and could receive their discharge in no other place: and that if so great a receipt, as this was already," (for the fleet of wine and other ships already seized were by a general computation valued at one hundred thousand pounds,) "and as it evidently would be, should pass without the most formal account; his majesty might be abominably cozened, nor could it any other way be prevented. And in the next place, that this grant was not only derogatory to the lord treasurer, but did really de-

grade him, there being another treasurer made more absolute than himself, and without dependence upon him." And therefore he besought his majesty, "that he would reconsider the thing itself and hear it debated, at least that the treasurer might be first heard, without which it could not be done in justice:" to which he added, "that he would speak with the lord Ashley himself, and tell him how much he was to blame to affect such a province, which might bring great inconveniences upon his person and his estate."

He quickly found that the king had not been surprised in what he had done, "which," he said, "was absolutely in his own power to do; and that it would bring prejudice only to himself, which he had sufficiently provided against." However, he seemed willing to decline any thing that looked like an affront to the treasurer, and therefore was content that the sealing it might be suspended till he had further considered.

The lord Ashley came shortly to the chancellor, and seemed "to take it unkindly that his patent was not sealed:" to which he answered, "that he had suspended the immediate sealing it for three reasons; whereof one was, that he might first speak with the king, who he believed would receive much prejudice by it; another, that it would not consist with the respect he owed to the lord treasurer, who was much affronted in it, to seal it before he was made acquainted with it. And in the last place, that he had stopped it for his, the lord Ashley's, own sake: and that he believed he had neither enough considered the indignity that was offered to the lord treasurer, to whom he professed so much respect, and by whose favour and powerful interposition he enjoyed the office he held, nor his own true interest, in submitting his estate to those incumbrances which such a receipt would inevitably expose it to. And that the exemption from making any account but to the king himself would deceive him: and as it was an unusual and unnatural privilege, so it would never be allowed in any court of justice, which would exact both the account and the payment or lawful discharge of what money he should receive; and if he depended upon the exemption he would live to repent it."

He answered little to the particulars more than with some sullenness, "that the king had given him the office, and knew best what is good for his own service; and that except his majesty retracted his grant, he would look to enjoy the benefit of it. That he did not desire to put an affront upon the lord treasurer; and if there were any expressions in his commission which reflected upon him, he was content they should be mended or left out: in all other respects he was resolved to run the hazard."

The treasurer himself, though he knew that he was not well used, and exceedingly disdained the behaviour of his nephew, (for the lord Ashley had married his niece,) who he well knew had by new friendships cancelled all the obligations to him, would not appear to oppose what the king resolved, but sat unconcerned, and took no notice of any thing. And so within a short time the king sent a positive order to the chancellor to seal the commission; which he could no longer refuse, and did it with the more trouble, because he very well knew, that few men knew the lord

Ashley better than the king himself did, or had a worse opinion of his integrity. But he was now gotten into friendships which were most beboveful to him, and which could remove or reconcile all prejudices: he was fast linked to sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Coventry in a league offensive and defensive, the same friends and the same enemies, and had got an entire trust with the lady, who very well understood the benefit such an officer would be to her. Nor was it difficult to persuade the king (who thought himself more rich in having one thousand pounds in his closet that nobody knew of, than in fifty thousand pounds in his exchequer) how many conveniences he would find in having so much money at his own immediate disposal, without the formality of privy seals and other men's warrants, and the indecency and mischief which would attend a formal account of all his generous donatives and expense, which should be known only to himself.

Though the king seemed to continue the same gracious countenance towards the chancellor which he had used, and frequently came to his house when he was indisposed with the gout, and consulted all his business, which he thought of public importance, with him with equal freedom; yet he himself found, and many others observed, that he had not the same credit and power with him. The nightly meetings had of late made him more the subject of the discourse; and since the time of the new secretary they had taken more liberty to talk of what was done in council, than they had done formerly; and the duke of Buckingham pleased himself and all the company in acting all the persons who spake there in their looks and motions, in which piece of mimicry he had an especial faculty; and in this exercise the chancellor had a full part. In the height of mirth, if the king said "he would go such a journey or do such a trivial thing to-morrow," somebody would lay a wager that he would not do it; and when he asked why, it was answered, "that the chancellor would not let him:" and then another would protest, "that he thought there was no ground for that imputation; however, he could not deny that it was generally believed abroad, that his majesty was entirely and implicitly governed by the chancellor." Which often put the king to declare in some passion, "that the chancellor had served him long, and understood his business, in which he trusted him: but in any other matter than his business, he had no other credit with him than any other man;" which they reported with great joy in other companies.

In the former session of the parliament, the lord Ashley, out of his indifferency in matters of religion, and the lord Arlington out of his goodwill to the Roman catholics, had drawn in the lord privy seal, whose interest was most in the presbyterians, to propose to the king an indulgence for liberty of conscience: for which they offered two motives; the one, "the probability of a war with the Dutch;" though it was not then declared; and in that case the prosecution of people at home for their several opinions in religion would be very inconvenient, and might prove mischievous." The other was, "that in the fright men were in by reason of the late bill against conventicles, and the warmth the parliament expressed with reference to the church, had so

"prepared all sorts of non-conformists, that they would gladly compound for liberty at any reasonable rates: and by this means a good yearly revenue might be raised to the king, and a firm concord and tranquillity be established in the kingdom, if power were granted by the parliament to the king to grant dispensations to such whom he knew to be peaceably affected, for their exercise of that religion which was agreeable to their conscience, without undergoing the penalty of the laws." And they had prepared a schedule, in which they computed what every Roman catholic would be willing to pay yearly for the exercise of his religion, and so of every other sect; which, upon the estimate they made, would indeed have amounted to a very great sum of money yearly.

The king liked the arguments and the project very well, and wished them to prepare such a bill; which was done quickly, very short, and without any mention of other advantage to grow from it, than "the peace and quiet of the [kingdom], and an entire reference to the king's own judgment and discretion in dispensing his dispensations." This was equally approved: and though hitherto it had been managed with great secrecy, that it might not come to the knowledge of the chancellor and the treasurer, who they well knew would never consent to it; yet the king resolved to impart it to them. And the chancellor being then afflicted with the gout, the committee that used to be called was appointed to meet at Worcester-house: and thither likewise came the privy seal, and the lord Ashley, who had never before been present in those meetings.

The king informed them of the occasion of their conference, and caused the draught for the bill to be read to them; which was done, and such reasons given by those who promoted it, as they thought fit; the chief of which was, "that there could be no danger in trusting the king, whose zeal to the protestant religion was so well known, that nobody would doubt that he would use this power, when granted to him, otherwise than should be for the good and benefit of the church and state." The chancellor and the treasurer, as had been presaged, were very warm against it, and used many arguments to dissuade the king from prosecuting it, "as a thing that could never find the concurrence of either or both houses, and which would raise a jealousy in both, and in the people generally, of his affection to the papists, which would not be good for either, and every body knew that he had no favour for either of the other factions." But what the others said, who were of another opinion, prevailed more; and his majesty declared, "that the bill should be presented to the house of peers as from him, and in his name; and that he hoped none of his servants, who knew his mind as well as every body there did, would oppose it, but either be absent or silent:" to which both the lords answered, "that they should not be absent purposely, and if they were present, they hoped his majesty would excuse them if they spake according to their conscience and judgment, which they could not forbear to do;" with which his majesty seemed unsatisfied, though the lords of the combination were better pleased than they would have been with their concurrence.

Within few days after, the chancellor remaining



still in his chamber without being able to go, the bill was presented in the house of peers by the lord privy seal, as by the king's direction and approbation, and thereupon had the first reading: and as soon as it was read, the lord treasurer spake against it, "as unfit to be received and to have the countenance of another reading in the house, being a design against the protestant religion and in favour of the papists," with many sharp reflections upon those who had spoken for it; and many of the bishops spake to the same purpose, and urged many weighty arguments against it. However it was moved, "that since it was averred that it was with the king's privy, it would be a thing unheard of to deny it a second reading;" and that there might be no danger of a surpriſal by its being read in a thin house, it was ordered "that it should be read the second time" upon a day named "at ten of the clock in the morning;" with which all were satisfied.

In the mean time great pains were taken to persuade particular men to approve it: and some of the bishops were sharply reprehended for opposing the king's prerogative, with some intimation "that if they continued in that obstinacy they should repent it;" to which they made such answers as in honesty and wisdom they ought to do, without being shaken in their resolution. It was rather insinuated than declared, "that the bill had been perused," some said "drawn, by the chancellor," and averred "that he was not against it:" which being confidently reported, and believed or not believed as he was more or less known to the persons present, he thought himself obliged to make his own sense known. And so on the day appointed for the second reading, with pain and difficulty he was in his place in the house: and so after the second reading of the bill, he was of course to propose the commitment of it. Many of the bishops and others spake fiercely against it, as a way to undermine religion; and the lord treasurer, with his usual weight of words, shewed the ill consequence that must attend it, and "that in the bottom it was a project to get money at the price of religion; which he believed was not intended or known to the king, but only to those who had projected it, and, it may be, imposed upon others who meant well."

The lord privy seal, either upon the observation of the countenance of the house or advertisement of his friends, or unwilling to venture his reputation in the enterprise, had given over the game the first day, and now spake not at all: but the lord Ashley adhered firmly to his point, spake often and with great sharpness of wit, and had a cadence in his words and pronunciation that drew attention. He said, "it was the king's misfortune that a matter of so great concernment to him, and such a prerogative as it may be would be found to be inherent in him without any declaration of parliament, should be supported only by such weak men as himself, who served his majesty at a distance, whilst the great officers of the crown thought fit to oppose it; which he more wondered at, because nobody knew more than they the king's unshakable firmness in his religion, that had resisted and vanquished so many great temptations; and therefore he could not be thought un-

"worthy of a greater trust with reference to it, than he would have by this bill."

The chancellor, having not been present at the former debate upon the first day, thought it fit to sit silent in this, till he found the house in some expectation to hear his opinion: and then he stood up and said, "that no man could say more, if it were necessary or pertinent, of the king's constancy in his religion, and of his understanding the constitution and foundation of the church of England, than he; no man had been witness to more assaults which he had sustained than he had been, and of many victories; and therefore, if the question were how far he might be trusted in that point, he should make no scruple in declaring, that he thought him more worthy to be trusted than any man alive. But there was nothing in that bill that could make that the question, which had confounded all notions of religion, and erected a chaos of policy to overthrow all religion and government: so that the question was not, whether the king were worthy of that trust, but whether that trust were worthy of the king. That it had been no new thing for kings to divest themselves of many particular rights and powers, because they were thereby exposed to more trouble and vexation, and so deputed that authority to others qualified by them: and he thought it a very unreasonable and unjust thing to commit such a trust to the king, which nobody could suppose he could execute himself, and yet must subject him to daily and hourly importunities, which must be so much the more uneasy to a nature of so great bounty and generosity, that nothing is so ungrateful to him as to be obliged to deny."

In the vehemence of this debate, the lord Ashley having used some language that he knew reflected upon him, the chancellor let fall some unwary expressions, which were turned to his reproach and remembered long after. When he insisted upon the wildness and illimitedness in the bill, he said, "it was ship-money in religion, that nobody could know the end of, or where it would rest; that if it were passed, Dr. Goffe or any other apostate from the church of England might be made a bishop or archbishop here, all oaths and statutes and subscriptions being dispensed with:" which were thought too envious instances, and gave his enemies opportunities to make glosses and reflections upon to his disadvantage. In this debate it fell out that the duke of York appeared very much against the bill; which was imputed to the chancellor, and served to "heap coals of fire upon his head." In the end, very few having spoken for it, though there were many who would have consented to it, besides the catholic lords, it was agreed that there should be no question put for the commitment; which was the most civil way of rejecting it, and left it to be no more called for.

The king was infinitely troubled at the ill success of this bill, which he had been assured would pass notwithstanding the opposition that was expected; and it had produced one effect that was foreseen though not believed, in renewing the bitterness against the Roman catholics. And they, who watched all occasions to perform those offices, had now a large field to express their



malice against the chancellor and the treasurer, "whose pride only had disposed them to shew "their power and credit in diverting the house "from gratifying the king, to which they had "been inclined;" and his majesty heard all that could be said against them without any dislike. After two or three days he sent for them both together into his closet, which made it generally believed in the court, that he resolved to take both their offices from them, and they did in truth believe and expect [it]: but there was never any cause appeared after to think that it was in his purpose. He spake to them of other business, without taking the least notice of the other matter, and dismissed them with a countenance less open than he used to have towards them, and made it evident that he had not the same thoughts of them he had formerly.

And when the next day the chancellor went to him alone, and was admitted into his cabinet, and began to take notice "that he seemed to have "dissatisfaction in his looks towards him;" the king, in more choler than he had ever before seen him, told him, "his looks were such as they "ought to be; that he was very much unsatisfied "with him, and thought he had used him very "ill; that he had deserved better of him, and did "not expect that he would have carried himself "in that manner as he had done in the house of "peers, having known his majesty's own opinion "from himself, which it seemed was of no authority with him if it differed from his judgment, "to which he would not submit against his reason."

The other, with the confidence of an honest man, entered upon the discourse of the matter, assured him "the very proposing it had done his "majesty much prejudice, and that they who "were best affected to his service in both houses "were much troubled and afflicted with it: and "of those who advised him to it, one knew nothing of the constitution of England, and was "not thought to wish well to the religion of it; "and the other was so well known to him, that "nothing was more wonderful than that his majesty should take him for a safe counsellor." He had recourse then again to the matter, and used some arguments against it which had not been urged before, and which seemed to make impression. He heard all he said with patience, but seemed not to change his mind, and answered no more than "that it was no time to speak to "the matter, which was now passed; and if it "had been unseasonably urged, he might still "have carried himself otherwise than he had "done;" and so spake of somewhat else.

His majesty did not withdraw any of his trust or confidence from him in his business, and seemed to have the same kindness for him: but from that time he never had the same credit with him as he had before. The lord Ashley got no ground, but sir Harry Bennet very much, who, though he spake very little in council, shewed his power out of it, by persuading his majesty to recede from many resolutions he had taken there. And afterwards, in all the debates in council which were preparatory to the war, and upon those particulars which have been mentioned before, which concerned the justice and policy that was to be observed, whatsoever was offered by the chancellor or treasurer was never considered. It was answer

enough, "that they were enemies to the war;" which was true, as long as it was in deliberation: but from the time it was resolved and remediless, none of them who promoted it contributed any thing to the carrying it on proportionably to what was done by the other two.

There was another and a greater mischief than hath been mentioned, that resulted from that unhappy debate; which was the prejudice and disadvantage that the bishops underwent by their so unanimous dislike of that bill. For from that time the king never treated any of them with that respect as he had done formerly, and often spake of them too slightly; which easily encouraged others not only to mention their persons very negligently, but their function and religion itself, as an invention to impose upon the free judgments and understandings of men. What was preached in the pulpit was commented upon and derided in the chamber, and preachers acted, and sermons vilified as laboured discourses, which the preachers made only to shew their own parts and wit, without any other design than to be commended and preferred. These grew to be the subjects of the mirth and wit of the court; and so much license [was] manifested in it, that gave infinite scandal to those who observed it, and to those who received the reports of it: and all serious and prudent men took it as an ill presage, that whilst all warlike preparations were made in abundance suitable to the occasion, there should so little preparation of spirit be for a war against an enemy, who might possibly be without some of our virtues, but assuredly was without any of our vices.

There begun now to appear another enemy, much more formidable than the Dutch, and more difficult to be struggled with; which was the plague, that brake out in the winter, and made such an early progress in the spring, that though the weekly numbers did not rise high, and it appeared to be only in the outskirts of the town, and in the most obscure alleys, amongst the poorest people; yet the ancient men, who well remembered in what manner the last great plague (which had been near forty years before) first brake out, and the progress it afterwards made, foretold a terrible summer. And many of them removed their families out of the city to country habitations; when their neighbours laughed at their providence, and thought they might have stayed without danger: but they found shortly that they had done wisely. In March it spread so much, that the parliament was very willing to part: which was likewise the more necessary, in regard that so many of the members of the house of commons were assigned to so many offices and employments which related to the war, and which required their immediate attendance. For though the fleet was not yet gone out, yet there were many prizes daily brought in, besides the first seizure, which by this time was [adjudged] lawful prize; in all which great loss was sustained by the license of officers as well as common men, and the absence of such as should restrain and punish it: so that, as soon as the bill was passed the houses for the good aid they had given the king, and was ready for the royal assent, his majesty passed it, and prorogued the parliament in April (which was in 1665) till September following; his majesty declaring, "that if it pleased God to extinguish or "allay the fierceness of the plague," which at

that time raged more, "he should be glad to meet them then; by which time they would judge by some success of the war, what was more to be done. But if that visitation increased, they should have notice by proclamation that they might not hazard themselves."

The parliament being thus prorogued, there was the same reason to hasten out the fleet; towards which the duke left nothing undone, which his unwearied industry and example could contribute towards [it], being himself on board, and having got all things necessary into his own ship that he cared for. But he found that it was absolutely requisite to put out to sea, though many things were wanting in other ships, even of beer and other provision of victual; not only to be before the enemy, but he saw it would be impossible, whilst the ships were in port, to keep the seamen from going on shore, by which they might bring the plague on board with them; and there was already a suspicion that the infection was got into one of the smaller ships.

It hath been said before, that all things relating to the fleet were upon the matter wholly governed by Mr. Coventry. It is very true, that the officers of the navy constantly attended the duke together with those three sea-captains who have been named before: but from the time that the war was declared, his highness consulted daily, for his own information and instruction, with sir John Lawson and sir George Ayscue and sir William Pen, all men of great experience, and who had commanded in several battles. Upon the advice of these men the duke always made his estimates and all propositions to the king. There was somewhat of rivalry between the two last, because they had been in equal command: therefore the duke took sir William Pen into his own ship, and made him captain of it; which was a great trust, and a very honourable command, that exempted him from receiving any orders but from the duke, and so extinguished the other emulation, the other two being flag-officers and to command several squadrons.

In all conferences with these men Mr. Coventry's presence and attendance was necessary, both to reduce all things into writing which were agreed upon, and to be able to put the duke in mind of what he was to do. Lawson was the man of whose judgment the duke had the best esteem; and he was in truth, of a man of that breeding, (for he was a perfect tarpawling,) a very extraordinary person; he understood his profession incomparably well, spake clearly and pertinently, but not pertinaciously enough when he was contradicted. Ayscue was a gentleman, but had kept ill company too long, which had blunted his understanding, if it had been ever sharp: he was of few words, yet spake to the purpose and to be easily understood. Pen, who had much the worst understanding, had a great mind to appear better bred, and to speak like a gentleman; he had got many good words, which he used at adventure; he was a formal man, and spake very leisurely but much, and left the matter more intricate and perplexed than he found it. He was entirely governed by Mr. Coventry, who still learned enough of him to offer any thing rationally in the debate or to cross what was not agreeable to his own fancy, by which he was still swayed out of the pride and perverseness of his will.

Upon debate and conference with these men, the duke brought propositions to the king reduced into writing by Mr. Coventry; and the king commonly consulted them with the lord treasurer in the presence, the propositions being commonly for increase of the expense, which Mr. Coventry was solicitous by all the ways possible to contrive. To those consultations the duke always brought the sea-officers, and Mr. Coventry, who spake much more than they, to explain especially what sir William Pen said, who took upon himself to speak most, and often what the others had never thought though they durst not contradict; and sir John Lawson often complained, "that Mr. Coventry put that in writing which had never been proposed by them, and would continue disputing it till they yielded." Every conference raised the charge very much; and what they proposed yesterday as enough was to-day made twice as much; if they proposed six fire-ships to be provided, within two or three days they demanded twelve: so there could be no possible computation of the charge.

By this means the fleet that was now ready to put to sea amounted to fourscore sail; and the king willingly consented, upon the reasons the duke presented to him, that they should set sail as soon as was possible. And before the end of April the duke was with the whole fleet at sea, and visited the coast of Holland, and took many ships in their view, their fleet being not yet in readiness. Many noblemen, the earl of Peterborough, the lord viscount Ferrers, and others, with many gentlemen of quality, went as volunteers, and were distributed into the several ships with much countenance by the duke, and as many taken into his own ship as could be done with convenience.

The duke of Buckingham had from the first mention of the war, which he promoted all he could, declared "that he would make one in it:" and when it was declared, he desired to have the command of a ship, which the duke positively denied to give him, except the king commanded it, (and his majesty was content to refer that, as he did the nomination of all the other officers, to his brother,) and did not think fit that a man, of what quality soever, who had never been at sea, should his first voyage have the command of any considerable ship, (and a small one had not been for his honour;) at which he was much troubled. Yet his friends told him that he was too far engaged, to stay at home when his royal highness ventured his own person: and thereupon he resolved to go a volunteer, and put himself on board a flag-ship, the captain whereof was in his favour. And then he desired, "that in respect of his quality, and his being a privy counsellor, he might be present in all councils of war." The duke thought this not reasonable, and would not make a new precedent. There were many of the ancient nobility, earls and barons; who were then on board as volunteers; and if the consideration of quality might entitle them to be present in council, all orders would be broken, there being none called but flag-officers: and therefore his royal highness positively refused to gratify him in that point; which the duke of Buckingham thought (it being enough known that the duke had neither esteem or kindness for him) to be such a personal disobedience, that would well ex-

cuse him for declining the enterprise. And pretending that he did appeal to the king in point of right, he left the fleet, and returned to the shore to complain. And we return back too to the view of other particulars.

There were two persons, whom the king and his brother did desire to make remarkable by some extraordinary favours: one of which was equally grateful to both, sir Charles Berkley, who had been lately created an Irish viscount by the name of lord Fitzharding, the old and true surname of the family; upon whom the king had, for reasons only known to himself, set his affection so much, that he had never denied anything he asked for himself or for any body else, and was well content that he should be looked upon as his favourite. He had been long thought so to the duke, who was willing to promote any thing to his advantage: and the king had deferred those instances only till the parliament should be prorogued, lest it should raise the appetites of others to make suits, which he had hitherto defended himself from, by declaring he would make no more lords. But the parliament was no sooner prorogued, than it was resolved to be put in execution: and when it was to be done, the chancellor had the honour to be present alone with the king and duke, when it seemed to be first thought of. And when the duke proposed it as a suit to the king, that he would make the lord Fitzharding an earl, extolling his courage and affection to the king; who was pleased with the motion to that degree, that he extolled him with praises which could be applied to few men: and it was quickly resolved that he should be an earl of England, and a title was as soon found out; and so he was created earl of Falmouth, before he had one foot of land in the world.

And to gratify the king for this favour, the duke likewise proposed that the king would make sir Harry Bennet a lord, whom all the world knew he did not care for; which was as willingly granted: and he had no more estate than the other, and could not so easily find a title for his barony. But because he had no mind to retain his own name, which was no good one, his first warrant was to be created Cheney, which was an ancient barony expired, and to which family he had not the least relation: and for some days upon the signing the warrant he was called lord Cheney, until a gentleman of the best quality in Buckinghamshire, who, though he had no title to the barony, was yet of the same family, and inherited most part of the estate, which was very considerable, and was married to a daughter of the duke of Newcastle, heard of it, and made haste to stop it. He went first to sir Harry Bennet himself, and desired him "not to affect a title to which he had no relation; and to which though he could not pretend of direct right, yet he was not [so] obscure but that himself or a son of his might hereafter be thought worthy of it by the crown; and in that respect it would be some trouble to him to see it vested in the family of a stranger." The secretary did not give him so civil an answer as he expected, having no knowledge of the gentleman. Yet shortly after, upon information of his condition and quality, (as he was in all respects very worthy of consideration,) the patent being not yet prepared, he was contented to take the title of a little farm

that had belonged to his father and was sold by him, and now in the possession of another private person; and so was created lord Arlington, the proper and true name of the place being Harlington, a little village between London and Uxbridge.

The king took the occasion to make these two noblemen from an obligation that lay upon him to confer two honours at the same time; the one upon Mr. Frescheville, of a very ancient family in Derbyshire, and a fair estate, who had been always bred in the court, a menial servant of the last king, and had served him in the head of a troop of horse raised at his own charge in the war, and whom his late majesty had promised to make a baron.

The other was Mr. Richard Arundel of Trerice in Cornwall, a gentleman as well known by what he had done and suffered in the late time, as by the eminency of his family, and the fortune he was still master of after the great depredation of the time. John Arundel, his father, was of the best interest and estate of the gentlemen of Cornwall: and in the beginning of the troubles, when the lord Hopton and the other gentlemen with him were forced to retire into Cornwall, he and his friends supported them, and gave the first turn and opposition to the current of the parliament's usurpation; and to them, their courage and activity, all the success that the lord Hopton had afterwards was justly to be imputed as to the first rise. The old gentleman was then above seventy years of age, and infirm; but all his sons he engaged in the war: the two eldest were eminent officers, both members of the house of commons, and the more zealous soldiers by having been witnesses of the naughty proceedings of those who had raised the rebellion. The eldest was killed in the head of his troop, charging and driving back a bold sally that was made out of Plymouth when it was besieged: and this other gentleman of whom we now speak, and who was then the younger brother, was an excellent colonel of foot to the end of the war.

When sir Nicholas Slanning, who was governor of Pendennis, lost his life bravely in the siege of Bristol, the king knew not into what hands to commit that important place so securely, as by sending a commission to old John Arundel of Trerice to command, well knowing that it must be preserved principally by his interest; and in respect of his age joined his eldest son with him: and after his death he added the younger brother to the command, of whom we are speaking, who was in truth then looked upon as the most powerful person in that county.

When the king, then prince, was compelled, after almost the whole west was lost, to retire into Cornwall, he remained in Pendennis castle, and from thence made his first embarkation to Scilly: and at parting, out of a princely sense of the affection and service of that family, he took the old gentleman aside, and in the presence of his son wished him "to defend the place as long as he could, because relief might come, of which there was some hope from abroad;" and promised him, "if he lived to come back into England, he would make him a baron; and if he were dead, he would make it good to his son." The old man behaved him bravely to his death, having all his estate taken from him; and his son remained

as eminently faithful, and had as deep marks of it as any man : so that at the king's return, who never forgot his promise, he might have received the effect of it in the first creation, if he had desired it ; but he chose rather to recover the bruises his fortune had endured by seizures and sequestrations, before he would embark him in a condition that must presently raise his expense in his way of living. And as soon as he found himself at ease in that respect, he got a friend to inform the king, "that he was ready to receive his bounty."

And his majesty, being under these two obligations, was willing to take the same opportunity to prefer the two other persons he loved so well. But at the same time that he declared his resolution for the last two, (but what concerned the others had been long known and expected,) his majesty reflected upon the number of the house of peers, which was in many respects found grievous, and declared to his brother and the chancellor, who were only present, "that no importunity should prevail with him to make any more lords in many years, and till the present number should be lessened;" in which resolution the duke willingly concurred, and protested "that he would never more importune him in that point." The reason of mentioning this declaration and resolution will appear hereafter. This creation was no sooner over, than the new earl of Falmouth went with the duke to sea : for though his relation was now immediately to the king and near his person, yet he thought himself obliged not to be from the duke when he was to be engaged in so much danger ; and he was confessed by all men to abound in a most fearless courage.

It will not be unseasonable in this place to take a view of an act of state that passed about this time, and which afterwards administered matter of reproach against the chancellor, and was made use of by his enemies as an evidence of his corruption ; for the better understanding whereof, it will be necessary to begin the relation from the original ground of the counsel. About the first Christmas after the king's happy return into England, the chancellor, treasurer, privy seal, and the two chief justices (being the persons appointed by the statute for that purpose) met together to set the prices upon the several sorts of wines ; and were attended, according to custom, by the company of vintners, and the chief merchants in the city who traded in that commodity. And being first to limit the merchants to a reasonable rate, before they could prescribe any price to the vintners upon the retail, they found, by the best inquiry they could make, that the first prices beyond the seas which the merchants paid for their wines were so excessive, that the retail could not be brought within any compass ; and that since the beginning of the troubles the price of wines in general was exceedingly increased, and particularly that of the Canaries was almost double to what it had been in the year 1640.

The chancellor knew very well, by the correspondence he had held in the Canaries, (during the time that he had served his majesty as his ambassador in Spain,) that the whole trade for the Canary wine was driven solely by the English, and the commodity entirely vended in the king's dominions, all Christendom beside not spending

any quantity of that wine : and thereupon he asked the merchants "whether what he had reported was not true, and what would be the way to remedy that mischief."

They all confessed it to be very true, and "that it was a great reproach to the nation to be so much imposed upon in a trade that they might govern themselves : and that the unreasonable prices of the wine were not the greatest prejudice that was befallen that trade. That before the troubles they had been so far from employing any stock of money for the support of that traffick, that they used to send their ships fully laden with all commodities thither, which yielded very good markets, being sent from thence into the West Indies with their Plate fleets ; and that the very pipe-staves which they carried did very near supply the value of their wine, so that they brought home the proceed of their commodities either in pieces of eight, or such other merchandizes as had been brought thither from the Indies, and upon which they received great profit. On the contrary, that the trade was now wholly driven by ready money ; that the commodities they send thither are not taken off, except at their own prices, so that they have for the late years sent their vessels empty thither, except only with some few pipe-staves, which by the destruction in Ireland they could not send in any great proportion ; and that their ships return from thence with no other lading but those wines, which they trade for in ready money, either by pieces of eight sent in their ships from hence, or by bills of exchange charged upon some known merchants in Spain. That over and above these disadvantages, the Spaniards in those islands had of late imposed new duties upon the wine, and laid other impositions upon the merchants than the English nation had been ever accustomed to." They said, "all these inconveniences proceeded from the immoderate appetite this nation hath for that sort of wine, and therefore they take from them as much as they can make ; and from our own disorder and irregularity in buying them, and contending who shall get the most, and so raising the price upon one another, and making the Spaniards themselves the judges what the merchants shall pay."

The lords, upon consultation between themselves, found the matter too hard for them, and that the reformation of so much evil must be made by degrees, and upon a representation of the whole, with the difficulties which attended it, to the king and his privy-council, whose wisdoms only could provide a remedy proportionable to the mischiefs. For the present, as they resolved not to raise the prices at which wine was at that time bought and sold, (which they believed, how reasonably soever it might be done, would yet be very unpopular,) so they thought it not just to draw down and abate those prices, since it appeared to them that the wines cost more in proportion upon the places of their growth. They declared therefore to the merchants and to the vintners, "that though for the present they would permit the same prices to continue for the next year, which they had been sold for the present year," and which indeed were confirmed by the late act of parliament, "they should hereafter take care what markets they made ; for that they

"were resolved the next year to make the prices much lower both to the merchant and to the vintner:" and so, upon the report made by the lords of the whole matter to the king in council, and of what they thought fit to be done for the present, a proclamation was published accordingly.

The next year both the merchants and vintners were very earnest suitors to the lords at their accustomed meeting, that greater prices might be allowed, or at least that the same might be continued; making it very evident, that their wines cost them more than they had done the year before. Upon the debate the Canary merchants were much divided. Some of them insisted very importunately to have the price raised, "because it was notorious that they had paid much more than formerly, by reason," as they alleged, "that the vintage had not yielded near the proportion that it used to do." Others, though confessing the increase of price, yet pretended a more public spirit and the necessity of a reformation: and therefore they pressed as earnestly, "that the price might not be raised, but that they might be permitted to take what they had done already for this year." It was quickly discovered whence this moderation proceeded; and that the last proposers had a great quantity of wine upon their hands, which had been provided the year before, and so might well be sold at the same price, but that the former had no old wine left, but were supplied with a full provision of new, which had cost them so much dearer. Both the one and the other desired the lords, "that whatever resolution they took for the present, a clause might be inserted in the proclamation, that, the next year which followed, Canary wine should not be sold for above four and twenty pounds the pipe, and that every year after it should be drawn lower," as it might well be, it having been sold in the year 1640 for twenty pounds the pipe; though, in the year when his majesty returned, it had been permitted to be sold at six and thirty pounds the pipe. "Such a clause," they said, "would give notice to the islanders, and oblige them to sell their wines at more reasonable rates, and would render the merchants unexcusable if they should give greater." Notwithstanding all their allegations, the lords remembered what they had declared to them the last year, which was as fair a warning as any thing they could now say would be. And accordingly they set lower prices upon all wines for the year to come than had been allowed the last, as the most effectual warning for the future: which was thought a very rigorous proceeding; but being reported to the king and council, what they had done was allowed and confirmed, and his majesty was well contented that such a clause as they had proposed should be inserted in the proclamation; which was accordingly done.

The year following, when the lords met again according to custom, which is, as hath been said, about Christmas, they found not the least reformation; on the contrary, that the Canary merchants had paid dearer than ever, which made them all more solicitous to have the price raised, and the vintners as importunate for their retail. And indeed the vintners seemed to be in a much worse condition than the merchants. And they made it appear, "that they were often compelled to pay

"higher prices to the merchant than [were] imposed by their lordships; without which they could get no good wine, and so must give over their keeping house: that the penalty upon the merchant was very small, being not above forty shillings a pipe, and the crime not easy to be discovered, as was evident by there not having been one merchant questioned in many years for that common transgression; whereas on the vintner's part the penalty was very severe, and easily discovered by any man who went to a tavern and would be an informer, and that most of the vintners in London were at that very time sued in the exchequer upon those very penalties, which, if exacted, must produce their ruin."

The merchants excused themselves for their present pretence, and for their having given more for their wines than was lawful for them to have done by their own desire: "that they had done their best, and that the greatest traders amongst them had consented between themselves not to suffer the prices to be raised upon them; but that they found it ineffectual, and that though they should give over their trades, it would produce no reformation. That the trade was open to all adventurers, and that there had been many ships sent from England in that very year by Jews, and people of several trades, who had never been before known to trade to the Canaries: insomuch as when they who had been long bred up to the trade, and had been long factors in those islands, sent their ships thither, they found other English ships there, and the wines bought at a greater price than they had allowed their factors to give; so that they must either have their ships return empty and unladen, or take the wines at the prices other men gave. That they had chosen the latter, as well to continue their trade, as to draw home some part of the stock they had in that country. That they could imagine but two ways to reform that excess: the one, by putting the trade into such a method and under such rules, as might restrain that license, and not leave it in the power of persons who never had been in the trade to give the law to it; and by this means the islanders would find it necessary to set reasonable prices upon their commodities, and to yield such other advantages and privileges to the merchants as they had heretofore enjoyed. The other, that the king would by his proclamation prohibit the importation of any Canary wines into his dominions: and hereby he would quickly receive such propositions from Spain, as would put it into his own power to make the reformation; otherwise the islanders had been persuaded that England could not live without their wines."

The lords were resolved, notwithstanding all that had been said, that they would execute the former proclamation, and reduce the prices of wines to what had been then determined: and after they had given a full account of the whole business to the king in council, the resolution was approved, and a proclamation was issued out to that purpose. The merchants and vintners applied themselves to his majesty, and to many of the lords of the council, and thought they had encouragement enough to hope for a relief in an appeal to the king and council by petition; and they had thereupon a day assigned to be

heard. Many of the lords thought it very hard, if not unjust, to compel men to sell cheaper than they bought, which was the truth of the case, and which must oblige both merchants and vintners to sophisticate and corrupt their wines to preserve their estates; which might probably turn to the great damage of the whole kingdom, in producing sickness and diseases: and this charitable and generous consideration prevailed with the major part of the lords to be well contented, and to wish that some indulgence might be exercised towards them. On the contrary, when the king had well weighed the whole proceedings, and with trouble and indignation considered the obstinate vice of the nation, which made it ridiculous to all the world, he expressed a positive resolution to vindicate himself and his government from this reproach. He thought the adhering firmly to the prices which had been resolved upon by the lords would be the best preface to this reformation, though it might be attended with particular damage to particular persons, who had yet less cause to complain, because their own advice had been followed. And thereupon his majesty declared, "that he would make no alteration;" but withal told them, "that if they could make any proposition to him for the better regulation of the trade," (for they had themselves mentioned a charter,) "he would graciously receive any propositions they would make, and gratify them in what was just:" and so, notwithstanding all attempts which were often repeated, the price set by the lords was ratified for the year following.

Shortly after, many of the merchants who had always traded to the Canaries did petition the king, "that they might be incorporated; and that none might be permitted to trade thither but such who would be of that corporation, and observe the constitutions which should be made by them:" which petition was presented to the king at the council-board; and being read, his majesty (according to his custom in matters of difficulty and public concernment) directed it to be read again on that day month, at which time his majesty presumed that all who would oppose it would present their reasons and objections against it, which he desired to hear. At the day appointed, though there was no petition against it, yet it was observed that there were many of the most eminent merchants of that trade, whose names were not to the petition, nor [who] otherwise appeared desirous to have a charter granted: which his majesty considering, he put off the debate for another week, and directed "that the other merchants by name should be desired to be present, and to give their advice freely upon the point."

And there was at that day a very full appearance; when his majesty directed, "that a relation should be made to them of the whole progress that had been in the business, and the damage and dishonour the nation underwent in the carrying on that trade: that many merchants had presented a petition to him, containing an expedient to bring it into better order; but finding them not to appear in it, and being informed that they were best acquainted with and most engaged in that trade, he had sent for them to know their opinion, whether they thought what was proposed to be reasonable and fit to be granted, and if so, why they did

"not concern themselves in it." They answered, "that the reason why they had not appeared in it was, because they thought they should be losers by it, and therefore were not solicitous to procure a grant from his majesty to their own damage;" and so enlarged "upon the nature of the trade, their long experience in it, and the greatness of their stock, which they should not be allowed to continue under any regulation. But as they did not think themselves [in a situation] to be solicitous for a change, so they could not deny, being required by his majesty to speak the truth, but that the proposition that was made was for the public good and benefit of the kingdom, and that they conceived no other way to redeem that trade, and the nation from the insolence which the Spaniard exercised upon them;" implying, "that if his majesty would command them, they would likewise concur and join in the carrying on the service." To which his majesty giving them gracious encouragement, they all seemed to depart of one mind; and his majesty remained confirmed in the former opinion he had of it.

But there remained yet an objection, which was principally insisted on by the ministers of the revenue, who alleged very reasonably, "that this new-modelling the trade must produce some alteration, and would meet some opposition from the Spaniard, which for the time would lessen the customs and entitle the farmers to a defalcation." The petition was therefore referred to the farmers of the customs, who were to attend the next council-day: and being then called, they did acknowledge, "that the design proposed would prove very profitable to the kingdom in many respects," upon which they enlarged, "and that in the end it would not be attended with any diminutions of the customs; but for the present," they said, "they could not but expect, that the obstinacy and contradiction of the Spaniard would give such a stop to trade, at least for one year, that if his majesty did not reimburse them for what should fall short in the receipt of custom, they must look to be very great losers." The merchants on the other hand offered "to be bound, that if they did not the first year bring in as much as had been usually entered, they would make good what should be wanting to the farmers upon a medium." Whereupon his majesty himself declared, "that he would not, for a small damage to himself, hinder the kingdom from enjoying so great a benefit:" and he commanded his solicitor general, who then attended the board, "to prepare such a charter as might provide for all those good ends which were desired in the petition," and which had been so largely debated; and it was notorious, that there had never been a greater concurrence of the board in any direction.

Many months passed before the charter was prepared; in which time there was never the least new objection made against it, nor was it known that any man was unsatisfied with it. After it was engrossed and had passed the king's hand, it was brought to the great seal; and there the lord mayor of London and the court of aldermen had entered a caveat to stop the passing of it. The chancellor, according to course, appointed a time when he would hear all parties. The city alleged

an order made a year or two before by the king in council, upon a complaint then exhibited by the court of aldermen against the Turkey company and other corporations, "in which," they said, "there were very many merchants of the best trade and of the greatest estates in the city, who would never take out their freedom, and so refused to bear any charge or office in it, to the very great prejudice and dishonour of the city and of the government thereof; since they were thereby compelled to call inferior citizens to be aldermen, before they had estates to bear the charge of it, whilst the gravest and the richest men, who were most fit, could not be obliged to accept of it, because they were not freemen." The persons concerned, which were indeed a great number of very valuable and substantial men and of great estates, answered, "that they had traded very many years without finding any reason to take out their freedom, which they might do or not do as they thought best for themselves; that they had always paid scot and lot in the several parishes where they lived with the highest of the inhabitants, and were taxed the more because they had not taken out their freedom, they who taxed them being always freemen; that they were grown old now, and had no mind to become young freemen, but would rather give over their trade, and retire into the country where they had estates."

Besides the rules which the king gave upon the difference then in question, he was pleased to declare, and appointed it to be entered as an order in the council-book, "that care should be taken, that in all charters which he should hereafter renew or grant to any companies or corporations in the city of London, they should first make themselves freemen of the city; by which they might be liable to the charges of it, as other citizens are." They said, "that there were many of this company that was now to be incorporated who were not freemen;" and therefore the lord mayor and court of aldermen desired the benefit of the king's order, which was read.

The merchants confessed, "that many of them were not freemen, and resolved not to be:" they said, "they had never heard of this order, and were sorry that they had spent so much money to no purpose." The chancellor declared to them, "that he could not seal their charter till they had complied with the king's determination, and given the court of aldermen satisfaction:" and they all seemed as positive that they would rather be without their charter, than they would submit to the other inconveniences: and so they departed. But after some days' deliberation and consultation between themselves, and when they found that there was no possibility to procure a dispensation from that order, they treated with the city, and agreed with them in the preparing a clause to be inserted in their charter, by which they were obliged in so many years to become freemen; which clause, being approved by all parties, was in the king's presence entered in the bill that his majesty had signed, and being afterwards added to the engrossment, it was again thus reformed and sent to the great seal, and presented to the chancellor to be sealed.

There were by this time several new caveats

entered against it at the seal; all which the chancellor heard, and settled every one of them to the joint satisfaction of all parties, and all caveats were withdrawn. There was then a rumour, that there would be some motions made against it in the house of commons: and some parliament-men, who served for the western boroughs, came to the chancellor, and desired him "that he would defer the sealing it for some days till they might be heard, since it would undo their western trade;" and, they said, "they resolved to move the house of commons to put a stop to it." The chancellor informed them of the whole progress it had passed, and told them, "he believed that they would hardly be able to offer any good reasons against it:" however, since it was then well known that the parliament would be prorogued within ten or twelve days, he said "he would suspend the sealing it till then, to the end that they might offer any objections against it there or any where else." But though the parliament sat longer than it was then conceived it would have done, there was no mention or notice taken of it: and after the prorogation no application was further made for the stopping it, and the merchants pressed very importunately that it might be sealed, alleging with reason "that the deferring it so long had been very much to their prejudice." Whereupon the chancellor conceived that it would not consist with his duty to delay it longer, and so affixed the great seal to it.

The company then chose a governor and other officers according to their charter, and made such orders and by-laws as they thought fit for the carrying on and advancement of their trade, which they might alter when they thought convenient; and for the present they resolved upon a joint stock, and assigned so many shares to each particular man. In this composition and distribution there fell out some difference between themselves, which could not be taken notice of abroad: and even some of them, who first petitioned and were most solicitous to procure the charter, did what they could to hinder the effect of it; sent privately to their factors at the Canaries, "to oppose any orders that should be sent from the governor and the company, and that they should do all they could to incense the Spaniards against the charter," and bade them promise "that all their wine should be taken off in spite of the corporation." Whereupon great disorders did arise in the Canaries between the English themselves; and by the conjunction of the Spaniards with those few English who opposed the charter, they proceeded so far as to send the principal factors for the company out of the island into Spain, and to make a public act by the governor and council there, "that no ship belonging to the company should be suffered to come into the harbour, or to take in any lading from the island:" all which was transacted there many months before it was known in England, and probably would have been prevented or easily reformed, if it had not pleased God that the plague at this time spread very much in London, and if the war with the Dutch had not restrained all English ships from going to the Canaries for the space of a year; which intermission, not to be prevented nor in truth foreseen, gave some advantage to the merchants at home



who opposed their charter, who complained for the not-return of their several stocks within the time that the company had promised they should be returned.

I am not willing to resume this discourse in another place, which I should be compelled to do if I discontinued the relation in this place, as in point of time I should do; but I choose rather to insert here what fell out afterwards, and to finish the account of that affair, that there may be no occasion in the current of this narration to mention any particulars that related to it.

When the king was at Oxford, and was informed of what had passed at the Canaries, some merchants appeared there to petition against the charter, whereof there were some who were the first petitioners for it. His majesty appointed a day for the solemn hearing it in the presence of his privy-council, the governor being likewise summoned and present there. Upon opening all their grievances the petitioners themselves confessed, "that they could not complain of the charter; that it was a just and necessary charter, and for the great benefit of the kingdom, though some private men might for the present be losers by it: that their complaint was only against their constitutions and by-laws, and the severe prosecution thereupon contrary to the intention of the charter itself;" instancing, amongst other things, "the very short day limited by the charter, after which they could not continue their trade without being members of the corporation; and that day was so soon after the sealing the charter, that it was not possible for them to draw their stocks from thence in so short a time."

When they had finished all their objections, the king observed to them, "that they complained only of what themselves had done, and not at all of the charter, which gave them only authority to choose a governor, and to make constitutions and by-laws, but directed not what the constitutions and by-laws should be, which were the result of their own [consultations], in which the major part must have concurred; and of that kind the resolution for a joint stock was one, which and all the rest they might alter again at the next court, if the major part were grieved with it." But because they had complained of some particulars, in which they might have reason on their side, his majesty expressed a willingness to mediate and to make an agreement between them: and thereupon he required the governor to answer such and such particulars which seemed to have most of justice; but the governor answered all at large, and made it clearly appear, that they had in truth no cause of complaint. As to the short day that was assigned for the drawing away their stocks, which had the greatest semblance of reason in all they complained of, he said, "they had no reason to mention their want of warning, for that the day was well enough known to them long before the sealing the charter, and might very well have been complied with," (the reasons why the sealing the charter was so long deferred are set down before,) "and could be no reason to them to neglect the giving direction in their own concerns; but that they knew likewise, that the day was enlarged to a day desired by them-

"selves, that there might be no pretence for discontent:" and thereupon the order of the court to that purpose was read to his majesty, and they could not deny it to be true.

In conclusion, since it did appear that their stock did in truth still remain in the Canaries, and in justice belonged to them, whether it was their fault or their misfortune that it had not been drawn over in time; the king persuaded the governor and his assistants to give them such satisfaction in that and other particulars, that before they retired from his majesty's presence they were unanimously agreed upon all their pretences: and though some of the lords, upon some insinuations and discourses which they had heard, had believed the company to have been in the wrong, they were now fully convinced of the contrary, and believed the charter to be founded upon great reason of state, and that the execution of it had been very justifiable and with great moderation. And it is to be observed, that the parliament being then assembled at Oxford, there was not the least complaint against that charter or corporation.

And this was the whole progress of that affair, until it served some men's turns to make it afterwards matter of reproach to the chancellor, in a time when he had too great a weight of the king's displeasure upon him to defend himself from that and other calumnies, which few men thought him guilty of. And if the motives of state were not of weight enough to support the patent, more ought not to be objected to him than to every other counsellor, there having [never] been a more unanimous concurrence at that board in any advice they have given: and the delays he used in the passing the charter after it came to his hand, his giving so long time for the making objections against it, and his so positively opposing the company with reference to their being freemen of the city, are no signs that he had such a mind to please them, as a man would have who had been corrupted by them, or who was to have a share in the profit of the patent, as was afterwards suggested, but never believed by any to whom he was in any degree known, who knew well that he frequently refused to receive money that he might very lawfully have done, and never took a penny which he was obliged to refuse. He was indeed, as often as that affair came to be debated, very clear in his judgment for the king's granting it, and always continued of the same opinion: nor did he ever deny, that some months after the patent was sealed the governor made him a present in the name of the corporation, as it is presumed he did to many other officers through whose hands it passed, and which was never refused by any of his predecessors when it came from a community upon the passing a charter; which he never concealed from the king, who thought he might well do it. In the last place it is to be remembered, that after all the clamour against this charter in parliament, and upon the arguing against the legality of it by eminent lawyers before the house of peers, it was so well supported by the king's attorney general and other learned lawyers, that the lords would not give judgment against it: but the governor and the corporation durst not dispute it further with the house of commons, but chose to surrender their charter into the king's hands.



The French had their ambassador, monsieur Comminge, remaining still in England, who pretended to be ready to finish still the treaty of commerce, but formalized so much upon every article, though nothing was demanded but what had been granted to Cromwell, that it was concluded that he wanted power, though somewhat was imputed to the capriciousness of his nature, which made him hard to treat with, and not always vacant at the hours himself assigned, being hypochondriac and seldom sleeping without opium. As soon as the war was declared, the king of France sent two other ambassadors, whereof, for the countenance and splendour of it, the duke of Vernueil was one, who being uncle to both the kings was received rather under that relation than in the other capacity, and was lodged and treated by the king during the whole time of his stay. With him came likewise monsieur Courtine, a master of requests, and much the quicker man of the three, and upon whose parts and address most of the business depended. The former ambassador was joined in commission with the other two: and their declared business was to mediate a peace between the king and the Dutch, when there had been yet little harm done, only great preparations made on both sides for the war; which they did not seem very solicitous to interrupt, but contented themselves with declaring at their first audience, "that the king their master out of Christianity, and to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, desired to mediate a peace, which the States of the United Provinces were very [willing] he should do, and professed to have a very great desire of peace; which made his Christian majesty hope that he should find the same good inclinations here, and if he might be informed what his majesty did require, or what would be grateful to him, he did not doubt but that he should persuade the States to submit to it."

And with this general discourse, and without delivering any memorial in writing, the ambassadors acquiesced for many months, as if their business was only that the Dutch ambassador, who remained still in London, might know and send word to his masters that they had begun their mediation. Otherwise they seemed in all their discourses to make some kind of apology for being sent, implying, "as if the extraordinary importunity of the Dutch had prevailed with the king to undertake this mediation, and which he did the rather, upon their promise that they would yield to any thing he should advise them; and he was very far from desiring that his majesty might not receive ample satisfaction in whatsoever he required:" so that the king did not imagine, whatever information he had received before, and whatever jealousy he had entertained, that this embassy would be concluded in the denunciation of a war against him. Nor is it probable that the ambassadors themselves at that time knew that they were to perform that office, though it was afterwards evident that the matter had been long before resolved in France. They lived between the two courts, for the queen mother was likewise at that time at her palace of Somerset-house, in much jollity, and as vacant from any affairs till they might receive new orders from court, but spending much time with the Dutch ambassador, whom they persuaded

"that they were very intent upon and had much advanced the treaty," as appeared by the ambassador's letters to the Hague.

The plague increased so fast, that the queen mother, who had all the winter complained of her indisposition of health, and declared that she would in the summer go again into France, took that occasion, albeit she was recovered to a very good state; and about the end of July removed and embarked for France, and took so many things with her, that it was thought by many that she did not intend ever to return into England. Whatever her intentions at that time were, she never did see England again, though she lived many years after.

It was in April that the duke went to sea: and from the day of his going thither with the fleet, letters and orders came from him to the day of the battle for an addition of more ships, upon intelligence of an increase of strength added to the enemy, though they yet lay still in the harbours, whilst the duke was upon their coasts. But Mr. Coventry still made new demands, and wrote to the chancellor, "that whilst the king's brother was at sea and ventured his own person, nobody who wished him [well] would, for saving money, hinder any thing from being sent that his highness thought necessary for his defence:" and all things were sent, though procured with wonderful difficulty.

The treasurer had believed, when all the provisions were delivered which had been demanded, and all computations satisfied which had been made, and the fleet at sea, that there would have been no more expense till its return; whereas every day added new expense which had not been thought of: and the requiring of more ships was then believed, and more afterwards, to proceed from the restless spirit of Mr. Coventry, who cared not how much to increase the expense, and was willing to put the treasurer and all the king's ministers to contend with all difficulties, that he might reproach their laziness or want of ability. But they did not gratify him in that, but all the ships, and whatever else was sent for, were sent; insomuch as the fleet amounted to no less than one hundred sail, and was now retired, for want of somewhat to do, to our own coast, where they resolved to attend the motion of the enemy: and in this time most of the volunteers, having endured the unpleasantness of the sea above a month, begun to think that the war was not so necessary as they had thought it to be.

The duke's family, that was numerous in his own ship, were not at ease, and found less respect from the seamen than they looked for: they grew into factions between themselves, and the earl of Falmouth and Mr. Coventry were rivals who should have most interest in the duke, who loved the earl best, but thought the other the wiser man, who supported Pen (who disoblged all the courtiers) even against the earl, who contemned Pen as a fellow of no sense, and not worthy of the charge and trust that was reposed in him. In this discomposure, and having nothing to do, every body grew angry at the occasion that brought them thither, and wished for peace.

The earl of Falmouth, as in a time of leisure, was sent by the duke with compliments to the king, and to give him an account of the good state of the fleet: he visited the chancellor, to

whom he had always paid great respect and made many professions; and he told him, "that they were all mad who had wished this war, and that himself had been made a fool to contribute to it, but that his eyes were open, and a month's experience at sea had enough informed him of the great hazards the king ran in it." He reproached Pen "as a sot, and a fellow he thought would be found without courage." He told him, "that the king and the duke too were both inclined to peace, and discerned that the charge and expense of the war would be insupportable;" and concluded, "that as soon as this action should be over, which could not be avoided many days if the Dutch fleet put to sea, as it could not be doubted it would, it would be good time to make a peace, which he desired him to think of, and to speak with the king, whom he would find disposed to it:" and so he returned to the fleet.

And by that time the Dutch were come out, and the next day were in view. They were near of equal number, and well manned, under the command of Opdam, the admiral of the whole fleet, upon whom the States had conferred that charge, that the prince of Orange's party might conclude, that they never intended that he should have the charges of his father and grandfather, and likewise to gratify the nobility of Holland, that had a very small share in the government. And this gentleman, who had never been at sea before, and had but a small fortune, was of that number, and had joined with that faction which was averse from the family of Orange. The fleets came within sight of each other on the first of June, and had some skirmishes, which continued on the second, the wind favouring neither party, as willing to keep them asunder: but upon the third it served both their turns, and brought them as near each other as they could desire to be.

Nor did the Dutch seem to advance with less courage and resolution. Opdam the Dutch admiral with his squadron bore directly upon the duke, with a resolution to board him: but before he came near enough, and very little before, whether by an accident within his own ship, or from a grenado or other shot out of the duke's ship, his gunroom took fire, and in a moment the ship sunk without any man being saved. The vice-admiral of the same squadron, being a Zealander, pursued the same resolution, and had boarded the duke if captain Jeremy Smith, a captain of the duke's squadron, had not put himself between and boarded the vice-admiral, who was equally attacked by the duke: and so that ship was taken after most of the men were killed; and the captain himself was so wounded, that he only lived to be brought on board the duke's ship, and to complain of his companions "for not having second-ed him according to an oath they had taken on board their admiral the day before," and died within half an hour, to the great trouble of the duke, who gave him a great testimony for a very gallant man, and much desired to preserve him.

The fight continued all the day with very great loss of men on all sides, though after the first two hours the Dutch, seeing many of their best ships burned and more taken, did all that the wind would give them leave to separate themselves from the English fleet, which pursued them so close, that they found they lost more by flying than

by fighting, and did lessen their sails to give some stop to the pursuit till the night might favour them: and the evening no sooner came, but they hoisted up all their sails, and intended nothing but their escape.

When there was no more to be done by the approach of the night, the duke, who was infinitely tired with the labour of the day, having lost above two hundred men aboard his own ship, whereof some [were] persons of quality, who stood next his own person, and shall be named anon, was prevailed with to repose himself after he had taken some sustenance; which he did, after he had given the master of the ship, an honest and a skilful seaman, direct and positive charge "to bear up in that manner upon the Dutch fleet that he might lose no ground, but find himself as near, when the day should appear, as he was then when he went to sleep." The fleet had no guide but the lanthorn of the admiral, and were not to outtail him of course, and behaved themselves accordingly. But when the duke arose and the day appeared, the Dutch fleet was out of view; and before he could reach them, they were got into their ports, or under the shelter of their flats, that it was not counsellable for the great ships to pursue them further: yet some of those ships which made not so much way, or had not steered so directly, were taken by the lesser ships that followed them. And the duke had received so many blows on his own and the other ships, that it was necessary to retire in port, where they might be repaired.

It was a day of signal triumph, the action of it having much surpassed all that was done in Cromwell's time, whose navals were much greater than had ever been in any age: but the Dutch had never then fought with so much courage and resolution; nor were their ships then in strength to be compared to the English, as Van Trump assured them, "and that except they built better ships, they would be as often beaten as they fought with the English." And from that time they new-built all their navy, and brought now with them as good ships as any the king had: and the men for some hours behaved themselves well. In that day the duke sunk, burned, and took eighteen good ships of war, whereof half were of the best they had, with the loss of one single small ship, for there was no more missing of his whole fleet. It is true the number of the killed and wounded men was very great, and was thought the greater, because in the great massacre that was on the other side there was no man, except Opdam their admiral, who had a name. There were many excellent officers killed and taken, men of courage and of great experience in naval affairs, and therefore an irreparable damage to them; but they had grown up from common seamen, and so were of no other quality than every mariner of the fleet.

On the part of the English, besides above two hundred men that were killed on board the duke's own ship, there fell the earl of Falmouth, who hath been lately spoken of, and the lord Muskerrey, eldest son to the earl Clancarty, a young man of extraordinary courage and expectation, who had been colonel of a regiment of foot in Flanders under the duke, and had the general estimation of an excellent officer: he was of the duke's bed-chamber, and the earl and he were at that time so

near the duke, that his highness was all covered with their blood. There fell likewise in the same ship Mr. Richard Boyle, a younger son of the earl of Burlington, a youth of great hope, who came newly home from travel, where he had spent his time with singular advantage, and took the first opportunity to lose his life in the king's service. There were many other gentlemen volunteers in the same ship, who had the same fate.

In prince Rupert's ship, who did wonders that day, and in that of the earl of Sandwich, who behaved him with notable courage and conduct, there were very many men slain, and some gentlemen volunteers, of the best families, whose memories should be preserved. The earl of Marlborough, who had the command of one of the best ships, and had great experience at sea, having made many long voyages at sea, and being now newly returned from the East Indies, whither the king had sent him with a squadron of ships to receive the island of Bombayne from Portugal, was in this battle likewise slain. He was a man of wonderful parts in all kinds of learning, which he took more delight in than his title; and having no great estate descended to him, he brought down his mind to his fortune, and lived very retired, but with more reputation than any fortune could have given him. The earl of Portland was a volunteer on board his ship, and lost his life by his side, being a young man of very good parts, newly come of age, and the son of a very wise and worthy father, who died few months before: and he having a long and entire friendship with the earl of Marlborough, his son, though of a melancholic nature, intended to lead an active life, and to apply himself to it under the conduct of his father's friend, with whom he died very bravely.

There was another almost irreparable loss this day in sir John Lawson, who was admiral of a squadron, and of so eminent skill and conduct in all maritime occasions, that his counsel was most considered in all debates, and the greatest seamen were ready to receive advice from him. In the middle of the battle he received a shot with a musket-bullet upon the knee, with which he fell: and finding that he could no more stand, and was in great torment, he sent to the duke to desire him to send another man to command his ship; which he presently did. The wound was not conceived to be mortal; and they made haste to send him on shore, as far as Deptford or Greenwich, where for some days there was hope of his recovery; but shortly his wound gangrened, and so he died with very great courage, and profession of an entire duty and fidelity to the king.

He was indeed of all the men of that time, and of that extraction and education, incomparably the modestest and the wisest man, and most worthy to be confided in. He was of Yorkshire near Scarborough, of that rank of people who are bred to the sea from their cradle. And a young man of that profession he was, when the parliament first possessed themselves of the royal navy; and Hull being in their hands, all the northern seamen easily betook themselves to their service: and his industry and sobriety made him quickly taken notice of, and to be preferred from one degree to another, till from a common sailor he was promoted to be a captain of a small vessel, and from thence to the command of the best ships.

He had been in all the actions performed by Blake, some of which were very stupendous, and in all the battles which Cromwell had fought with the Dutch, in which he was a signal officer and very much valued by him. He was of that classis of religion which were called independents, most of which were anabaptists, who were generally believed to have most aversion to the king, and therefore employed in most offices of trust. He was commander in chief of the fleet when Richard was thrown out: and when the contest grew between the rump and Lambert, he brought the whole fleet into the river, and declared for that which was called the parliament; which brake the neck of all other designs, though he intended only the better settlement of the commonwealth.

When the council of state was settled between the dissolution of the rump and the calling the parliament, they did not like the temper of the fleet, nor especially of Lawson, who, under the title of vice-admiral, had the whole command of the fleet, which was very strong, and in which there were many captains they liked well: yet they durst not remove the vice-admiral, lest his interest in the seamen, which was very great, should give them new trouble. The expedient they resolved upon was to send colonel Mountague as admiral to command the fleet, without removing Lawson, who continued still in his command, and could not refuse to be commanded by Mountague, who had always been his superior officer, and who had likewise a great interest in very many of the officers and seamen. Yet Mountague, who brought with him a firm resolution to serve the king, which was well known to his majesty, had no confidence in Lawson till the parliament had proclaimed the king: and when he brought the fleet to Scheveling to receive the king, all men looked upon the vice-admiral as a great anabaptist, and not fit to be trusted. But when the king and the duke had conferred with him, they liked him very well: and he was from time to time in the command of vice-admiral in all the fleets which were sent into the Mediterranean. Nor did any man perform his duty better: he caused all persons, how well qualified soever, who he knew were affected to a republic, to be dismissed from the service, and brought very good order into his own ship, and frequented the church-prayers himself, and made all the seamen do so. He was very remarkable in his affection and countenance towards all those who had faithfully served the king, and never commended any body to the duke to be preferred but such; and performed to his death all that could be expected from a brave and an honest man.

It looked like some presage that he had of his own death, that before he went to sea he came to the treasurer and the chancellor, to whom he had always borne much respect, and spake to them in a dialect he had never before used, for he was a very generous man, and lived in his house decently and plentifully, and had never made any the least suit or pretence for money. Now he told them, "that he was going upon an expedition in which many honest men must lose their lives: and though he had no apprehension of himself, but that God would protect him as he had often done in the same occasions, yet he thought it became him against the worst to make his condition known to them, and the rather, because

"he knew he was esteemed generally to be rich." He said, "in truth he thought himself so some few months since, when he was worth eight or nine thousand pounds: but the marriage of his daughter to a young gentleman in quality and fortune much above him, (Mr. Richard Norton of Southwick in Hampshire, who had fallen in love with her, and his father, out of tenderness to his son, had consented to it,) had obliged him to give her such a portion as might in some degree make her worthy of so great a fortune; and that he had not reserved so much to himself and wife, and all his other children, which were four or five, as he had given to that daughter." He desired them therefore, "that if he should miscarry in this enterprise, the king would give his wife two hundred pounds a year for her life; if he lived, he desired nothing. He hoped he should make some provision for them by his own industry: nor did he desire any other grant or security for this two hundred pounds yearly, than the king's word and promise, and that they would see it effectual." The suit was so modest, and the ground of making it so just and reasonable, that they willingly informed his majesty of it, who as graciously granted it, and spake himself to him of it with very obliging circumstances; so that the poor man went very contentedly to his work, and perished as gallantly in it with an universal lamentation. And it is to be presumed that the promise was as well performed to his wife: sure it is, it was exactly complied with whilst either of those two persons had any power.

The victory and triumph of that day was surely very great, and a just argument of public joy: how it came to be no greater shall be said anon. And the trouble and grief in many noble families, for the loss of so many worthy and gallant persons, could not but be very lamentable in wives, in fathers and mothers, and the other nearest relations: but no sorrow was equal, at least none so remarkable, as the king's was for the earl of Falmouth. They who knew his majesty best, and had seen how unshaken he had stood in other very terrible assaults, were amazed at the flood of tears he shed upon this occasion. The immensity of the victory, and the consequences that might have attended it; the safety and preservation of his brother with so much glory, on whose behalf he had had so terrible apprehensions during the three days' fight, having by the benefit of the wind heard the thunder of the ordnance from the beginning, even after by the lessening of the noise, as from a greater distance, he concluded that the enemy was upon flight: yet all this, and the universal joy that he saw in the countenance of all men for the victory and the safety of the duke, made no impression in him towards the mitigation of his passion for the loss of this young favourite, in whom few other men had ever observed any virtue or quality which they did not wish their best friends without; and very many did believe that his death was a great ingredient and considerable part of the victory. He was young and of insatiable ambition; and a little more experience might have taught him all things which his weak parts were capable of. But they who observed the strange degree of favour he had on the sudden arrived to, even from a detestation the king had towards him, and concluded from

thence, and more from the deep sorrow the king was possessed with for his death, to what a prodigious height he might have reached in a little time more, were not at all troubled that he was taken out of the way.

The duke, after he had given directions for the speedy repairing of the fleet, and for the present sending out such ships as could quickly be made ready to [ride] before the coast of Holland, made haste to present himself to the king, and to the queen his mother, who was ready to begin her journey to France, and had stayed some days to see the success of the naval fight, and afterwards to see the duke; and within few days after his arrival her majesty left the kingdom.

And now the whisper began in the duke's family of the reason, why the victory, after so great advantages, had not been pursued with that vigour that might have made it more destructive to the enemy than it proved to be. The master of the duke's ship (captain . . . . .) pursued his orders very punctually after the duke was gone to sleep, and kept within a just distance of the Dutch fleet that remained in order together, for many fled in confusion and singly to that part of the coast that they thought they knew best; and many of them were taken. But the duke was no sooner in sleep, but Mr. Brounker of his bed-chamber, who with wonderful confusion had sustained the terror of the day, resolved to prevent the like on the day succeeding. He first went to sir William Pen, who commanded the ship, and told him, "that he knew well how miraculously the duke was preserved that day, and that they ought not further to tempt God;" wished him to remember, "that the duke was not only the king's brother, but the heir apparent of the crown, and what the consequence would be if he should be lost. And therefore it would concern him not to suffer the duke's known and notorious courage to engage him in a new danger, which he would infallibly be [exposed to] the next morning, if they continued to make so much sail as they did, and to keep so near the Dutch, who fled, but if they were pressed and in despair would fight as stoutly as they had done in the beginning. And therefore he desired and advised him to give the master order to slacken the sails, that the Dutch might get what ground they could, to avoid a further encounter." Pen answered him honestly, and told him, "he durst give no such orders, except he had a mind to be hanged, for the duke had himself given positive charge to the contrary."

Mr. Brounker, when he could not prevail there, confidently went to the master of the ship, who was an honest and a stout man, and carefully kept the steerage himself, that he might be sure to observe the order he had received from his highness, and told him, "that it was the duke's pleasure that he should slack the sails, without taking notice of it to any man." Whereupon the master did as he was commanded, making no doubt that a servant so near the person of his highness, and in so much favour with him, would [not] have brought such an order without due authority.

And by this means the remainder of the fleet escaped, which otherwise would probably have been all taken: for it was afterwards known, that there was such a confusion amongst the officers,

that nobody would obey; for though in truth the right of commanding, according to the course observed amongst them, after the death of Opdam, was in the vice-admiral of Zealand, yet, he being likewise killed, the other could not agree. But young Trump, the son of the old famous admiral, who had behaved himself very bravely all the day, challenged the command in the right of Holland; but John Evertson of Zealand, brother to him that was killed, required it as his right: which begat so great an animosity as well as confusion amongst them, that the morning, if they had been pursued, would in all probability have [proved] as dismal to them as the day before had done.

But the duke never suspected this, nor did any presume to tell him of it, which made many men presume that it was done with the privy of Mr. Coventry, not only for the great friendship between him and Brounker, but because both Pen and the master were so silent when the duke was so much troubled the next morning: nor did the duke come to hear of it till some years after, when Mr. Brounker's ill course of life and his abominable nature had rendered him so odious, that it was taken notice of in parliament, and upon examination found to be true, as is here related; upon which he was expelled the house of commons, whereof he was a member, as an infamous person, though his friend Coventry adhered to him, and used many indirect arts to have protected him, and afterwards procured him to have more countenance from the king than most men thought he deserved, being a person throughout his whole life never notorious for any thing but the highest degree of impudence, and stooping to the most infamous offices, and playing very well at chess, which preferred him more than the most virtuous qualities could have done.

With this victory a new vast charge and expense (beside the repairing the hurt ships, masts, and rigging, and fitting out new ships of war, and buying more fireships) appeared, that was never foreseen or brought into any computation; which was a provision for sick and wounded men, which amounted to so great a number upon all the coast, that the charge amounted in all places, notwithstanding the general charity of the people, and the convenience that many hospitals yielded, to above two thousand pounds the week for some weeks, and though less afterwards by the death and recovery of many, yet continued very great; besides the charge of keeping the Dutch prisoners, which were above two thousand, and every day increased.

The duke was very impatient to repair and set out the fleet again to sea, and resolved nothing more than to go in person again to command it, his family remaining still on board, and preparing such things as were wanting for his accommodation: but the queen mother had prevailed with the king at parting to promise her, "that the duke should not go again in person in that expedition;" which was concealed from the duke, his majesty believing that the confidence of his royal highness's going contributed very much to the setting out the fleet, as it did so much, that but for that, it had been impossible to have procured so much money as was with infinite difficulty procured, to satisfy the expenses of so many kinds, whereof many had been unthought of. And towards this there was a benefit that flowed from a

fountain of extreme misery, which was the increase of the plague, which spread so fast that the king's staying so long in town was very dangerous. Yet the approach of this great calamity, that in other respects produced great mischiefs, advanced the present enterprise: for all people who had money knew not what to do with it, not daring to leave it in their houses where they durst not stay themselves; so they willingly put it into the bankers' hands, who supplied the king upon such assignations, as the late act of parliament and other branches of the king's revenue would yet bear.

And if at this time the French ambassadors had pursued their office of mediation, it is very probable that it might have been with success. For besides the great loss the Dutch had received in the battle and in their being deprived of so many of the merchants' ships, the factions were irreconcilable in the fleet: there were many officers who had behaved themselves very basely and cowardly in the action, but they knew not how to punish them; Evertson and Trump, who were their best seamen, would not submit to be commanded by each other; the people were ready to rise upon De Wit, upon whom they looked as the occasion of the war, and cried aloud for peace. And the faction amongst the States themselves was very visible: all the other complained bitterly against the province of Holland, "which," they said, "had engaged them in a war against their will and without their privy, which was directly contrary to the form and constitution of their government." In a word, peace was universally desired and prayed for; and, in the opinion of all men, any reasonable conditions would at that time have been yielded to. And as the people of England generally had not [been] pleased with the beginning the war, so the court was weary of it; and the king would have been willing to have received any good overtures for the composing it; and the duke, since he was kept from bearing a part in it, would not have opposed it. But the ambassadors pressed no such matter, but congratulated the victory with the same joy they found in the court, and seemed to think that any misfortune that could befall the Dutch would be but a just punishment for their pride and insolence towards all their neighbour princes: the two nations had not yet worried themselves enough, entirely to submit to the arbitration of France; which it resolved they should do.

Within less than a month the fleet was again prepared and ready for the sea, as strong and in as good a condition as it had been before the battle; and the king and the duke went thither, the duke making no doubt of putting his person on board. And the king at that time resolved that prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich should have the joint command of it: in order to which prince Rupert was prepared, of whose easy concurrence only there was some doubt, his majesty promising himself all conformity and resignation from the earl of Sandwich; which he met with in both, for the prince very cheerfully submitted to his majesty's pleasure. In the journey the king acquainted his brother with his resolution, and the promise he had made to the queen their mother; with which the duke was much troubled, and offered many reasons to divert his majesty from

laying his command upon him: but when he found there was no remedy, he submitted, and gave orders for disembarking his family and goods.

But when this was communicated to Mr. Coventry, who was to prepare such commissions and warrants as upon this alteration of counsels were necessary, he persuaded the duke, and prevailed with him to believe, "that it would be much better to commit the sole command of the fleet to the earl of Sandwich, than to join prince Rupert in it with him," who, for no other reason but for not esteeming him at the rate he valued himself, had been long in his disfavour. He suggested some defects in the prince, which nobody could absolve him from, and which the gentle temper of the earl of Sandwich, who knew him as well as the other, could have complied with: and many thought it would have in the conjunction produced a very good mixture, the danger from the prince being too sudden resolutions from too much heat and passion, and the earl having enough of phlegm and wariness in deliberating, and much vigour in the executing what was concluded; and they were both well prepared and inclined to perform the function.

But Mr. Coventry's advice prevailed both with the duke and king: and so in the instant that the king and duke were to return from the fleet that was ready to set sail with the first wind, and not till then, the king told prince Rupert, without enlarging upon the reasons, "that he would have him to return with him to London, and accompany him this summer, and that the earl of Sandwich should have the sole command of the fleet;" with which the prince was wonderfully surprised and perplexed, and even heart-broken; but there was no contending. He stayed behind the king only till he could get his goods and family disembarked, and then returned with very much trouble to the court: and the earl of Sandwich set sail with the fleet, with direction first to visit the coast of Holland, and if he found that the Dutch fleet was not ready to come out, that he should go to the northward to watch the East India fleet, which had orders from their superiors to come by the north, that they might avoid the English fleet, that was master of the sea.

It was in the end of June or beginning of July that the king and duke returned from the fleet; and within few days after, it set sail: when the plague increased so fast, that there died about two thousand in a week; so that all men cried out against the king's staying so long at Whitehall, the sickness being already in Westminster. Whereupon the king, after he had taken the best care he could with the lord mayor for the good ordering the city, and published such orders as were thought necessary for the relief and regulation of infected persons, and prevailed with some justices of the peace in the Strand and in Westminster to promise to reside there, (which they were the more easily persuaded to do by the general's declaring that he would stay in his lodgings at Whitehall, which he did during the whole time of the pestilence; and the lord Craven, out of friendship to him, stayed likewise in his house in Drury-lane: and it cannot be denied that the presence of those two great persons prevented many mischiefs which would have fallen out by

the disorder of the people, and was of great convenience and benefit to that end of the town :) I say, when the king had settled all this, he removed to Hampton, resolving there to consider how to dispose of himself for the remainder of the summer. And because there were many particulars still unresolved concerning the business of Ireland, his majesty for some days appointed that numerous people, that they might have no pretence to come to Hampton-Court, to attend at Sion; where for many days together his majesty spent many hours, till he had composed that affair as well as it was for the present capable of.

The plague still increased at London, and spread about the country; so that it was not thought safe for the court to remain longer where it then was, the sickness being already in some of the adjacent villages. Whereupon the king resolved that his own family and his brother's should remove to Salisbury, and spend the summer there. And because it was already in view, that it would not be fit for the parliament to assemble again at Westminster in September, to which time it was prorogued, nor could it be computed at what time it could be safe to meet in that place; and it was as notorious that if the parliament met not somewhere, whereby the king might have another supply before the winter, there would be very great confusion for want of money: he caused therefore a proclamation to issue out, "that he intended to adjourn the parliament to meet at Oxford upon the tenth of October next, and that the members need not to attend at Westminster in September." And then he directed the speaker of the house of commons, who lived within half a day of London, and the general and the lord Craven, to give notice to the members of both houses, who lived within that distance, to be present in both houses at the day to which they were prorogued, and then to adjourn to Oxford according to the proclamation. And this being settled, his majesty appointed a day for beginning his progress from Hampton-Court to Salisbury; against which time all carriages and whatsoever was necessary for the journey [were prepared].

In the morning, when every body believed that the king and queen and duke and duchess, with both their families, were to go together one way, Mr. Coventry found a way to break that resolution, having no mind to be in so great a court that his greatness would not appear. He told the duke, "that there were general discontents throughout the kingdom," which was true, "and a probability of insurrections," which were much spoken of and apprehended; "and therefore it might be better that the king and the duke might not be together, but in several places, that they might draw what forces were necessary to them, which the presence of their own persons would easily do: that the fleet would probably be all the summer upon the northern coast in expectation of the Dutch East India fleet;" for it was not then thought that the Hollanders would have been able to have set out another fleet able to have encountered ours. Upon the whole matter he proposed to him, "that since the king meant to spend the summer in the west, with which there could very hardly be any correspondence from the fleet, his highness should go into the north, and reside at York;

"by which he would have an influence upon all those parts where the most disaffected persons [were] most inhabitant, and from Hull and those maritime parts he could not be long without receiving intelligence from the fleet."

The truth is; the constitution of the court at this time was such, the prevalence of the lady so great, and the queen's humour thereupon so inconstant, and all together so discomposed the king, that there was no pleasure in being a part of it: and therefore the advice was as soon embraced as given, by the duke and his wife, who were well content to enjoy themselves in their own family apart. And the duke presently proposed it to the king, and Mr. Coventry discoursed all the motives to him so fully, that his majesty approved it. And then, if it were to be done at all, the first attending the king to Salisbury, which was so much out of the way, would be to no purpose: and therefore it was resolved (all the coaches and carriages being then at the doors to go to Farnham, which was the first day's journey towards Salisbury) that the king and his brother would part upon the place, and that the king and queen should continue their purpose for Farnham, and the duke and his wife should go that night to St. Alban's, and so prosecute his journey for York; and all orders were in the instant given out to this purpose.

Whether the reasons of this counsel were of importance or not, the alteration on such a sudden from what had been before determined was thought very strange, and wondered at, and made many believe that some accident was fallen out that must not be discovered: for on the sudden it was, there having been no such thought overnight, when the chancellor left the court to go to his own house at Twickenham. And when he returned the next morning, the resolution was taken, and every body well pleased with the change, and both the king and the duke told him with satisfaction of it; nor did he understand it enough to make objections against it, which would have been ingratul; nor was it convenient to spend longer time in deliberation at that place, where some of the inferior servants had died the night before of the plague: and so they all entered upon their journey by nine of the clock the same morning.

It is necessary in this place to remember, that the express, that had been sent by the bishop of Munster's agent with the conditions which were offered by the king, returned with great expedition, and brought the bishop's acceptation and engagement, "that, upon the payment of the first sum that was agreed upon, he would draw his army together, and march with an army of twenty thousand horse and foot into the States' dominions." And the king before he left London had signed the treaty, and made the first payment, and provided for the second: so that he now expected that the bishop should be shortly upon his march, and fix his winter quarters in those provinces; which he did resolve and intend with courage and sincerity, and which in that conjuncture must have put the counsels of Holland into great confusion, when they began to be again reduced into some order.

The indefatigable industry and dexterity of the pensionary De Wit prevailed with the States to believe, "that he thought a peace to be necessary

"for their affairs, and desired nothing but that it might be upon honourable and safe conditions, and that France was very real in the endeavouring it: but that the enemy was so insolent upon their late success, that they neglected all overtures, and believed that the factions and divisions amongst themselves would hinder them from being able to set out another fleet; and therefore that ought to be the first design. And if their fleet were ready to go out, he doubted not but a peace would quickly follow: for that France was engaged, if the king should not consent to what is just and reasonable, to declare a war against England, and to assist them with men and money, and all his own naval power, which the duke of Beaufort was then preparing and making ready in all the ports of France. But that it was not to be expected that they would send out their fleet, which was much inferior to the English, except they first saw a Dutch fleet at sea ready to join with them." He wished them to consider how much they were all concerned in their India ships, which were in their voyage, and could not be far from their coasts in a short time; all which would inevitably fall into the hands of the English, if they had no fleet at sea to relieve them."

These reasons, of weight in themselves, and the concernment of most of them in the preservation of the Indian ships, prevailed with them to do all that could be done to set out a new fleet: and to that purpose they sent very strict and severe orders to their several admiralties, for the proceeding against all, without distinction of persons, who had misbehaved themselves in the late battle, and to provide new ships and all necessary provisions, to the end that their fleet might be at sea by a time. And this grew the more easy to them, by the seasonable return of De Ruyter with his fleet from Guinea, which brought a present addition of good strength; and he had began the war upon the English, and was the best sea-officer they had, and had exercised those commands that no other officer could refuse to obey him.

For the speedy carrying on these present preparations, they made, according to their usual custom in extraordinary occurrences, committees of the States to assist in the admiralties of Zealand, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam; and to that purpose De Wit, and such other as he thought fittest at this time to join with him, were appointed. They went first to the fleet to reform the disorders there: and though they durst not proceed with that severity as had been fit, yet they cashiered many captains and other officers, and put some other marks of disgrace upon others, and caused one or two to die.

But that which De Wit's heart was most set upon was to take revenge upon Van Trump, and to remove him from ever having any command at sea: for though he was an excellent officer, and upon the stock of his father's credit of great estimation with the seamen, and inferior to no man but De Ruyter, and had behaved himself in the battle with signal courage; yet his dispute with Evertson upon command had brought much prejudice to them. But that which was worst of all and incensed De Wit implacably was, that he was of entire devotion to the prince of Orange, as his father had always been, and all his children con-



tinued to be, and he knew well had an especial part, how covertly soever, in fomenting the murmurs of the people [against] him and the war: and he resolved to take this opportunity of the good temper the States were in in their concurrence for the setting out the fleet, not only to provide for the better government of their ships and marine conduct, but to punish and prevent the murmurs at land, by removing all those out of any power whom he suspected to have secretly contributed to them. He did all he could to make Van Trump's offence capital, as if the right of command had been so clear in Evertson that the other could not dispute it: but Van Trump defended himself [so well], and had so many friends, that he was absolved from that guilt. Yet for some passionate and indiscreet words, in which he did naturally abound, he was deprived of his command, with a declaration, "that he should no more be employed in the service of the States;" which whilst the government was in those hands he cared not for, and had a good estate to subsist without it. And so for the present all differences were composed so far, as to have a general concurrence in whatsoever was necessary, and in order to the making ready and setting out their fleet to sea.

The king had been few days at Salisbury before the French and Spanish ambassadors arrived there, and then they made some instance with the king, that there might be a treaty for peace; and [the French ambassadors] declared, "that the king their master was so far engaged by treaty with the Dutch, that if the king would not accept of a just and an honourable peace, his majesty must declare himself on their behalf, which he was unwilling to do." The king answered, "that if there were any such engagement he had not been well dealt with; for that the French king had given his word to him, that he would not enter into any treaty with the Dutch but '*pari passu*' with his majesty," (and when his majesty had been informed that there was some treaty concluded with them, he was assured from France "that it was only a treaty of commerce, which he had been obliged to enter into to prevent an edict in Holland, by which strong waters and other French commodities would have been inhibited to be brought into those provinces, but that there was nothing in that treaty that could be to his majesty's prejudice:") "that his majesty had been always ready to embrace peace, which had been never yet offered by the Dutch, nor did he know what conditions they expected."

The ambassadors seemed to be much offended with the insolent behaviour of the Dutch; and confessed "that they were not solicitous for peace, but only desired to engage the king their master in the war: but that if his majesty would make his demands, which they presumed would be reasonable, the other should be brought to consent to them." To which the king replied, "that they had begun the war upon him, and not he upon them; and that God had hitherto given him the advantage, which he hoped he should improve; and till they were as desirous of a peace as he, it would not become him to make any propositions." And in this manner that affair stood whilst the court remained at Salisbury.

And there now fell out an unexpected accident, which looked as if Providence had been inclined to repair the mischief and the damage that the plague had produced to the affairs of the king. It hath been mentioned before, that upon the first thoughts of a war with the Dutch, the king had sent Mr. Henry Coventry to Sweden, and sir Gilbert Talbot to Denmark, to engage those crowns as far as might be on his majesty's behalf, both of them being enough disoblighed and provoked by the Dutch.

Mr. Coventry in Sweden found a frank and open reception, avowing a hearty affection to the king, and an inclination to join in any thing that might not be destructive to their own affairs: nor did they dissemble the injuries they had received from the Hollander even to the Dutch ambassador himself, who was at the same time sent thither to unite that crown to their interest, to which purpose he had made several specious overtures. Nor did they conceal the jealousy they had of the French, who had not complied with the payment of the yearly sum of money which they were obliged to make to them for the support of their army, of which they were in a great arrear, that discomposed their affairs very much. And though M. Pomponne, who had been long resident in that court as an envoy, was now come thither as ambassador from France, and brought with him a good sum of money to retain them fast to their dependance upon them; yet the money was not half that was due to them, and they well knew what dark ends it was for: and they did exceedingly fear the omnipotence of France.

There were two things which kept them from a full declaration on the king's behalf, and engaging presently in his interest. The first was the apprehension that they had of Denmark, that it would take this opportunity to unite themselves more firmly to the Hollander, and so attempt to deprive Sweden of all their late conquest, which was confirmed to them by their own treaty of Copenhagen, which they were resolved never to part from: and in this particular they were to expect some satisfaction and security from the negotiation of sir Gilbert Talbot. The other was, that they might see the bishop of Munster fully engaged, upon whose expedition they had much expectation. And Mr. Coventry had informed them of that whole agreement, which would have given them opportunity to have prosecuted their own design upon Bremen, to which their hearts were most devoted.

Sir Gilbert Talbot had been as well received in Denmark, with all the professions imaginable of affection to the king, and of their detestation of the Dutch, who in truth had exercised a strange tyranny over them by the advantage of their necessities; nor is the injustice, oppression, and indignities which they had sustained from them to be expressed and described, without entering into a large discourse of particulars which are foreign to this relation: let it suffice, that there needed few arguments to persuade that king to any thing that was within his power, and which would have done signal mischief to the Dutch. But the truth is, the kingdom was very poor, the people unwarlike, the king himself very good and very weak, jealous of all the great men, and not yet recovered of the fright that Wolfelt had put him into. His chief minister, one Gabell, had



gotten his credit by having been his barber, an illiterate and unbred man, yet his sole confident in his business of greatest trust; which made all the persons of quality in the kingdom, who are as proud of their nobility as any nation, full of indignation. And they were able to cross many resolutions after they were taken, though they could not establish others in the place; which made the king very irresolute and unfixed: so that what was concluded to-day was reversed or not pursued to-morrow. They professed a great jealousy of the Swede, as the greatest argument, but their weakness, against [a war with] the Dutch; yet were not willing to propose any expedients which might secure them against those jealousies. And the king absolutely denied that he had ever given Hannibal Zested authority to declare, "that he would again confirm the treaty he had made;" and seemed to take it unkindly that his majesty should think it reasonable, who therefore thought it so, because it was proposed by himself, and because he still confessed, "that he could make no attempt to recover what he had parted with." That which he did unreasonably design, in all the disguises which were put on, was to engage the king to endeavour to persuade the Swede to give up and restore Elsinour and the other places to Denmark, or to assist him with force for the recovery of them when there should be a peace concluded with Holland: so that the king despaired of any good from that negotiation, and resolved shortly to recall his minister from thence.

But there was on a sudden a change to wonder. Gabell came early in a morning to sir Gilbert Talbot, and told him, "his master was now resolved to unite his interest entirely to that of the king of England, having now an opportunity to do it securely to both their benefits." He told him, "that there were letters arrived that night from Bergen, with news that the Dutch East India ships were all arrived in that port with orders to remain there till they received new orders from Holland, which they should have as soon as their fleet should be ready to join with them. This had disposed the king to resolve to give the king of England opportunity to possess himself of all that treasure, out of which he presumed he would allow him such a share, as might enable him to declare, and assist his majesty vigorously in his war, against the Dutch. That if he gave speedy notice to the king's fleet, which every body knew was then at sea, it might easily go to Bergen, where they might as easily surprise all those ships in the port, since they should receive no opposition from the castles under whose protection they lay."

And when he had done his relation, he offered him to go with him to the king, that he might receive the obligation from himself; which sir Gilbert Talbot presently did, and found his majesty as cheerful in the resolution as Gabell had been. He repeated all that the other had said, and more particularly "that he thought it reasonable that he might expect half of the value that the whole would amount to; which he would rely upon the king's honour and justice for, after the ships should be in England, and that he might not be suspected by the Hollander, for he would protest [against] the act as a vio-

lence that he could not resist: and so he would expect so many of his majesty's [ships] to arrive in Denmark, and to assist him, before he positively declared against the Dutch." He wished sir Gilbert Talbot "to send an express forthwith to the king with all these particulars;" which he did the next day.

This express arrived within few days after the king came to Salisbury, and was despatched presently back again with letters to the king of Denmark of his majesty's consent and ratification of all that he had proposed, and with letters likewise to the earl of Sandwich, who according to his former orders had sailed northward in hope to meet with that fleet, which was before got into Norway. The king's letters to him came in a very good season, and he immediately continued his course for Norway: and when he came to that length, and near enough to that land of rocks which are terrible to all seamen, he thought it best to remain at sea with his fleet, lest De Ruyter might by this time be come out with his fleet, (since his being come northward could not be concealed, nor the arrival of the East India fleet at Bergen; which would hasten the other,) and sent in a squadron of fifteen or sixteen good ships (of strength sufficient for the business) into the harbour of Bergen with a letter to the governor. And with it he sent a gentleman that was a volunteer on board him, who hath been often mentioned before, Mr. Clifford, the confident of the lord Arlington, who was well instructed in all the transactions which had been at Copenhagen. Before they went into the harbour, Mr. Clifford and another gentleman or two went by boat to the town, where he found all the Dutch ships (about a dozen in number) riding very near the shore, and all under the protection of the castle, into which they had put much of their richest lading from the time of their first coming thither, as to a place of unquestionable security.

The governor was not surprised with the messengers or the letter, as appeared by the reception of both, but seemed troubled that they were come so soon, before the manner of performing the action was enough adjusted: he could not deny but "that he had received orders from Copenhagen; but that he expected more perfect directions within four and twenty hours, and expected likewise the presence of the vice-king of Norway, who was his superior officer, and would infallibly be there the next day." The behaviour of the man was such as made them believe it sincere, as in truth it was, for he meant well, and was content that the ships, which though they were not come into the port did not ride safe amongst the rocks, should come into the port, upon assurance that they would not attempt any hostile act without his consent, which was till all things should be agreed between them: and so the fleet entered; which the Dutch perceived with great consternation, yet changed the posture of some of their ships, and new-moored the rest, and put themselves upon their defence.

It is a port like no other that the world knows, a very great number of formidable rocks, between each of which the sea runs deep enough for the greatest ships to ride securely; so that the ships were as in so many chambers apart between the rocks: and the Dutch, which came thither first, had possessed themselves of that line of the sea

that lay next to the shore, to which they lay so near that they could descend from their vessels on land; which had been much the better for the enterprise, if the Dane had concurred in it.

It was so late before the English ships had taken their places, which was as near the Dutch as the rocks would permit, that they remained quiet all night, which was spent in consultation between the commander in chief of the English ships (who was a stout and a good officer, but a rough man, who knew better how to follow his instructions than to debate the ground of them; but he was advised by Mr. Clifford, and conformed to his judgment) and the governor of the town and castle, who seemed still inclined not only to suffer the English to do what they would, but to be willing to act a part in it himself from the shore, and to expect hourly orders to that purpose, as likewise the arrival of the vice-king, whose authority was more equal to that attempt, and who was a man well known to have a particular reverence for the king, and as particular a prejudice and animosity against the Dutch. The night being over, the governor continued all the next day as desirous and importunate that the enterprise might be longer deferred; upon which there were some choleric words between the governor and a gentleman of quality who was a volunteer on board the ships, which many thought in some degree irreconciled the governor to the affair.

In conclusion, the commander of the squadron was willing to think that the governor had rather it should be done without his declared consent than by it, and so told him, "that the next morning he was resolved to weigh his anchors and to fall upon the Dutch;" to which the other made such a reply as confirmed him in his former imagination. And in the morning the ships were brought out of their several channels, and placed as near the sides of the Dutch as they could be, from whence they resolved to board them as soon as they had sent their broadsides upon them. But they found that the Dutch had spent their time well; for in the two days and two nights that the English had been in the harbour, besides the unloading the richest of their commodities that were left into the castle, they had drawn all their ordnance, which lay on that side of the ships which was to the shore, on land, and planted them upon a rising ground, that they could shoot over their own ships upon the English: and a breastwork was cast up, behind which all the inhabitants of the town were in arms.

It was a fair warning, and might very well have persuaded our men to be glad to retire out of the harbour, which yet they might have done: but their courage or their anger disposed them to make further trial of the governor, for they feared not the ordnance from the land which the Dutch had planted, nor the muskets from the breastworks, if the castle did them no harm, under the power of which they all were. And so they fell upon their work: and in some time, and [with] the loss of many men from the ships and from the land, they had dismounted many of the ordnance upon the shore, and were even ready to board the ships; when out of absurd rage or accident a ship or two of the English discharged some guns both upon the breastworks, from whence they had received no prejudice, and upon the town, which

beat down some houses. But then all the muskets from the breastworks were poured out, and guns from the castle, which killed very many common men, and five or six officers of very good account, and some gentlemen volunteers, amongst which was Edward Mountague, eldest son to the lord Mountague of Boughton, and cousin german to the earl of Sandwich, a proper man and well-bred, but not easy to be pleased, and who was then withdrawn from the court, where he was master of the horse to the queen, and in some discontent had put himself on board the fleet with a captain, without the privity of the earl of Sandwich, and was now slain. There was now no further experiment to be made, but how they could get to sea, which might easily have been prevented from the shore and from the rocks: but from the minute that they prepared to be gone and gave over shooting, there was no more done against them, and they had pilots from the country that carried them safe out.

The noise of the guns had called the earl of Sandwich as near the mouth of the harbour as could safely be, to discover what became of his squadron; so that they came shortly to him with the whole account of their ill success, and within a short time after a shallop [from the governor], with a letter to the officer who had commanded the squadron, complaining as much as he could do of the misbehaviour of the English in shooting upon the town, and desiring "that Mr. Clifford would give him a meeting at a place he appointed, to which the shallop should convey him." Mr. Clifford was more willing to go than the earl was to permit him; yet at last upon his earnest desire he consented, and he put himself into the shallop. It happened that when the action was over and the English under sail, the vice-king arrived at Bergen, with two or three regiments of the country; and the orders were likewise come from Copenhagen, whereby, at least as they pretended, they were required to permit all that the English desired: and the vice-king had caused the shallop to be sent, and was himself with the governor at the place whither Mr. Clifford was to come, and there he spake with them together.

The governor with many protestations excused himself for shooting from the castle, after the town was assaulted, and many of the burghers killed, who had stood in arms only to defend the town, without being concerned for the Dutch or their ships; and made it an argument of his integrity and respect, "that he had permitted them to depart when it was in his power to have sunk them." He complained, "that the commander would not have the patience to defer the assault one day longer, which if he had done, the orders from Copenhagen had been come, and the vice-king had been present with his forces, which would have secured the enterprise." The vice-king seemed very much troubled for what had been done, and earnestly desired "that the same or another squadron might be again sent in, when they should be at liberty to do what they would upon the Dutch; and if they stood in need of assistance, they should have as much as was necessary."

Mr. Clifford replied to many of the excuses which were made, and urged "the suffering the Dutch to bring their ordnance on shore, and

"the townsmen being in arms to assist them;" and proposed, "that they would first begin by seizing upon some of their ships, and then that their fleet should answer:" but this the vice-king did absolutely refuse, and made another proposition, that startled more, and was directly new, "that when the English had seized upon all the Dutch ships, they should not have carried any of them away till a perfect division of the goods was made, that the king of Denmark might have his just proportion." Mr. Clifford made no answer but "that he would present all that they proposed to the earl of Sandwich, in whom the power of concluding and executing remained solely:" and so he returned to the fleet, and they to the town, and expected an answer.

The earl of Sandwich thought not fit to run any more hazards, and was not satisfied that they had proceeded sincerely. But that which most prevailed with him was, that he had received intelligence "that De Ruyter was come out with the fleet," and he would not he should find him entangled in those rocks, or obliged to fight with him upon that coast; and the season of the year now made that station very unsecure, for it was already the beginning of October, when those seas run very high and boisterous: and therefore he resolved to be master of more sea-room, that he might fight De Ruyter, if he came; and if he did not, he might then meet those East India ships more securely in their way to Holland, than by making another attempt in the harbour. And so, after some letters had passed and repassed between the vice-king and him, and both the vice-king and governor had undertaken to keep the Dutch ships there for the space of six weeks, for they desired to see the success of another engagement between the two fleets; the earl steered that way with his fleet that most probably might bring him and De Ruyter together, which above all things he desired.

This whole affair of Bergen and the managery thereof was so perplexed and intricate, that it was never clearly understood. That which seemed to have most probability was, that as soon as the Dutch fleet came to Bergen, they had unladen many of their richest commodities and put them into the castle, before the governor had received his orders from Copenhagen: and so both his own and his master's faith and honour were engaged to discharge the trust, of which he made haste to send an account to the king, and thereupon expected new directions, which were not arrived when the English fleet came thither. And when they did come, whether that court, according to its custom, did change its mind, and believe they should make a better bargain by keeping what was already deposited in their hands in the castle, than by making an uncertain division with the king; or whether they did in truth continue firm to the first agreement, and that the messenger was stopped by extraordinary accidents in his journey, (which was positively alleged,) so that he did not arrive in time; or whether the governor was not able to master the town that was much inclined to the Hollanders, before the vice-king came with his troops, who did make all possible haste as soon as he heard that the English were arrived; or whether the English did proceed more unadvisedly and rashly than they ought to have done; remains still in the dark: and both parties

reproached each other afterwards, as they found most necessary for their several defences and pretences; of which more hereafter.

The king stayed not altogether so long at Salisbury as he had intended to have done: for besides a little accidental indisposition which made him dislike the air, some inferior servants and their wives came from London or the villages adjacent, and brought the plague with them; so that the court removed to Oxford before the end of September, the parliament being to assemble there on the tenth of the next month. And before he left Salisbury, his majesty sent an express to York to his brother, "that he would meet him as soon as he could." The duke had lived in great lustre in York all that summer, with the very great respect and continual attendance of all the persons of quality of that large county: and the duke no sooner received his majesty's summons than he took post, and left his wife and family to follow by ordinary journeys, and himself came to Oxford the next day after the king, where there were indeed matters of the highest importance to be consulted and resolved.

The king had sent Mr. Clifford to Denmark to be satisfied, upon conference with sir Gilbert Talbot, concerning the miscarriage at Bergen, and if the ships remained still there according to the promise the vice-king had made, and if that king were ready to perform what he had undertaken, that all particulars might be so adjusted that there might be no further mistake; and if he found that the jealousy of Sweden was a real obstruction to that alliance, that he should make a journey to Sweden, and upon conference with Mr. Coventry, who by his dexterity and very good parts had reconciled the affections of that court to a very great esteem of him, to endeavour to remove all those obstructions: and as soon as his majesty should receive full information of that whole affair, he must consider what he was to do to vindicate himself in that business of Bergen; for he knew well that he must suffer with all the world, for violating the peace of a port that was under the government of a neighbour prince with whom he was allied, if he did not make it appear that he had the consent of that prince, which he was not willing to do till he first knew what that king would do.

In the next place his majesty was to resolve what answer to make to the French ambassadors, who now desired frequent audiences, and positively declared, "that their master was engaged by his treaty with the Dutch, that in case they were invaded or assaulted by any prince, he would assist them with men, money, and ships, which he had hitherto deferred to do out of respect to the king, and in hope that he would accept his mediation, and make such propositions towards peace as he might press the others to consent to." The Dutch ambassador was likewise come to town, rather to treat concerning the prisoners and to observe what the French ambassadors did, than that he had any thing to propose in order to peace, there appearing now since their fleet was at sea more insolence in the Dutch, and a greater aversion from the peace, than had been formerly.

The king complained to the ambassadors of the French king's proceedings, "that the entering into that treaty was expressly against his word

"given to the king: that the Dutch had first began the war, and ought to make the first approach towards peace, but that [their] ambassador had no instruction to make any such instance; and therefore it seemed very strange to his majesty, that the French king should press for that which they had no desire to have."

The ambassadors confessed "that the Dutch did not desire a peace; that they thought they were too much behindhand, and that they had at present great advantages; that they looked upon the great plague in London" (which continued in its full rage and vigour, insomuch as at that time in the end of September there died not so few as six thousand in the week, amongst which some were of the best quality in the city) "as of such insupportable damage to the king, that he would not be able to set out another fleet the year following: and therefore that, when they had been pressed by the French king to make some propositions towards peace, he could get no other answer from them, than that they expected that the island of Poleroone should be released to them, and that the fort at Cabo Corso in Guinea should be thrown down and slighted; which they confessed was an insolent proposition. That they complained that the king their master, instead of giving them the assistance he was obliged to do, spent the time in procuring a peace, which they cared not for: so that," they said, "their master continued the same Christian office principally to do his majesty of Great Britain a service, who he in truth believed would be reduced to great straits by the terrible effect of the plague; and in the next place to defend himself from entering into the war, which he could no longer defer to do, if his majesty did not, by consenting to some reasonable overture, give him a just occasion to press them to yield to it; and in that case he would behave himself in that manner that the king should have no cause to complain of his partiality." The king's indignation was so provoked by the pride and impudence of the Dutch demands, that he gave the ambassadors no other answer, than "that he hoped God Almighty had not sent that heavy judgment of the plague upon him and his people on the behalf of the Hollanders, and to expose him to their insolence."

The parliament convened at Oxford in greater numbers than could reasonably have been expected, the sickness still continuing to rage and spread itself in several counties; so that between the danger that was in the towns infected, and the necessary severity in other towns to keep themselves from being infected, it was a very inconvenient season for all persons of quality to travel from their own habitations. Upon the tenth of October the king commanded both houses to attend him in Christ Church hall, and told them, "that he was confident they did all believe, that if it had not been absolutely necessary to consult with them, he would not have called them together at that time, when the contagion had spread itself over so many parts of the kingdom: and he thanked them for their compliance so far with his desires."

His majesty said, "the truth was; as he had entered upon the war by their advice and encouragement, so he desired that they might as

"frequently as was possible receive information of the effects and conduct of it, and that he might have the continuance of their cheerful supply for the carrying it on. He would not deny to them, that it had proved more chargeable than he could imagine it would have been: the addition the enemy had still made to their fleets, beyond their first purpose, made it unavoidably necessary for him to make proportionable preparations, which God had hitherto blessed with success in all encounters. And as they had used their utmost endeavours by calumnies and false suggestions to gain friends to themselves, and to persuade them to assist them against him, so he had not been wanting to encourage those princes who had been wronged by the Dutch, to recover their own by force; and in order thereunto, he had assisted the bishop of Munster with a great sum of ready money, and was to continue a supply to him, who he believed was at that time in the bowels of their country with a powerful army."

"Those issues, which he might tell them had been made with very much conduct and husbandry, (nor indeed did he know that any thing had been spent that could have been well and safely saved;) he said, "those expenses would not suffer them to wonder, that the great supply which they gave him for this war in so bountiful a proportion was upon the matter already spent: so that he must not only expect an assistance from them to carry on that war, but such an assistance as might enable him to defend himself and them against a more powerful neighbour, if he should prefer the friendship of the Dutch before his."

He put them in mind, "that when he entered upon this war, he had told them, that he had not such a brutal appetite as to make war for war's sake; he was still of the same mind: he had been ready to receive any propositions that France had thought fit to offer to that end, but hitherto nothing had been offered worthy his acceptance; nor was the Dutch less insolent, though he knew no advantage they had got but the continuance of the contagion, and he hoped that God Almighty would shortly deprive them of that encouragement."

The chancellor at the same time, by the king's command, made a short narrative of the history of the war, the circumstances with which it was begun, and the progress it had since made, and the victory that the duke had attained; of the vast number of the prisoners and sick and wounded men, a charge that had never been computed.

He told them, "the French king had indeed offered his mediation, and that if he intended no more than a mediation, it was an office very worthy the most Christian king: he wished, that as a mediator he would make equal propositions, or that he would not so importunately press his majesty to consent to those he makes, upon an instance and argument, that he holds himself engaged by a former treaty (of which his majesty had never heard till since the beginning of the war, and had some reason to have presumed the contrary) to assist the Dutch with men and money, if his majesty would not consent."

He said, "his majesty had told them, that he had no appetite to make war for war's sake;

"but he would be always ready to make such a peace as might be for his honour and the interest of his subjects. And no doubt it would be a great trouble and grief to his majesty to find so great a prince, towards whom he had manifested so great an affection, in conjunction with his enemies: yet even the apprehension of such a war would not terrify him to purchase a peace by such concessions as he should be ashamed to make them acquainted with; of which nature they would easily believe the propositions hitherto made to be, when they knew the release of Poleroone in the East Indies, and the demolishing the fort of Cabo Corso upon the coast of Guinea, were two; which would be upon the matter to be contented with a very vile trade in the East Indies under their control, and with none in Guinea. And yet those are not propositions unreasonable enough to please the Dutch, who reproached France for interposing for peace, instead of assisting them in the war, boldly insisting upon the advantage the contagion in London and some other parts of the kingdom gives them; by which, they confidently say, the king will be no longer able to maintain a fleet against them at sea."

He told them, "that he had fully obeyed the command that had been laid upon him, in making that plain, clear, true narrative of what had passed; he had no order to make reflection upon it, nor any deduction from it: the king himself had told them, that the noble, unparalleled supply they had already given him is upon the matter spent, spent with all the animadversions of good husbandry that the nature of the affair would bear. What was more to be done he left to their own generous understandings, being not more assured of anything that was to come in this world, than that the same noble indignation for the honour of the king and the nation, that first provoked them to inflame the king himself, would continue the same passion still boiling in their loyal breasts; that all the world may see, which they never hoped to have seen, that never prince and people were so entirely united in their affections, for their true, joint, inseparable honour, as their only sure infallible expedient to preserve their distinct several interests."

The king could not expect or wish a fuller concurrence from a parliament than he now found. With very little hesitation they declared, "that they would supply his majesty with another million, (ten hundred thousand pounds:)" and because they desired to be dismissed as soon as might be to their several habitations, not without apprehension that so great a concourse of persons from all places, even from London itself, (for the term was likewise adjourned to Oxford,) might bring the contagion thither likewise; they rejected all other businesses but what immediately related to the public. To the supply they designed to the king they added the sum of above forty thousand pounds, which they desired his majesty to confer upon the duke, having received some insinuation, "that it would not be ingrateful to the king that such a present should be made to his brother." Then they passed two or three acts of parliament very much for the king's honour and security, amongst which one was, "for the attainting all those his subjects who either re-

"aided in Holland" (as some of the English officers who had long served in that country presumed still to do) "and continued in their service, or in any other parts beyond the seas, if they did not appear at a day prefixed, after notice by the king's proclamation:" and the nomination of the persons was entirely left to his majesty.

His majesty did hope, that this very good carriage in the parliament would have made some impression upon France, either to give over their mediation, or to have drawn reasonable and just concessions from the States: but it did produce the contrary. The Hollander had received a new damage which inflamed them exceedingly, which shall be particularly mentioned in the next place, whereupon they made grievous complaints to France of its breach of faith upon the promises that had been made to them. The king upon this required his ambassadors once more to make a lively instance to his majesty, "that he would declare what he meant to insist upon in order to a peace, which if he should refuse to do, they should take their leaves and return into France with all possible expedition." In this audience they spake in a higher style than they had formerly used. They complained "of the intolerable damage the subjects of France had sustained in their goods and estates by the king's ships, and those who were licensed by his authority, which without any distinction seized upon all that came in their way as if they were Dutch: and when they complained to the admiralty or to the lords commissioners, they could procure no justice, and were obliged to [such] an attendance and expense, that what they sued for did not prove of value to satisfy the charge of the prosecution; and if after a long and a tedious solicitation they did at last procure a sentence for the redelivery of what had been taken from them, when they hoped to enjoy the benefit of this just sentence by the execution, they found the goods embezzled in the port or plundered by the seamen, that the owners had rarely a third part of their goods ever restored to them. And that by this violence and unjust proceeding, of which they had often made complaint, the French merchants had lost near five hundred thousand pistoles; which their master represented and looked upon as a great indignity to himself, which he had hitherto borne, in hope that the license would have been restrained by the end of the war."

They urged it as an argument of their master's friendship to the king, "that after an offensive treaty had been so long since entered into by him, by which he was obliged to assist the Dutch with men, money, and ships, he had notwithstanding hitherto forborne it, and looked on whilst they were soundly beaten, and had lately sustained another blow; and that it was not possible for him to defer it longer:" and so concluded with very earnest persuasions, "that his majesty would consent to such a peace as their master should judge to be reasonable, who could not but be very just to his majesty;" and wished, "that it might be considered, besides the damage by the plague, which nobody knew how long it might continue, how impossible it was for the king to sustain the arms of France in conjunction with those of Holland, when possibly some other prince might join likewise with them."

They who were appointed by the king to confer with the ambassadors were most perplexed to justify their first charge, "of the depredation that had been made upon the French merchants," which had in truth been very great, though not amounting to the sum they mentioned. Yet to that they answered, "that the damage and loss which the subjects of France had undergone that way had originally proceeded from themselves, and their own default in owning the goods and merchandise of the Dutch to belong to themselves as their proper goods, and in undertaking to carry and deliver the wine and other goods, which were bought and paid for in France by the Hollanders, in French vessels in that country; all which had been fully and notoriously proved, and could not be contradicted: and when that discovery was once made, it was no wonder if the seamen sometimes seized upon some vessels which were not liable to the same reproach. But when any complaints of that kind had been made, the king had always given strict charge to the judges to cause restitution to be made, and the transgressors to be severely punished; and his majesty presumed that the judges had done their duty. For the French king's being bound by his treaty to assist the Hollanders," they said, "that if the king had any such obligation upon him, it was subsequent to his obligation to his majesty, by which he was bound to make no such treaty: nor in truth did they believe that he had entered into any such treaty; for if it were only such as they themselves stated it to be, a defensive league, it would neither engage nor excuse France in giving assistance to them who had done the wrong and begun the war; and therefore if the king was in truth bound to assist them, it must be from some offensive, not defensive clause."

The ambassadors replied, "that their master concluded that their king was the aggressor, and then the defensive article did oblige him;" and they acknowledged there was no other. It was answered, "that the king had assumed a power to judge upon a matter of fact of which he had taken no examination; and that it was a partiality not agreeable to the office of a judge, to believe what the Dutch said, and not to believe what the king said, who had clearly published the true history of the fact; and that it was notorious, and not possible to be denied, that they had refused to deliver Poleroone according to their treaty, and that De Ruyter had begun the war in Guinea before one of their ships had been seized on by the king." To which they replied, "that their master thought otherwise, and did look upon the king as aggressor." When they were urged with the violation of the former obligation by entering into the latter, all the answer they gave was, "that they knew nothing of it, and that they had commission only to treat upon the present state of affairs, and not upon what had passed long before;" and so, according to the character they underwent near fourteen hundred years since, "*Galli ridentes fidem fragerunt.*"

The counsellors of the king told them, "that their master had very well considered the disadvantage he must undergo by the access of so powerful a friend, and of whose friendship he

had thought himself possessed, to the part of his enemies, who were too insolent already; and therefore to prevent that disadvantage, he had and would do any thing that would consist with the dignity of a king: but that he must be laughed at and despised by all the world, if he should consent to make him the arbitrator of the differences who had already declared himself to be a party, and that he is resolved to make war against him on the behalf of his enemy; and that such menaces would make no impression in the last article of danger that could befall the king." The ambassadors took that expression of menaces very heavily, as if it were a tax upon their manners, and said "they had never used words that could imply a menace." To which it was replied, "that there was no purpose to make any reflection upon their persons, who had always carried themselves with great respect to the king, and who his majesty believed did in their own particular affection wish him better than they did the Dutch: however the declaring, that if the king did not do this or that, the French king would make war upon him, could in no language be looked upon to have any other signification than of a menace and threat." This raised a little warmth on both sides, which made the conference break off at that time.

The ambassadors prepared to be gone; and the king discerned clearly that there was no way to divert the French from an entire conjunction with the Dutch: and thereupon he assembled his secret council together again, to consult what should be the final answer his majesty should give to the French ambassadors at parting. There was no person present, who had not a deep apprehension of the extreme damage and danger that must fall upon the king's affairs, if in this conjuncture France should declare a war against England.

It was well known, that the duke of Beaufort was forthwith to be at Brest, where all the French king's ships were to assemble at their rendezvous by Christmas; that [the French king] had already sent to the bishop of Munster to dissuade him from prosecuting his enterprise against Holland, and that probably he might unite Denmark again to the Dutch, and probably even allay those warm inclinations which the Swede had for the king. It was well known, that the French king had in the last distractions in Holland contributed very much to the composing them, and to the support of the power and credit of De Wit, who was the soul of the war, and that he had sent him one hundred thousand pistoles, without which they would have hardly been able to have set out their last fleet under De Ruyter. And above all this, his giving life to some domestic rebellion in England and in Ireland, by sending money to discontented persons, was apprehended: for as there were enough discontented and desperate persons in the latter, who wanted only arms and money to declare for any prince who would take them into his protection; it was well known that there was a general combination amongst those of the late army to have risen, if the duke of York had been defeated at sea, and that it was that victory that disappointed that intended insurrection. That there had been a later design, in the very height of this dismal sickness and contagion, in London, (whither the fanatic party had repaired from all

the quarters of the kingdom, and had appointed a day upon which the general should be assassinated, which some soldiers of his own regiment had undertaken, and then the whole rendezvous was to be in several streets at the same time;) which in so formidable a conjuncture might have succeeded to a great degree, if by God's blessing it had not been discovered two days before to the general, who caused some of the chief conspirators to be apprehended, who suffered afterwards by the hand of justice. And yet the chief amongst them, colonel Danvers, who in spite of all the vigilance that could be used had been always searched for and always concealed from the time of the king's return, being at this time apprehended and brought before the general, and by him sent with a lieutenant and a guard of soldiers to the Tower, was rescued in Cheapside, and so escaped, all the citizens looking on without aiding the officer.

This was the prospect that the king had of his condition and affairs in this consultation: and therefore if any thing could have occurred that might probably have diverted this storm, it would no doubt have been embraced. But then the exceeding breach of faith in entering into that treaty, the denying it afterwards, and concealing his engagement by it so long after the war was entered into, (which if he had not done, the king could never have looked upon him as a fit mediator,) and the impossibility of depending upon any thing that should be promised for the future, were convincing arguments against any such reference of the conditions to his determination as was proposed, and was the only expedient that was proposed towards the making a peace. It was well known that the chief counsels of France, since monsieur Colbert entered upon the ministry, had been directed towards the advancement of manufactures at home, by which they might have less need of commerce with their neighbours; and for the erecting a foreign trade abroad, with which they had been very little acquainted in former times. And it was justly to be feared, that where the judgment was left to them, they would imitate the infamous Roman precedent, of adjudging that to themselves that was in difference between their neighbours and left to their decision: and so both Polerones in the East Indies, and Cabo Corso for the West, must be determined to belong to them; which might be the rather apprehended, by their having erected an East India company and a West India company, before they had any visible foundation for a trade in either, to which both these places might carry with them great conveniences.

These considerations being seriously reflected upon, with a little generous indignation to find himself thus treated, prevailed with the king to lay aside all thoughts of further complying with France, and to resolve to dismiss the ambassadors without any other answer, than what should contain complaints, "of the French king's want of kindness, which his majesty had cultivated by all the offices he could perform since his restoration, which did not receive an equal return, by the preferring the friendship of the Dutch before that of his majesty." And with this answer the ambassadors were dismissed, with liberal presents and all gracious demonstrations of esteem of their persons, and so returned for France,

where they always gave just testimony of the civilities and fair treatment they had received.

But this resolution increased the king's appetite to peace, and made him think of all other expedients that might contribute to it; and none seemed so hopeful, as that France and Holland might be divided: and he would have been very willing to have agreed with Holland upon any reasonable conditions, that he might continue the war with France; which there were many reasonable inducements to hope might be brought to pass. It was notorious, that preparations had been made for two or three years past by France at a very great expense upon the borders, that they might be ready to enter into Flanders as soon as news should arrive of the king of Spain's death; and that war would immediately fall out as soon as that king's decease should be known, which from his age and infirmities must be expected every day: and in that case the friendship could not continue long with Holland, which thought that France was already too near a neighbour to them, to be willing that they should be nearer by a conquest of Flanders, which with its own force could not make an equal resistance. It was likewise as notorious that all the other provinces, Holland only excepted, did impatiently desire the peace; and Holland had only been restrained from the same impatience by the sole credit and authority of De Wit, and by his persuading them, "that France would assist them with men, money, and ships, and likewise declare a war against England, which" (as hath been said before) "would produce a peace upon such conditions as would make it happy to them:" and that though it was true that it had indeed assisted them with some money, it was not considerable to their vast expenses, nor in truth of importance in comparison of the other, which it was equally obliged to do, and had performed nothing. And it was evident that Holland itself was jealous of those proceedings; and even De Wit, in his private discourses to other ministers, seemed to be much unsatisfied with their breach of faith, and not to be without apprehension that they would in the end enter into a stricter alliance with England, and leave Holland as a prey to both.

The Spanish ambassador, who always desired that the peace might be established between the English and the Dutch, and that they would both join with Spain in a defensive league, into which Denmark would be glad to enter, and Sweden might be drawn in upon the same conditions which they now received from France, towards which he had often desired the king to interpose, was now very glad that the French ambassadors had taken their leaves and were gone; and he pretended to have many assurances from the Spanish ambassador at the Hague, that the Dutch had those inclinations which are mentioned before, "and that De Wit would be glad to confer in private with any man trusted by the king, if he might be sure that it should not be communicated to France." Upon all these probabilities, and the certainty that no good could be expected from France, his majesty resolved to embrace all opportunities to agree with Holland; towards which he had a secret intelligence, to which he gave more credit than to all the rest, which shall be mentioned hereafter.



There were so many great transactions during the king's residence in Oxford, besides what was done in the parliament and what related to the dismissal of the French ambassadors, so many counsels which were executed, and so many secret designs only initiated then, and not executed till long after, that there cannot be too particular a recollection of the occurrences of all that time. And if some things are mentioned which seem too light and of too small importance to have a place in this relation, they will be found at last to be the rise and principal ingredient to some counsel and resolution, which proved afterwards of consequence enough, as well to the public as to the interest of particular persons.

The first attempt that was made was to make a breach between the chancellor and the treasurer, who had been long fast friends, and were believed to have most credit with the king; and they who loved neither of them thought the most likely way to hurt them was to make them love one another less. Several attempts had been made upon the chancellor to that purpose without effect: he knew the other too well to be shaken in the esteem he had of his friendship, and the knowledge he had of his virtue.

But there was now an accident fell out, that gave them an opportunity to suggest to the treasurer, "that the chancellor had failed in his friendship towards him." The occasion was upon the vacancy of an office near the queen by the death of Mr. Mountague, master of the horse to her majesty, who had been killed before Bergen: and the news arriving with the duke at York, before it was known at Salisbury to the king, the duke and his wife writ to the king and to the queen "to confer that place upon his younger brother," who was now become both the eldest and the only son to his father, the lord Mountague of Boughton; and the gentleman himself, on whose behalf the letters were writ, came himself by post with them within two or three hours after the news was brought to Salisbury, and he brought likewise a letter from the duchess to the chancellor, "to assist the gentleman all he could in his pretence," he at the same time enjoying the same office under the duchess that his brother had under the queen.

The chancellor had never used to interpose in matters of that nature, nor had he any acquaintance with this gentleman who was now recommended: yet he could not refuse to wait upon the queen, and shew her the letter he had received, without any intention to appear further in it. But when he waited upon the queen, who had received her letter before, her majesty seemed graciously disposed to gratify the gentleman, if the king approved it; but said, "that she would make no choice herself of any servant without knowing first his majesty's pleasure:" and she added, "that she had been informed, that the lord Mountague was very angry with his son that was unfortunately slain, for having taken that charge in her family, and that he never allowed him any thing towards his support; and if all other obstructions were out of the way, she would not receive him, except she were first assured that his father would like and desire it." Her majesty vouchsafed to wish the chancellor "to speak with the king, and as dexterously as

"he could to dispose him to recommend Mr. Mountague to her, as just and reasonable, since his brother had lost his life in his service."

This command of her majesty obliged the chancellor to wait upon the king, and to shew him the letter he had received from the duchess; and at the same time the king gave him that which he had from the duke, in which his highness desired him, "that if that place was not presently conferred upon Mr. Mountague, his majesty would not dispose of it till he waited upon him." The chancellor told him, "that the queen gave no answer, but referred it entirely to his majesty." And he said, "he would never recommend any person to her but such a one as would be very grateful to her." He said, "it would seem very hard to deny one brother to succeed another who was killed in his service." He confessed, "that the lord Crofts had moved him on the behalf of Mr. Robert Spencer, of whom he had a good opinion: but that he had answered him, that he would not do any thing in it till he saw his brother; which resolution he would keep." To which the chancellor made no reply, having in his own private inclinations and affection much more kindness for Mr. Spencer, of whose pretence he had never received the least intimation before, than for the other, with whom he had spoken very few words in his life. He told Mr. Mountague no more but that which the king himself had told him, "that he would not dispose of the place till the duke should arrive;" only he added what the queen had said of his father, and advised him to think of the way to remove that obstruction. Whereupon he resolved to make a journey to his father, which he knew he might well do before the king and his brother could meet.

The same night Mr. Spencer came to the chancellor, and brought him a letter from the treasurer (whose nephew he was, and who was unfortunately gone out of the town the day before to a house of his own twenty miles distant) to recommend his nephew to the queen, to whom and to the king he had likewise letters. The chancellor gave him an account of all that had passed, shewed him the letter that he had received from the duchess, and told him what the queen and the king had said, and "that it was not possible for him to do him service, for which he was very sorry;" but advised him "to deliver both his letters, and to attend their majesties, who he was confident had yet taken no resolution:" with all which he was very well satisfied, and confessed "he could not expect that he should appear for him." When he delivered his letters to both their majesties, he received so gracious an answer from both, that he might reasonably [expect] his suit to be granted, though the king told him, "he would not dispose of the place till he spake with his brother." And there is no doubt but if the lord treasurer had been in the town when the news first came to the king of Mr. Mountague's death, which was a whole day before the arrival of the duke's letter, the king or queen would not have denied him his request.

Within a short time after Mr. Spencer had left him, the lord Crofts, who had married his sister, and was governed by the lord Arlington, came to the chancellor, and desired him "to take care,



"out of his friendship with the treasurer, that the king might not refuse to gratify him in this suit for his nephew, which was the first he had ever made; and if he should be denied, it would exceedingly trouble him. That when he spake to the king of it, as soon as the news came, and told him, he was sure that the treasurer would be a suitor to him for his nephew, his majesty did promise him that he should have it; and that both their majesties had as good as said the same now to Robert Spencer: and therefore, if he would now use his credit, the thing might be despatched presently, and without further delay."

The chancellor asked him, "whether Mr. Spencer had informed him of all that had passed between them two?" he said, "yes; and that he had done all that the duchess had desired him, in speaking both to the king and queen, and that his friendship to the lord treasurer should prevail with him to use all his endeavours for his nephew." Whereupon the chancellor shewed the duchess's letter, and repeated to him again all that he had formerly said to Mr. Spencer, and asked him, "what the duke and his wife must think of him, if, instead of pursuing what they desired, he should solicit quite contrary to it." He said, "that he might tell them that he was engaged by the lord treasurer before he received their letter;" and then talked passionately and indiscreetly "of the affront the treasurer would think he received, if this were denied him; and that all the world would say, that he might have compassed it, if he had not failed in his friendship." To which he made no other answer, than "that the doing so base a thing as he desired would more probably destroy that friendship with a man so punctual in honour and justice as the treasurer was, than any thing that he had done or should leave undone;" and advised him "not to make the business worse by his activity, and that if he had the king's and queen's promise, as he pretended, he might very well acquiesce till the duke came."

However, his very great indiscretion and presumption made the thing much worse, by delivering messages from the king to the queen, and from her majesty to the king, that they both disavowed, and by his usual discourses, "that it should now appear who had the most credit with the king, the duke or the treasurer, and how much the king would suffer, if he disobliged the treasurer;" all which was quickly transmitted by the intelligence that was every day sent to York. On the other hand, he still advised the treasurer "to continue his importunity to the king and queen," (a thing the most contrary to his nature,) and assured him, "that it would be grateful to them, and was expected by them." Whereupon, as soon as the treasurer came to the court, which was not till the king came to Oxford, he went to both their majesties, and renewed his suit to them with more warmth and concernment than was customary to him, and received such an answer from both as very well satisfied him; and without doubt the king intended to persuade his brother to desist from pressing him further on the behalf of the other, for whom he had no kindness.

But the duke, who arrived by post the very

next day, came in another temper than was expected. The intelligence from Salisbury of the contest that was for that place, and the insolent behaviour and expressions used by the lord Crofts, had exceedingly moved him, and he looked upon the treasurer as engaged to try who had the greatest power, and in opposition to him: so that the same night that he came to town, when the king and he were in private, he complained of it with much warmth; and he besought his majesty importunately "that he would declare, that the world might know who had most interest in his favour, he or the treasurer." The king was so much put out of the method he intended to use in this affair, knowing that the expressions the duke had mentioned had been too often used by the lord Crofts, for which he had often reprehended him, that he presently applied that remedy which he thought most proper; and, after conference with the queen, signed the warrant for admitting Mr. Mountague into the office, who was sworn the next morning: so that the first news the treasurer heard, after both their majesties had the day before said all to him that he could desire, was, that the place was already full; which he received with more commotion than was natural to him, and looked upon it as a designed contrived affront, to expose him to contempt. "Why would not the king, if he had changed his mind after he left him, first send him word of it, that he might have known his purpose?"

All this storm fell presently upon the chancellor: the lord Crofts assured him, "that it had been done at Salisbury, if he had not hindered it; that he had been with the duke before he spake with the king, and given him advice what tune he should speak in, which was used accordingly, and had prevailed; and that when he came into the duke's chamber to kiss his hand, his highness turned away, and would not speak to him, which must proceed from the influence of the chancellor." Whereas in truth the chancellor had only seen the duke in public, and said no more to him than what he said in public, thinking it no good manners to trouble him with any private discourse, when he was so weary of his journey; nor did he know that any thing was done in that affair till the day after it was done, and after it was known to the treasurer. Upon the whole matter, how unwilling soever he was to believe that he could be so grossly faulty to him, when he saw the chancellor next, his countenance was not the same it used to be; which the other taking notice of, asked him, according to his usual familiarity, "what the matter was;" but received such an answer as made him discern that there was somewhat amiss: and so he said no more. The other being the same day with the king, the duke came into the room, and in his looks manifested a displeasure towards the treasurer, which confirmed the former jealousy of the chancellor; which was improved by the ladies, who did not like their lodging, and thought it proceeded from want of friendship in him, who had the power over the university, and might have assigned what lodgings he pleased to the treasurer; and he had assigned this, as the best house in the town for so great a family, and which their own servant had desired as the best in the town, as it was.

When the chancellor discovered the ground of this alteration, he grew out of humour too, and thought himself unworthily suspected: and so for two or three days the two friends came not together. And in that time the chancellor had enough to do to inform the duke, who was not only very much offended with the treasurer, but thought that he had been, out of his friendship to the treasurer, more remiss than he ought to have been in a business so earnestly recommended by him and his wife; and the intelligence from Salisbury had made reflections upon him as much as upon the other. But his royal highness willingly received information of all that had passed, and discerned the foul carriage of others as well as of the lord Crofts; and was pleased to confess, "that he had done all he ought to do, and that he had been misinformed of the lord treasurer's part in that affair, which had made him think amiss of him; which he would acknowledge to him next time he saw him."

After this the chancellor, having a more clear view, upon conference with the king and the duke, of this pernicious design, which in some degree had compassed its end, if there grew a strangeness between the treasurer and him, went to him: and they being together without any others, he told him, "it should not be in his power to break friendship with him to gratify the humour of other people, without letting him know what the matter was," which he conjured him to impart to him; assuring him, "that he would find that nothing was more impossible than that he could commit a fault towards him, and that they who wished well to neither of them had contrived this separation as the best way to hurt them both." And when he saw that he did not yet open himself, he told him, "that he had heard that he had received some umbrage in the pretence of his nephew, and therefore he would give him an account of all that he knew of it," which he did exactly; and concluded with a protestation, "that he had not known what had been done at Oxford till after he came from him, when he observed the change of his countenance towards him, of the cause of which he could not then make any conjecture."

The treasurer thereupon with his usual freedom told him, "that if his part had been no other than as he related, he thought himself obliged to give him a narration of all he had done, and of the grounds and motives he had to think that he had failed in his friendship." And thereupon he mentioned "the kindness and esteem he had for his nephew, whom he thought in all respects of birth and breeding at least as worthy of that relation as the gentleman who was possessed of it; and yet that since he was not upon the place, he had no mind to engage himself in the suit: and that when his nephew had given him an account what the chancellor had said to him," which he did with great ingenuity, "and he knew that the duke of York appeared in it for another, he resolved to prosecute it no further; until the lord Crofts with all confidence assured him, that the king had promised him to confer the place upon Robert Spencer, and that both their majesties expected that he should make it his suit, to the end that they might thereby decline the importunity that he expected from his brother." He told him of some expressions

he had used to the king in that affair, which the king himself had reported; and "that when he took his leave of the queen to go to Oxford," (which was the next day after Mr. Mountague came from York,) "he dissuaded her majesty from receiving Mr. Spencer, alleging some reasons against it, which a lady who was near overheard, and informed the person of it who acquainted him with it: all which, with the king's and queen's so ample promises to him so few hours before the conferring the place upon another, and the duke of York's manner of receiving him after he had been shut up with him, as he was informed, might very well excuse him for thinking he had some share in the affront he had undergone."

To which the other replied, "that if indeed he did believe all that he had been told, he could not but think so; but," he said, "he thought he had known him better than to give credit to such reports, which must make him a fool and a knave: that for the words he should have used to the king or the queen, there had nothing passed like it to either of them, but that they were purely devised out of malice; which should be manifest unto him, for he would not speak a word of it to the king till they were both with him together, and then he would ask before him what his carriage had been, and by his majesty's sudden answer he might judge of the report." He told him then, "how much he had suffered with the duke, and what excellent stories had been made to his royal highness of both of them, and of the good part the lord Crofts had acted, of which he was not without some evidence." After this éclaircissement, of the sincerity whereof every day administered new testimony, they both returned to their mutual confidence in each other: and they who had contrived this former device entered into a new confederacy, how they might first remove the treasurer, which would facilitate the pulling the chancellor down; of which anon.

Within a short time after the duke returned out of Yorkshire, his highness told the chancellor in confidence, "that he had two suits which he intended to make to the king, and with which he first acquainted him, that he might have his assistance in the obtaining them. The first was, in which he and his wife were equally engaged, to prevail with the king to make sir George Savile a viscount." He said, "he knew well the resolution the king had taken, to which he had contributed his advice, to make no more lords: but that he hoped in this particular case his majesty would upon his desire dispense with a general rule. That sir George had one of the best fortunes of any man in England, and lived the most like a great man; that he had been very civil to him and his wife in the north, and treated them at his house in a very splendid manner; and that he was engaged to prevail with the king in this point, or to confess he had no power, which he hoped he should not be without in this matter;" and asked his opinion.

The chancellor in his usual freedom, which he always took when he was to deliver his advice to the king or duke, said, "that he could not advise his highness to move the king in it; for besides that he knew the king's positive determination, the departure from which might be of ill con-

"sequence, sir George Savile was a man of a very ill reputation amongst men of piety and religion, and was looked upon as void of all sense of religion, even to the doubting, if not denying, that there is a God, and that he was not reserved in any company to publish his opinions: which made him believe that it would neither be for his highness's honour to propose it, nor for the king's to grant it, in a time when all license in discourse and in actions was spread over the kingdom, to the heart-breaking of very many good [men], who had terrible apprehensions of the consequence of it." The duke was not at all pleased with his discourse, and said, "he was resolved to use all his credit with the king to compass it, and that he hoped, that whatever he thought, he would not oppose it."

The other particular was, "that he would move the king to make Mr. Coventry his secretary a privy counsellor;" and asked him "what he thought of that." To which he answered, "that his opinion in that point would please him no better than in the former. That he did not think it fit to be asked: and if the king his brother were inclined to be jealous of him, as some had endeavoured to persuade him, such an instance as this would very much confirm it; for never any prince of Wales had a servant of the highest degree about him called to the council, till his father called the earl of Newcastle, who was the prince's governor, to the board; which was not till upon the approach of the troubles he discerned that he should employ him in another charge. That the members of that board had been always those great officers of state, and other officers, who in respect of the places they held had a title to sit there, and of such few others who, having great titles and fortunes and interest in the kingdom, were an ornament to the table. That there were at present too many already, and the number lessened the dignity of the relation: that his highness had already brought the lord Berkley thither, who had no manner of title to be there but his dependance upon him; and now to bring in his secretary, for no other reason but for being his secretary, might be thought an encroachment, and be misinterpreted by the king." He added, "that his wrangling litigious nature would give the board much trouble; and that he knew him to be so much his particular enemy, that he would watch all the opportunities to do him all possible ill offices to the king and to his royal highness."

The duke replied only to the last, and said, "he perceived somebody had done Will. Coventry ill offices, which he knew to be unjust and false: and that he could assure him, upon his own knowledge, that he had a great respect for him, and desired his favour; and that he would pass his word for him, that he would never do any thing to disserve him, which if he should do, he should for ever lose his favour, which he knew well." And no doubt the duke did believe all he said, for he had a perfect kindness for the chancellor; and when he did not comply with what he wished, he knew that it was out of the integrity of his judgment, and his strict duty to the king and himself, and that he had never flattered or dissembled with either of them. And Mr. Coventry had skill enough to persuade him

to believe what he desired should be true, though there were in the view of all men frequent instances of the contrary, and of the absence of all ingenuity and sincerity in his actions.

Within very few days after this conference, and when the duchess had made new instance with her father in the case of sir George Savile, and with more importunity than the duke, and appeared more concerned and troubled that he should not be more forward to comply with the duke's desires, (but the chancellor, who always with the respect that was due to her quality preserved the dignity of a father very entire, would give no other answer than he had done to the duke, and advised her to dissuade him from making the request to the king;) his highness one day desired the king that he would retire into his closet, and call the chancellor to him: and when they three were together in the room, after a short discourse of letters which he had received from the earl of Sandwich, which there will be occasion anon to mention at large, the duke told the king, "he had an humble suit to his majesty;" and then spake much of the great interest that sir George Savile had in the northern parts, of the greatness of his estate, and his orderly and splendid way of living, and concluded with his desire, "that his majesty would make him an English viscount." Upon which the king presently put him in mind "of the resolution he had formerly made in that room, and he thought upon his own motion, but he was sure it had been with his concurrence and approbation."

The duke replied, "that he remembered it very well, and thought he should do well still in the general to observe it: yet it was in those cases always supposed, that an extraordinary case might fall out, that might produce an exception; and he did most humbly beseech his majesty, that he would, upon his very earnest interposition, from which nobody could make a precedent, dispense with the rule." He did confess, "that he was so confident of his majesty's favour, that he had given sir George Savile cause to believe that he would prevail in that suit; which if he should not do, he must be thought either not to have intended what he promised, or to have no credit with his majesty, neither of which would be for his honour."

The king replied roundly, and with more presence of mind than he had always about him, "that it was absolutely necessary to be very precise in the observation of the rule, which if he should once break, a world of inconveniences would break in upon him, which he could not defend himself against." He named two or three persons who were very solicitous for honours, and had several pretences to it, and his majesty had only been able to resist and evade their importunity, by objecting this declared resolution to them. The plain truth is; he had made some promise (a weakness he was too often liable to) to those persons or to their friends, "that when he should make any new creations, they should be sure to be in the number:" nor did he apprehend any inconvenience from redeeming himself from the present importunity, which was still grievous to him, since he had resolved to make no new creation. And this was the true reason that made him now

so inexorable to his brother, who was very much troubled, and declined to move any thing else in so unlucky a season, not without some apprehension, from the king's quicker way of discourse, that he had been prepared for it by the chancellor, who though present had not spoke one word in the debate, nor indeed ever informed the king of the conference his highness had formerly held with him upon that subject, nor ever spoken to him concerning it.

However, in this perplexity, as the duke thought it necessary to inform Mr. Coventry, who had principally advanced this pretence, all that had passed before the king, that his nephew (for so sir George Savile was) might see he could make no further progress in it; so in the passion he unwarily told him all that had passed in the former conference with the chancellor, which he took care should not be concealed from any who were like to be willing to revenge it. And the duke, to shew how willing he was to oblige the family, immediately received a younger brother of sir George Savile, whom he had only seen in the north, to wait upon him in his bedchamber; who being a young man of wit, and incredible confidence and presumption, omitted no occasion to vent his malice against the chancellor, with a license that in former times would have been very penal, though it had concerned a person of a much inferior quality in the state.

Within a short time after, the king told the chancellor, "that his brother had desired him that his secretary Mr. Coventry might be admitted of the privy-council, which he could not deny, but had promised it should be done at the next meeting;" which was accordingly done, and he knighted: and quickly after, upon the like desire of the duke, he was called to that committee with which his majesty used to consult his most secret affairs. And from this time there was an alteration in the whole carriage and debate of all manner of business: and as the chancellor had found his own credit with the king much diminished from the time of the lord Arlington's being secretary; so a greater decrease of it was now visible to all men from the access of this new counsellor.

The lord Arlington had not the gift of speaking nor of a quick conception, and so rarely contradicted any thing in council: his talent was in private, where he frequently procured, very inconveniently, changes and alterations from public determinations. But sir William Coventry (between whom and the other there was an entire conjunction and combination) was a man of quick parts and a ready speaker, unrestrained by any modesty or submission to the age, experience, or dignity of other men, equally censorious of what had been done before he was a counsellor, as solicitous in contradiction of whatsoever was proposed afterwards: insomuch as the very first time that he was admitted to the private committee, the debate being about providing money to be paid at a day approaching to the bishop of Munster, according to the king's obligation, he said, "we had need enough of money for our own immediate occasions; and that we ought not to assign any to the advancement of the affairs of other men." Whereupon he was informed "of the treaty the king had entered into, and that the bishop was at that time upon his march, which was by every body looked upon as of great importance

"to his majesty;" to which he answered, "that he had heard somewhat of it, how secretly soever it had been carried, and that he had never liked it from the beginning, nor would give his consent that any more money should be paid towards it;" which the king himself looked upon as a rare impudence.

His great ambition was to be taken notice of for opposing and contradicting whatsoever was proposed or said by the chancellor or treasurer, towards whom all other counsellors, how little soever they cared for their persons, had ever paid respect in regard of their offices. He was a declared enemy to all lawyers, and to the law itself; and any thing passed under the great seal of England was of no more authority with him, than if it were the scroll of a scrivener. He had no principles in religion or state; of one mind this day, and another to-morrow; and always very uneasy to those who were obliged to consult with him; whose pride and insolence will administer frequent occasions of mention throughout the ensuing relation.

The king had not been many days in Oxford, when news arrived that the earl of Sandwich had been engaged in some conflict with the Dutch fleet; of the particulars whereof there was a general longing to be advertised. The truth was, that whilst the earl rode, after the business of Bergen, as near that coast as was safe, in expectation of the Dutch fleet, the winds, which are always tempestuous in that season of the year, September, made it absolutely necessary for him to remove with his whole fleet to the coast of Scotland, where there were harbours enough for him to ride safe; and in this interval of time De Ruyter was passed by towards that of Norway. The news of their Indian fleet having been attacked by the English in Bergen, and the letters of some of their officers, which implied as if they were not satisfied in the security of the port and of the fidelity of the governor, produced a wonderful consternation in Holland; and if they should be deprived of that wealth, the very company of the East Indies would be in danger of being dissolved.

The fleet was ready to set sail, under the command of De Ruyter, well fitted and manned: but there were still so many factions amongst the captains and other officers, that might upon any accidents produce many mischiefs; for the better prevention whereof, the pensionary De Wit was willing to venture his own person, believing himself to be as secure any where as on shore, if any misfortune should befall the fleet. And so he was by a special commission made plenipotentiary, with an ample allowance for his table, and a guard of halberdiers for the safety of his person, with a good train of volunteers: and so he put himself on board the ship of De Ruyter, who received orders from him.

The earl of Sandwich, after he had received advertisements of the Dutch fleet's being passed by for Norway, took all the care he could to put himself and his fleet in the way of their return. They made a short stay on the coast of Norway, where upon good consideration their ships were dismissed, and loud clamour raised against the hostility of the English. And notwithstanding all the vigilance the earl could use, the darkness and length of the nights so favoured them, that he could not engage their whole fleet, as he endea-

voured to do: yet he had the good fortune in two encounters to take eight of their great ships of war, two of their best East India ships, and about twenty of their other merchant ships, which were all under the protection of their fleet, or ought to have been. After which he was by tempest driven to put the fleet into security in the English harbours, it being already the month of October.

It was a fair booty, and came very opportunely to supply the present necessities of the navy, and to provide for the setting out of the next fleet at spring, and was in truth gotten with very good conduct, and without any considerable damage: but it being much less than was expected, (for whatsoever was upon the sea was looked upon as our own,) the news no sooner arrived at Oxford, but intelligence came with it of many oversights which had been committed and opportunities lost, otherwise it had been easy to have taken the whole fleet; and that it might have been pursued further when it was in view, after those East India ships were taken, which were indeed surprised and boarded at the break of day, when they thought themselves in the middle of their own fleet. And it is as true that the earl did then pursue to engage the fleet, till they were got so near the French shore, that the wind blowing in to the land, it was by all the flag officers thought absolutely necessary to give over the chase.

Sir William Coventry, who had never paid a civility to any worthy man but as it was a dis-obligation to another whom he cared less for, and so had only contributed to the preferment of the earl of Sandwich in the last expedition that he might cross prince Rupert, received much intelligence from several officers in the fleet, which he scattered abroad to the prejudice of the earl, and was willing that it should be believed that he had been too wary in avoiding danger. But the king and the duke were very just to the earl, and discountenanced all those reports as scandals and calumnies: and the duke, who had seen his behaviour in the most dangerous action, gave him a loud testimony "of a prudent and brave commander, and as forward and bold in the face of danger as the occasion required or discretion permitted." And his highness undertook "that he had in all this expedition done what a man of honour was obliged to do," and was abundantly satisfied (as his majesty likewise was) with the rich prizes he had brought home, which had caused equal lamentation in Holland, and almost broke the heart of De Wit himself. But what success soever the earl had at sea, it was his misfortune to do an unadvised action when he came into the harbour, that lessened the king's own esteem of him, and to a great degree irreconciled the duke to him, and gave opportunity to his enemies to do him much prejudice.

It was a constant and a known rule in the admiralty, that of any ship that is taken from the enemy bulk is not to be broken, till it be brought into the port and adjudged lawful prize. It seems that when the fleet returned to the harbour, the flag-officers petitioned or moved the earl of Sandwich, "in regard of their having continued all the summer upon the seas with great fatigue, and been engaged in many actions of danger, that he would distribute amongst them some reward out of the Indian ships;" which he

thought reasonable, and inclined to satisfy them, and writ a letter to the vice-chamberlain to inform the king of it, and "that he thought it fit to be done;" to which the vice-chamberlain, having shewed the letter to the king, returned his majesty's approbation. But before the answer came to his hand, he had executed the design, and distributed as much of the coarser goods to the flag-officers, as by estimation was valued to be one thousand pounds to each officer, and took to the value of two thousand pounds for himself. This suddenly made such a noise and outcry, as if all the Indian and other merchant ships had been plundered by the seamen: and they again cried out as much, that no care was taken of them, but all given to the flag-officers; which the other captains thought to be an injury to them.

The general (who had nothing like kindness for the earl of Sandwich, whose service he thought had been too much considered and recompensed by the king at his arrival) had notice of it before it came to Oxford; and, according to his universal care, (which was afterwards found to proceed from private animosity,) sent orders to all the port towns, to seize upon goods which were brought in shallops from the fleet; and gave advertisement to Oxford of the extraordinary ill consequence of that action, and "that it would spoil the sale of all that remained of those ships, since the East India company, which probably would have been the best chapmen, would not now be forward to buy, since so much was disposed of already to other hands as would spoil their market." And by this time the earl himself had given an account of all that had been done, and the motives, to the duke. The king was justly displeased for the expedition he had used, "Why had his approbation been desired, when he resolved to do the thing before he could receive an answer?" and was glad that he had done so, because he would have been more excusable if he had received it.

But the duke, who had been constantly kind to the earl, was offended in the highest degree, and thought himself injured and affronted beyond any precedent. "This most unjustifiable action could proceed only from two fountains: the one of extreme vanity and ambition, to make himself popular amongst the officers of the fleet, who ought not to have been gratified by him at the king's charge. When any such bounty should be seasonable, it was the duke's province to have been the author, and the conduit to have conveyed it: he had himself been an eyewitness of their behaviour in the greatest action; and for the earl to assume the rewarding them by his own authority, was to defraud and rob him of his proper right and jurisdiction." And he looked upon his having desired the king's allowance by the vice-chamberlain, as a trick and an aggravation; for he ought to have asked his advice, as his superior officer: and the poor vice-chamberlain underwent his share in the reproach, for having presumed to move the king in a particular, that, if it was to be moved at all, had been to be moved by the duke. "The other fountain which might produce this presumption might be avarice," which was the sole blemish (though it never appeared in any gross instance) that seemed to cloud many noble virtues in that earl, who now became a very pregnant evidence of the

irresistible strength and power of envy; which though it feeds on its own poison, and is naturally more grievous to the person who harbours it, than to him that is maligned, yet when it finds a subject it can effectually work upon, it is more insatiable in revenge than any passion the soul is liable unto.

He was a gentleman of so excellent a temper and behaviour, that he could make himself no enemies; of so many good qualities, and so easy to live with, that he marvellously reconciled the minds of all men to him, who had not intimacy enough with him to admire his other parts: yet was in the general inclinations of men upon some disadvantage. They who had constantly followed the king whilst he as constantly adhered to Cromwell, and knew not how early he had entertained repentance, and with what hazards and dangers he had manifested it, did believe the king had been too prodigal in heaping so many honours upon him. And they who had been familiar with him and of the same party, and thought they had been as active as he in contributing to the revolution, considered him with some anger, as one who had better luck than they without more merit, and who had made early conditions: when in truth no man in the kingdom had been less guilty of that address; nor did he ever contribute to any advancement to which he arrived, by the least intimation or insinuation that he wished it, or that it would be acceptable to him. Yet upon this blast the winds rose from all quarters, reproaches of all sorts were cast upon him, and all affronts contrived for him.

The earl had conveyed that part of the goods which he had assigned to himself in a shallop to Lynn, from whence it could pass by water to his own house. An officer in that port seized upon it by virtue of the general's warrant, and would cause it presently to be unladen, which he began to do. But the servants of the earl appealed to the other officers in equal authority, to whom they brought a letter with them from the earl of Sandwich, in which he owned all those goods to be his, (amongst which were his bedding and furniture for his cabin, and all his plate, and other things suitable,) and likewise a note of all the other goods which might be liable to pay custom; and desired them "to send one of their searchers with the boat to his house, where he should receive all their dues, without being unladen in the port;" which, besides the delay, would be liable to many inconveniences. The officer who had first arrested it, and who had dependance upon a great man of the country, who was not unwilling that any affront should be put upon the earl, roughly refused to suffer it to pass without being first unladen; but being overruled by the other officers, vented his anger in very unmannerly language against the earl: of all which he, being advertised by his servants, sent a complaint to the lords of the council, and desired "the fellow might be sent for and punished;" which could not be refused, though it proved troublesome in the inquiry. For the officer, who was a gentleman of a fair behaviour and good repute, denied all those words which carried in them the worst interpretation; but justified the action, and produced the general's warrant, which had unusual expressions, and apparent enough to have a particular and not a general intention.

The general had quick advertisement of it, and writ very passionately from London, "that an officer should be sent for without having committed any other offence than in obeying and executing a warrant of his:" and the other great man, who was of great importance to the king's service, and in the highest trust in that country, writ several letters, "how impossible it would be to carry on the king's service in that country, if that officer should be punished for doing that, when he ought to be punished if he had not done it;" and therefore desired, "that he might be repaired by them who had caused him to be sent for."

Sir William Coventry had now full sea-room to give vent to all his passions, and to incense the duke, who was enough offended without such contributions: "if this proceeded from covetousness, it was not probable that it would be satisfied with so little; and therefore it was probable, that though the officers might not have received above the value of one thousand pounds," which was assigned to each, "yet himself would not be contented with so little as two thousand; and they might therefore well conceive that he had taken much more, which ought to be examined with the greatest strictness." There had been nothing said before of not taking advantage enough upon the enemy in all occasions which had been offered, and of not pursuing them far enough, which was not now renewed without advice, "that he might be presently sent for;" though it was known that, as soon as he could put the ships into the ports to which they were designed, he would come to Oxford. And there were great underhand endeavours, that the house of commons might be inflamed with this miscarriage and misdemeanor, and present it as a complaint to the house of peers, as fit to be examined and brought to judgment before that tribunal. And they, who with all the malice imaginable did endeavour in vain to kindle this fire, persuaded the king and the duke, "that by their sole activity and interest it was prevented for that time, because the session was too short, and that all necessary evidence could not be soon produced at Oxford; but that, as soon as the plague should cease to such a degree in London that the parliament might assemble there, it would be impossible to restrain the house of commons from pursuing that complaint," of which nobody thought but themselves and they who were provoked by them.

The earl of Sandwich had so good intelligence from Oxford, that he knew all that was said of him, and began to believe that he had done unadvisedly in administering occasion of speaking ill to those who greedily sought for it: and as soon as his absence from the fleet could be dispensed with, he made haste to Oxford, and gave so full an account of every day's action, from the time that he went to sea to the day of his return, and of his having never done any thing of importance, nor having left any thing undone, but with and by the advice of the council of war, upon the orders he had received, that both the king and the duke could not but absolve him from all the imputations of negligence or inadvertency.

But for the breaking bulk, and the circumstances that attended it, they declared they were unsatisfied. And he confessed "that he had been

"much to blame," and asked pardon, and with such excuses as he thought might in some degree plead for him. He protested, "it seemed to him" "to have had some necessity: that the whole fleet was in a general indisposition, and complained, that for all that summer action" (which indeed had been full of merit) "they had nothing given to them, not without some muttering that they would have somewhat out of those Indian ships before they would part with them; inasmuch as he had a real apprehension that they had a purpose to plunder them. And he should have feared more, if he had not complied with the flag-officers' importunity: and thereupon he consented that they should have each of them the value of one thousand pounds, and which he was most confident the goods which had been delivered to them did not exceed." He confessed "he had not enough considered the consequence, and that they who had not received any donative would be more displeased, than they who had it were satisfied with it; which he acknowledged was the case: that he was heartily sorry for permitting any such thing to be done, and more for having taken any himself, and humbly [asked] pardon for both; and [desired] that his own part, which remained entire, might be restored to the ship from whence it had been taken, which he would cause to be done."

A more ingenuous acknowledgment could not be made: and they who could not but observe many persons every day excused for more enormous transgressions, did hope that he, who had so few faults to answer for, would have been absolved for that trespass. And the king himself used him very graciously, and so did the duke; and he was sent back to the fleet, to give order for the sending out a winter-guard and ordering all other maritime affairs, and for the sending up the India ships into the river, with great care that none of the seamen should go on shore, where the plague still raged little if at all less than it had done in the summer: and so he himself and most other men believed and were glad, that an ill business was so well composed. But sir William did not intend that it should end there.

The present business, that must admit no interruption, was the raising what money might be to supply the present necessities of the fleet, to pay the seamen, and to make all preparations to set out the fleet against the spring, when the French ships would be infallibly ready to join with the Dutch; and the money that was given by the parliament would not be paid till long after; and the affairs of the bankers were in such disorder by the death of servants, and the plague having been in some of their houses, that the usual course of advancing monies by assignments could not be depended upon. The general had written to the lord treasurer, "that he thought that there could not be so good chapmen for those ships as the East India company, some whereof had been with him to know the king's pleasure; and if authority were granted to any men to treat upon that affair, they would send for members enough of their company, who were dispersed in the country, to be present at a court, which would authorize a committee to treat and contract with them;" and he said, "that he was confident that half the money would be paid

"upon the making the bargain." The king was no sooner advertised of this overture, than he sent sir George Carteret and Mr. Ashburnham to London, to confer with the general and to be advised by him, and granted authority to them three to sell those two prizes to those who would give most. And they found no overtures to be so advantageous as those which were made by that company: and yet they made so much use of the advantage of the time, when all men of notorious wealth were out of the town, that they thought not fit to make any agreement till they gave the king an account of the whole transaction, with their opinions, upon conference with other men of business; and to that purpose the two persons who had been sent to the general returned safe to Oxford.

It hath been mentioned before, that it was thought a great presumption in any body to presume to interpose in the maritime affairs, which was interpreted to be an invasion of the duke's peculiar [province]; and by this means the credit of sir William Coventry was so absolute, that the disposal of all was in his power. He had persuaded the duke, and the lord Arlington, who was in firm conjunction with him, had prevailed with the king to believe, "that the house of commons was so incensed against the lord Sandwich for his late presumption, that it would not be possible to hinder them in their next assembling" (which was appointed or resolved to be in April, if it pleased God to extinguish the sickness) "[from falling] very severely upon the earl of Sandwich, which would be a very great dishonour to the king, if he were at that time in the command of the fleet; and that there was no way to preserve him" (for that was their method when they had a mind to ruin a man, to pretend a great care that he might not be undone) "but by dismissing him from that charge, which probably might preserve him from being further questioned, since it would be interpreted a punishment inflicted on him by the king for his crime, and so might stop him from being further prosecuted for the same offence." To which they added, "that it would be necessary in another respect; for that many of the officers, as well as common seamen, had opened their mouths very wide against him, especially after it was generally known that the king and the duke were offended with him, and had not been at all reserved in charging him with several reproaches: and that if the same command were still continued in him, it could not be presumed that those men would ever put themselves under his command whom they had so much provoked."

These arguments, urged by men who were not known, at least by the king and duke, to be his enemies, and one of them thought to be (and in truth was, but for his conjunction with the other) his friend, and to wish him very well, prevailed upon the judgments of both of them; inasmuch as they resolved to confer with the chancellor, whom they knew to be much the earl's friend. And they both expressed "very much kindness to and confidence in the affection and integrity and courage of the earl of Sandwich, though he was to be blamed for his late indiscretion, and a resolution with their utmost power to defend him from undergoing any disgrace by it: but



"that it would contribute most to his preservation, that he quitted the employment, and that some other persons should be sent to command the next fleet in the spring. For if he should again go to sea, and parliament should press to have him sent for, to answer what they had to object against him, his majesty must either refuse to consent to it, which would make a breach with his parliament, or by consenting disorder his maritime affairs to that degree, that the enemy could not but take very great advantage of it." Therefore they commanded the chancellor to confer with him and discourse the whole matter to him, [to assure] him "of the king's and duke's favour, and that they were in this particular moved only by their tenderness to him; and that some expedient should be first found out to remove him with honour, before any notice should be taken of the purpose to remove him, and before any other person should be deputed to the command; and that he himself should either propose the expedient, if any such occurred to him that would be grateful, or judge of any that should be proposed to him."

The chancellor did presume to declare, "that he thought that they were persuaded to apprehend somewhat that could not fall out. That he would not take upon him to excuse the earl of Sandwich for any offence he had committed: if it were of that magnitude that his majesty thought fit to remove him from his command, nobody could censure it; and it may be, in a time of so much license, the severity might be thought seasonable. But the apprehension that the parliament would take more notice of what the earl had done, than they would of any other breach of order that was every day committed, was without any just reason." But that argument was presently silenced by their undertaking to know somewhat that the other could not do, and that there was no other way to preserve [him] but that which was proposed.

There was at that time an opportunity in view, that might give the earl of Sandwich an employment very worthy of him, and which no man could imagine would be assigned to any man who was in disgrace. Sir Richard Fanshawe, who was a gentleman very well known and very well beloved, had been first ambassador in Portugal, and had behaved himself so well there, that when he returned from thence, he was recommended, and upon the matter desired, by that crown to be sent to Spain, as the fittest person to mediate in the king's name between Spain and Portugal; and the king had before designed to send him ambassador into Spain, as well to settle a treaty between England and Spain, (for there was none yet,) as to do all the offices between those other crowns which were requisite to the end aforesaid. No man knew that court [better], or was so well versed in the language, having lived many years before in that court in much better times. He had remained now about two years, with such frequent mortifications as ministers use to meet with in courts irresolute and perplexed in their own affairs, as the counsels of Madrid were in the last years of the king, as his indisposition increased, or by relaxing administered some hope. He had made a journey to Lisbon upon the earnest desire of Spain, and returned without effect. The peace

was equally desired and equally necessary to both nations: but the Portugal [was] unmoveable in the conditions of it, preferring the worst that could fall out, even the abandoning their country, rather than to be without the sovereignty of it; and the Spaniard as positive not to part with their title, though they had no hope of their subjection. Nor did Spain appear solicitous to conclude any treaty with England, except either Portugal might be comprehended in it or abandoned by it.

On a sudden, when the recovery or long continuance of the king grew more desperate, (which is never a thing notoriously known in that court,) a project for a treaty was sent to the ambassador, containing more advantages in trade to the nation, (which are the most important matters in all those treaties,) and insisting upon fewer inconvenient conditions, than had ever been in any former treaties; without any mention of Tangier or Jamaica, which had hitherto in the entrance into any treaty since the king's return made the progress impossible: only it was urged, "that it might either be presently accepted and signed by the ambassador, with a covenant that it should be confirmed by the king within so many days after it should be presented to him, or else that there should be no more mention or discourse of it."

The ambassador, surprised with this overture, compared what was offered with what he was to demand by his instructions; and what was defective in those particulars he added to the articles presented to him, with such additions as, upon his own observation and conference with the merchants, occurred to him, or which seemed probable to be granted from somewhat themselves had offered more than had been demanded by him. These alterations and amendments were approved and consented to, and quickly returned engrossed and signed by the king, on condition to be presently signed by him, with the undertaking that is formerly mentioned. It had been wisely done by the ambassador, and no more than his duty, if he had first acquainted his master or the ministers with all that had passed, and expected a particular order before he had signed it. But that being expressly refused, without concealing the reason or the king's weakness, "which," they declared, "might make such an alteration in counsels, that if it were not done in his lifetime, they knew not what might happen after:" this was thought as good an argument by him for the despatch, as it was to them; and that if he should not make use of this conjuncture, there would never be the like advantageous treaty offered again. Hereupon he presently signed the treaty, with some secret article which was not to the advantage of Portugal, otherwise than that he concluded, by what had been said to him at Lisbon, it would have been acceptable to them.

This treaty was no sooner brought to the king by the Spanish ambassador, (who had received it by an express,) and perused at the council-table, but many gross faults were found to be in it. Besides the gentleman's absence, who would with greater abilities have defended himself than any of those who had reproached him, it was no advantage to him that he was known to be much in the chancellor's confidence: and therefore the more pain was taken to persuade the king that he was a weak man, (which the king himself knew him



not to be;) and they put such a gloss upon many of the articles, and rejected others as unprofitable which were thought to contain matters of great moment, as they would not consent that a trade to the West Indies could be any benefit to England, and the like. In the end, the king concluded that he would not sign the treaty; for which he had some access of reason within a month after, by the death of the king of Spain.

When all these reproaches were cast upon the ambassador, and notice given that the king did disavow the treaty and refused to sign it; it was reasonably resolved that he ought not to remain there longer as ambassador, but to be recalled. But the plague driving the king from London and dispersing the council, the pursuing this resolution was no more assumed, till the business of the earl of [Sandwich] made it thought on as a good expedient; and the chancellor was directed in his discourse with the earl to mention it, as a proper expedient in his condition to be laid hold on and embraced.

The chancellor entered upon the whole discourse with that freedom and openness that became a man who he knew was not suspected by him. He told him all that himself knew of the affair, and the apprehension the king had of the parliament, and the expedient he had thought of to remove him out of the reach or noise of clamour, of which he made him the judge; and "if he did not like this [employment] for Spain, some other should be thought of and published before it should be known, and before the command of the fleet should be committed to any other."

The earl of Sandwich lamented "that it had been in any body's power to make so ill impressions in the king and the duke, upon his having committed a trespass, for which he was heartily sorry;" and confessed "it was a presumption and indiscretion, the ill consequence whereof he had not had wit enough to discover: however, he did not yet think it so great, as to make him fear to give an account of it before the parliament, or any thing that they could do upon it." He seemed not to be ignorant of the offices sir William Coventry did him, "in drawing complaints and reproaches from those who had neither cause nor inclination to speak to his disadvantage. He was sensible of the general's want of justice towards him, which he knew not to what to impute, but to his pride and weakness. He did acknowledge it great bounty in the king, since he thought him unfit and unworthy to continue in the command he had, that he would yet assign him to so honourable an employment; which, though it could not wipe off the reproach of being dismissed from the other charge, was yet a sufficient evidence that he was not out of his majesty's good opinion and confidence: and therefore he did with all cheerfulness submit to his majesty's pleasure, and would be ready for his journey to Spain as soon as his despatch should be prepared."

He told him then, "that he was in one respect glad to be removed from his present command, for he was confident that he would see no more great matters done at sea, for that the common men were weary of the war; and that sir William would never suffer any peace to be in the fleet, but had creatures ready to do all ill offices

"amongst them, whom he cherished and preferred before the best officers;" and told him many other things which fell out afterwards, and said, "sir William would make any man who should succeed him weary of his command, by sending such variety of orders that he would not know what to do." And shortly after, he gave him a perfect journal of his last expedition, in which there were indeed many orders which must needs startle and perplex a commander in chief, it being his usual course to signify the duke's pleasure in matters of the greatest importance without the duke's hand; which yet they durst not disobey, nor produce in their own justification, being such as in truth were no such warrants as they ought to obey, and yet would reflect upon his royal highness: and told him likewise of the ill inventions he had set on foot, by which prince Rupert was stopped from being joined with him in the command of the last fleet.

When the chancellor had informed the king of the earl of Sandwich's submission to his pleasure, and that he would be ready to undertake the employment for Spain as soon as his majesty pleased; hereupon the king declared his resolution in council to send the earl of Sandwich his extraordinary ambassador, as well to correct and amend the mistakes and errors in the late treaty, and further to mediate the peace with Portugal, which upon the death of the king was in some respect more practicable. And to that purpose he sent sir Robert Southwell, one of the clerks of the council, envoy into Portugal, that the earl might the better know the inclinations of that people: and all instructions necessary were presently to be prepared to both those ends.

This first work being thus despatched, it remained to settle the command, for the ensuing year, of the fleet; and there can be little doubt made, but that the king and the duke had resolved this at the same time that they determined that the earl of Sandwich should not continue in it: however, it was communicated to nobody, till the designation of the other was published. Then the king told the chancellor, "that his brother and he had long considered that affair, and could not think of any expedient so good for the performance of that service, as a conjunction between prince Rupert and the general, and making them both joint commanders in chief of the fleet for the next expedition." There had many exceptions occurred to them against committing the charge to either of them singly; nor were they without apprehension of some which might fall out by joining them together, which would be much greater, if they were not both well prepared to embrace the occasion, and themselves to like the designation. For the doing this the chancellor was again thought to be the fittest man, being believed to have the greatest interest in both of them, and most in him from whom the greatest difficulties were expected to arise, which was prince Rupert. It was easy to know prince Rupert's mind, who was in the house: yet they were both in cases of that nature desirous always to impart what they desired by others, rather than to debate it first themselves. But then the general was at London, besieged by the plague; and the matter was not fit to be communicated by letter, because, if he should make any scruple of concurring in it, it was to be declined.

Upon these considerations it was resolved, first, that the chancellor should prepare prince Rupert, and then that the general should be sent for to Oxford upon pretences, of which enough would occur. The prince, though he was much more willing to have gone alone, willingly conformed to the king's pleasure: and so both the king and duke spake at large with him upon all that was necessary to be adjusted. And the general was sent to, "that it was necessary for the king to confer with him upon some propositions, which were made to him upon the East India ships," (which transaction was not at that time yet concluded;) "and therefore that on such a day he should come from London early in the morning," (for it was deep winter,) "in his own coach to Beaconsfield, where he should find another coach ready to receive him, and another at another stage; so that he might be with ease at Oxford the same night," as he was, and very graciously received by the king, as he deserved to be. But as he had no manner of imagination of the true reason why he was sent for, so neither his majesty nor the duke would impart it to him, out of real imagination that it would not be grateful to him; but that was left to be imparted and dexterously managed by the chancellor, in whom, as was said before, it was generally believed that he had great confidence.

He the next morning entered into conference with him, and after general discourses told him, "that the king had disposed the earl of Sandwich to another employment, for which he did not seem sorry; and that it must be now thought of, who was fit to command in his place: that there was no hope of peace, instead whereof there would be an entire conjunction between France and the Dutch; and that the French fleet" (the ambassadors being about this time gone) "would be ready to join with them as soon as they should put to sea; and there was much doubt that the Dane would betake himself to the same alliance; and all would be at sea before we should be, except extraordinary diligence were used, which the continuance of the plague would hardly admit." The general presently answered, "that no person was so fit for that command as prince Rupert, who understood the seas well, and had that courage that was necessary in this conjuncture."

The chancellor told him, "that the king had great confidence in the affection and unquestionable courage of prince Rupert: but he was not sure, that the quickness of his spirit and the strength of his passion might not sometimes stand in need of the advice and assistance of a friend, who should be in equal authority with him; and had therefore thought of finding some fit person to be joined with him, and so make one admiral of two persons." To which the other not replying suddenly, he continued his discourse, saying, "that the king had such a person in his view, whom he would never acquaint with it, until he might find some way to discover that the proposing it would not be ingrateful to him; and that he was obliged to make this discovery, and that the person in the king's view was himself; and that if he and prince Rupert were joined in the command of the fleet and undertook it, his majesty would believe that he had done all that was in his

power, and would, with great hope, commit all the rest to God Almighty." He said, "he thought he had behaved himself most like a friend in telling him shortly and plainly what the king's drift was, towards which, though the secret was known to none but the duke of York, yet such an advance was made, that his majesty was well assured that prince Rupert would readily comply with his pleasure." Upon the whole matter he desired him "to deal as like a friend with him, and to tell him freely if he had no mind to the employment; and he would take upon him to prevent the making the proposition to him, and that neither the king nor duke should take it unkindly."

The general appeared really surprised and full of thoughts; and after a short pause he desired him "not to believe that he made the least [difficult] in his thoughts of undertaking the service; but many things had occurred to him in the discourse, which he would mention anon." He said, "that for his own part he should be willing to go out of London to-morrow, and think himself much safer in any action against the Dutch than he could be in the post he was, where every day men died about him and in his view; and as he thought that he had done the king better service by staying in London, than he could have done in any other place, so he believed, if the sickness should continue," (as it was like enough to do, there appearing yet very little decrease,) "his majesty might think that his presence might be as necessary there as it had been." The chancellor replied, "that his majesty had foreseen that contingency; and had already resolved, that if that fell out to be the case, he should rather desire his residence should be where it had been (though he was much troubled to expose him to so much hazard) than in any other place: but that his majesty's confidence in the mercy of God, that he would take off this heavy visitation before the end of winter, had suggested the other designation of him to the service of the fleet, upon the good conduct whereof his own and the kingdom's happiness so much depended."

The general quickly replied, "that for that matter he was so willing to engage himself, that if the king pleased, he would most readily serve under the command of prince Rupert:" to which the other answered as readily, "that the king would never consent to that." And so they resolved presently to go to the king, that his majesty and the duke might know what would please them so much. And as they were going, the general said smiling, "that he would tell him now what the true cause was, that had made that pause in him upon the first discourse of the business; and that it would be necessary for him, after all things should be adjusted with the king and duke and prince Rupert, that what concerned him should still remain a secret, and prince Rupert be understood to have that command alone. For if his wife should come to know it, before he had by degrees prepared her for it, she would break out into such passions as would be very uneasy to him: but he would in a short time dispose her well enough; and in the mean time nothing should be omitted on his part, that was necessary for the advancement of the service." Hereupon the king, the

duke, the prince, and the general consulted of all that was to be done: and he at the end of two days returned to London with the same expedition that he came to Oxford, together with sir George Carteret the treasurer of the navy, and all orders that were requisite for the sale of the East India ships, upon which all provisions for the fleet were to be made.

Though the parliament at Oxford had preserved that excellent harmony that the king had proposed, and hardly wished any thing in which they had not concurred, insomuch as never parliament so entirely sympathised with his majesty; and [though] it passed more acts for his honour and security than any other had ever done in so short a session: yet it introduced a precedent of a very unhappy nature, the circumstances whereof in the present were unusual and pernicious, and the consequences in the future very mischievous, and therefore not unfit to be set out at large.

The lord Arlington and sir William Coventry, closely united in the same purposes, and especially against the chancellor, had a great desire to find some means to change the course and method of the king's counsels; which they could hardly do whilst the same persons continued still in the same employments. Their malice was most against the chancellor: yet they knew not what suggestions to make to the king against him, having always pretended to his majesty, how falsely soever, to have a great esteem of him. Their project therefore was to remove the treasurer, who was as weary of his office and of the court as any body could be of him: but his reputation was so great, his wisdom so unquestionable, and his integrity so confessed, that they knew in neither of those points he could be impeached. And the king himself had kindness and reverence towards him, though he had for some years thought him less active, and so less fit for that administration, than every body else knew him to be: and these men had long insinuated unto his [majesty], "how ill all the business of the exchequer was managed by the continual infirmities of the treasurer, who, between the gout and the stone, had not ease enough to attend the painful function of that office, but left the whole to be managed and governed by his secretary sir Philip Warwick;" upon whose experience and fidelity he did in truth much rely, as he had reason to do, his reputation for both being very signal and universal. And towards fastening this reproach they had the contribution of the lord Ashley, who was good at looking into other men's offices, and was not pleased to see sir Philip Warwick's credit greater than his with the treasurer, and his advice more followed. And the other two had craftily insinuated to him, that he would make much a better treasurer; which, whilst he thought they were in earnest, prevailed with him not only to suggest materials to them for that reproach, but to inculcate the same to the king upon several occasions: but when he discovered that they intended nothing of advantage to his particular, he withdrew from that intrigue, though in all other particulars he sided with them.

The king was too easy in making assignments upon his revenue, which would make it incapable to satisfy others which were more necessary, and to grant suits by lease or farm, (sometimes to worthy men,) which were of mischievous conse-

quence to all the measures which could be taken; and those the treasurer found himself obliged to stop: and commonly, upon informing the king of it and of his reasons, his majesty was very well pleased with what he had done, and (as hath been said before) did often give himself ease from the importunity of many, by signing the warrants they brought to him, in confidence that either the chancellor or treasurer would not suffer them to pass. However, it raised clamour; and there were men enough who had the same provocation to make a great noise; and they easily found countenance from others, who desired it should be believed, "that it was a high arrogance and presumption in any subject to stop any signature of the king, and so make his majesty's grace and bounty to be ineffectual, if his approbation and consent was not likewise procured." There was visibly great want of money, though there were vast sums of money raised; which they laboured to persuade the king proceeded from the unskilfulness or inactivity of the treasurer, who was again tired with the vexation and indignity, when he had so frequently presented the king with the particulars of the receipts and disbursements, and made it demonstrable how much his expenses exceeded all his income; and how impossible it would be, without lessening these, to provide wherewithal to supply [necessary occasions]: but this was an ungracious subject, and opened more mouths than could easily be stopped.

There was a man who hath been often named, sir George Downing, who by having been some years in the office of one of the tellers of the exchequer, and being of a restless brain, did understand enough of the nature of the revenue and of the course of the receipt, to make others who understood less of it to think that he knew the bottom of it, and that the expedients, which should be proposed by him towards a reformation, could not but be very pertinent and practicable. And he was not unhurt in the emoluments of his own office, which were lessened by the assignments made to the bankers, upon the receipts themselves, without the money's ever passing through the tellers' office; by which, though they did receive their just fees, they had not what they would have taken, if the money had passed through their own hands. He was a member of parliament, and a very voluminous speaker, who would be thought wiser in trade than any of the merchants, and to understand the mystery of all professions much better than the professors of them. And such a kind of chat is always acceptable in a crowd, (where few understand many subjects,) [who] are always glad to find those put out of countenance who thought they understood it best: and so they were much pleased to hear sir George Downing inveigh against the ignorance of those, who could only smile at his want of knowledge.

This gentleman was very grateful to sir William Coventry as well as to lord Arlington, and was ready to instruct them in all the miscarriages and oversights in the treasury, and to propose ways of reformation to them. "The root of all miscarriage was the unlimited power of the lord treasurer, that no money could issue out without his particular direction, and all money was paid upon [no] other rules than his order; so that, let the king want as much as was possible,

"no money could be paid by his, without the treasurer's warrant;" which, to men who understood no more than they did, seemed a very great incongruity. "But," he said, "if there were such a clause inserted into the bill which was to be passed in the house of commons for money, it might prevent all inconveniences, and the king's money would be paid only to those persons and purposes to which his majesty should assign them; and more money would be presently advanced upon this act of parliament, than the credit of the bankers could procure;" for he foresaw that would be a very natural objection against his clause and the method he proposed.

He made his discourse so plausible to them, that they were much pleased with it; and it provided for so many of their own ends, that they neither did nor were able to consider the reverse of it, but were most solicitous that there might no obstructions arise in the way. If it should come to the knowledge of the chancellor, he would oppose it for the novelty, and the consequences that might attend it; and if the treasurer had notice of it, he would not consent to it for the indignity that his office was subjected to: they therefore discoursed it to the king as a matter of high importance to his service, if it were secretly carried; and then brought the projector, who was an indefatigable talker, to inform his majesty of the many benefits which would accrue to his service by this new method that he had devised, and the many mischiefs which would be prevented.

There were so many things which were suggested, that were agreeable to some fancies that the king himself had entertained; there would not need now so many formalities, as warrants and privy seals, before monies could be paid; and money might hereafter issue out and be paid without the treasurer's privy; in which many conveniences seemed to appear: though besides the innovation and breach of all old order, which is ever attended by many mischiefs unforeseen, there were very great inconveniences in view in those very particulars which they fancied to be conveniences. But it was enough that the king so well liked the advice, upon conference with them three, that he resolved to communicate it with no others; but appointed, that when the bill for supply should be brought into the house, (it being to be, as was said before, for the sum of . . . .) at the commitment Downing should offer that proviso, which had been drawn by himself, and read to the king and the other two. And because it was foreseen, that it would be opposed by many of those who were known to be very affectionate to the king's service, they had all authority privately to assure them, that it was offered with the king's approbation.

Against the time that the bill was to be brought in, they prepared the house by many unseasonable bitter invectives against the bankers, called them cheats, bloodsuckers, extortioners, and loaded them with all the reproaches which can be cast upon the worst men in the world, and would have them looked upon as the causes of all the king's necessities, and of the want of monies throughout the kingdom: all which was a plausible argument, as all invectives against particular men are; and all men who had faculties of depraving, and of making ill things appear worse than they are, were

easily engaged with them. The bankers did not consist of above the number of five or six men, some whereof were aldermen, and had been lord mayors of London, and all the rest were aldermen, or had fined for aldermen. They were a tribe that had risen and grown up in Cromwell's time, and never heard of before the late troubles, till when the whole trade of money had passed through the hands of the scriveners: they were for the most part goldsmiths, men known to be so rich, and of so good reputation, that all the money of the kingdom would be trusted or deposited in their hands.

From the time of the king's return, when though great and vast sums were granted, yet such vast debts were presently to be paid, the armies by land and sea to be presently discharged, [that] the money that was to be collected in six and six months would not provide for those present unavoidable issues; but there must be two or three hundred thousand pounds gotten together in few days, before they could begin to disband the armies or to pay the seamen off; the deferring whereof every month increased the charge to an incredible proportion: none could supply those occasions but the bankers, which brought the king's ministers first acquainted with them; and they were so well satisfied with their proceedings, that they did always declare, "that they were so necessary to the king's affairs, that they knew not how to have conducted them without that assistance."

The method of proceeding with them was thus. As soon as an act of parliament was passed, the king sent for those bankers, (for there was never any contract made with them but in his majesty's presence:) and being attended by the ministers of the revenue, and commonly the chancellor and others of the council, the lord treasurer presented a particular information to the king of the most urgent occasions for present money, either for disbanding troops, or discharging ships, or setting out fleets, (all which are to be done together, and not by parcels;) so that it was easily foreseen what ready money must be provided. And this account being made, the bankers were called in, and told, "that the king had occasion to use such a sum of ready money within such a day; they understood the act of parliament, and so might determine what money they could lend the king, and what manner of security would best satisfy them." Whereupon one said, "he would within such a time pay one hundred thousand pounds," another more, and another less, as they found themselves provided; for there was no joint stock amongst them, but every one supplied according to his ability. They were desirous to have eight in the hundred, which was not unreasonable to ask, and the king was "willing to give:" but upon better consideration amongst themselves, they thought fit to decline that demand, as being capable of turning to their disadvantage, and would leave the interest to the king's own bounty, declaring "that themselves paid six in the hundred for all the money with which they were intrusted," which was known to be true.

Then they demanded such a receipt and assignment to be made to them by the lord treasurer, for the payment of the first money that should be payable upon that act of parliament, or a branch of that act, or tallies upon the farmers of the customs or excise, or such other branches of the

revenue as were least charged; having the king's own word and the faith of the treasurer, that they should be exactly complied with; for, let the security be what they could desire, it would still be in the power of the king or of the lord treasurer to divert what was assigned to them to other purposes. Therefore there is nothing surer, than that the confidence in the king's justice, and the unquestionable reputation of the lord treasurer's honour and integrity, was the true foundation of that credit which supplied all his majesty's necessities and occasions; and his majesty always treated those men very graciously, as his very good servants, and all his ministers looked upon them as very honest and valuable men. And in this manner, for many years after his majesty's return, even to the unhappy beginning of the Dutch war, the public expenses were carried on, it may be, with too little difficulty, which possibly increased some expenses; and nobody opened his mouth against the bankers, who every day increased in credit and reputation, and had the money of all men at their disposal.

The solicitor general brought in the bill for supply according to course, in that form as those bills for money ought and used to be: and after it had been read the second time, when it was committed, Downing offered his proviso, the end of which was, "to make all the money that was to be raised by this bill to be applied only to those ends to which it was given, which was the carrying on the war, and to no other purpose whatsoever, by what authority soever;" with many other clauses in it so monstrous, that the solicitor, and many others who were most watchful for the king's service, declared against it, as introductive to a commonwealth, and not fit for monarchy. It was observed, "that the assignment of the money that was given by act of parliament to be paid in another manner and to other persons than had been formerly used, though there wanted not plausible pretences, was the beginning of the late rebellion, and furnished the parliament with money to raise a rebellion, when the king had none to defend himself; which had made Cromwell wise enough never to permit any of those clauses, or that the impositions which were raised should be disposed to any uses or by any persons but by himself and his own orders." And by such and other arguments, which the contrivers had not foreseen, the proviso had been absolutely thrown out, if sir William Coventry and Downing had not gone to the solicitor and others who spoke against it, and assured them, "that it was brought in by the king's own direction, and for purposes well understood by his majesty." Upon which they were contented that it should be committed, yet with direction "that such and such expressions should be reformed and amended."

In the afternoon the king sent for the solicitor, and forbade him any more to oppose that proviso, for that it was much for his service. And when he would inform him of many mischiefs which would inevitably attend it, some were of those which he had no mind to prevent, being to lessen their power who he thought had too much, and

the other he cared not to hear; and said only, "that he would bear the inconveniences which would ensue upon his own account, for the benefits which would accrue, and which it was not yet seasonable to communicate with other members of the house of commons, whom he thought not to be so able to dispute it with him."<sup>a</sup>

He enlarged more in discourse, and told them, "that this [would be an] encouragement to lend money, by making the payment with interest so certain and fixed, that there could be [no] security in the kingdom like it, when it should be out of any man's power to cause any money that should be lent to-morrow to be paid before that which was lent yesterday, but that all should be infallibly paid in order; by which the exchequer (which was now bankrupt and without any credit) would be quickly in that reputation, that all men would deposit their money there: and that he hoped in few years, by observing the method he now proposed, he would make his exchequer the best and the greatest bank in Europe, and where all Europe would, when it was once understood, pay in their money for the certain profit it would yield, and the indubitable certainty that they should receive their money." And with this discourse the vain man, who had lived many years in Holland, and would be thought to have made himself master of all their policy, had amused the king and his two friends, undertaking to erect the king's exchequer into the same degree of credit that the bank of Amsterdam [stood upon], the institution whereof he undertook to know, and from thence to make it evident, "that all that should be transplanted into England, and all nations would sooner send their money into the exchequer, than into Amsterdam or Genoa or Venice." And it cannot be enough wondered at, that this intoxication prevailed so far, that no argument would be heard against it, the king having upon those notions, and with the advice of those counsellors, in his own thoughts new-modelled the whole government of his treasury, in which he resolved to have no more superior officers. But this was only reserved within his own breast, and not communicated to any but those who devised the project, without weighing that the security for monies so deposited in banks is the republic itself, which must expire before that security can fail; which can never be depended on in a monarchy, where the monarch's sole word can cancel all those formal provisions which can be made, (as hath since been too evident,) by vacating those assignments which have been made upon that and the like acts of parliament, for such time as the present necessities have made counsellable; which would not then be admitted to be possible.

And so without any more opposition, which was not grateful to the king, that act passed the house of commons, with the correction only of such absurdities as had not been foreseen by those who framed the proviso, and which did indeed cross their own designs: and so it was sent from the commons to the house of peers for their consent.

<sup>a</sup> Something seems to be wanting here to make the sense clear. *Qu.* Whether what follows was spoken by Downing to the king, Arlington, and Coventry; or, by the king to the solicitor. In the latter case, *told them* (as it is in the MS.) should be altered to *told him*. [Note in the first edition.]

Bills of that nature, which concern the raising of money, seldom stay long with the lords; but as of custom, which they call privilege, they are first begun in the house of commons, where they endure long deliberation, so when they are adjusted there, they seem to pass through the house of peers with the reading twice and formal commitment, in which any alterations are very rarely made, except in any impositions which are laid upon their own persons, for which there are usually blanks left, the filling up whereof is all the amendment or alteration that is commonly made by the lords: so that the same engrossment that is sent up by the commons, is usually the bill itself that is presented to the king for his royal assent. Yet there can be no reasonable doubt made, but that those bills of any kind of subsidies, as excise, chimney-money, or any other way of imposition, are as much the gift and present from the house of peers as they are from the house of commons, and are no more valid without their consent than without the consent of the other; and they may alter any clause in them that they do not think for the good of the people. But because the house of commons is the immediate representative of the people, it is presumed that they best know what they can bear or are willing to submit to, and what they propose to give is proportionable to what they can spare; and therefore the lords use not to put any stop in the passage of such bills, much less diminish what is offered by them to the king.

And in this parliament the expedition that was used in all business out of fear of the sickness, and out of an impatient desire to be separated, was very notorious: and as soon as this bill for supply was sent to the lords, very many members of the house of commons left the town and departed, conceiving that there was no more left for them to do; for it was generally [thought], that at the passing that act, with the rest which were ready, the king would prorogue the parliament. Yet the novelty in this act surprised the lords, that they thought it worthy a very serious deliberation, and used not their customary expedition in the passing it. It happened to be in an ill conjuncture, when the terrible cold weather kept the lord treasurer from going out of his chamber for fear of the gout, of which the chancellor laboured then in that extremity, that he was obliged to remain in his bed; and neither of them had received information of this affair. Many of the lords came to them, and advertised them of this new proviso; and some of them went to the king, to let him [know] the prejudice it would bring him, and censured the ill hand that had contrived it.

The lord Ashley, who was chancellor of the exchequer, and had been privy in the first cabal in which this reformation was designed, whether because he found himself left out in the most secret part of it, or not enough considered in it, passionately inveighed against it, both publicly and privately, and, according to the fertility of his wit and invention, found more objections against it than any body else had done, and the consequences to be more destructive; with which he so alarmed the king, that his majesty was contented that the matter should be debated in his presence; and because the chancellor was in his bed, thought his chamber to be the fittest place

for the consultation: and the lord [treasurer], though indisposed and apprehensive of the gout, could yet use his feet, and was very willing to attend his majesty there, without the least imagination that he was aimed at in the least.

The king appointed the hour for the meeting, where his majesty, with his brother, was present, the chancellor in his bed, the lord treasurer, the lord Ashley, the lord Arlington, and sir William Coventry; the attorney general and the solicitor were likewise present, to word any alterations which should be fit to be made; and sir George Downing likewise attended, who the king still believed would be able to answer all objections which could be made. The chancellor had never seen the proviso which contained all the novelty, (for all the other parts of the bill were according to the course,) and the treasurer had read it only an hour or two before the meeting: the lord Ashley therefore, who had heard it read in the house of peers, and observed what that house thought of it, opened the whole business with the novelty, and the ill consequence that must inevitably attend it; all which he enforced with great clearness and evidence of reason, and would have enlarged with some sharpness upon the advisers of it.

But the king himself stopped that by declaring, "that whatsoever had been done in the whole transaction of it had been with his privy and approbation, and the whole blame must be laid to his own [charge], who it seems was like to suffer most by it." He confessed, "he was so fully convinced in his own understanding, that the method proposed would prove to his infinite advantage and to the benefit of the kingdom, that he had converted many in the house who had disliked it; and that since it came into the house of peers, he had spoken with many of the lords, who seemed most unsatisfied with it: and he was confident he had so well informed many of them, that they had changed their opinion, and would be no more against that proviso. However, he confessed that some remained still obstinate against it, and they had given some reasons which he had not thought of, and which in truth he could not answer: he wished therefore that they would apply themselves to the most weighty objections which were in view, or which might probably result from thence, and think of the best remedies which might be applied by alterations and amendments in the house of lords, which he doubted not but that the commons would concur in."

The first objection was "the novelty, which in cases of that nature was very dangerous, remembering what hath been mentioned before of the beginning of the late rebellion, by putting the money to run in another channel than it had used to do: and that when once such a clause was admitted in one bill, the king would hardly get it left out in others of the same kind hereafter; and so his majesty should never be master of his own money, nor the ministers of his revenue be able to assign monies to defray any casual expenses, of what nature soever; but that upon the matter the authority of the treasurer and chancellor of the exchequer must be invested in the tellers of the exchequer, who were subordinate officers, and qualified to do nothing but by the immediate order of those

"their superior officers. And though there are  
 "four tellers in equal authority, yet sir George  
 "Downing would in a short time make his office  
 "the sole receipt, and the rest neither receive nor  
 "pay but by his favour and consent."

The king had in his nature so little reverence or esteem for antiquity, and did in truth so much condemn old orders, forms, and institutions, that the objections of novelty rather advanced than obstructed any proposition. He was a great lover of new inventions, and thought [them] the effects of wit and spirit, and fit to control the superstitious observation of the dictates of our ancestors: so that objection made little impression. And for the continuance of the same clause in future bills, he looked for it as necessary, in order to the establishment of his bank, which would abundantly recompense for his loss of power in disposal of his own money. And though it was made appear, by very solid arguments, that the imagination of a bank was a mere chimera in itself, and the erecting it in the exchequer must suppose that the crown must be always liable to a vast debt upon interest, which would be very ill husbandry; and that there was great hope, that after a happy peace should be concluded, and care should be taken to bring the expenses into a narrower compass, the king might in a short time be out of debt: yet all discourse against a bank was thought to proceed from pure ignorance. And sir George was let loose to instruct them how easy it was to be established, who talked imperiously "of the method by which it came to be  
 "settled [in Holland] by the industry of very  
 "few persons, when the greatest men despaired  
 "of it as impracticable; yet the obstinacy of the  
 "other prevailed, and it was now become the  
 "strength, wealth, and security of the state: that  
 "the same would be brought to pass much more  
 "easily here, and would be no sooner done, than  
 "England would be the seat of all the trade of  
 "Christendom." And then assuming all he said to be demonstration, he wrapped himself up, according to his custom, in a mist of words that nobody could see light in, but they who by often hearing the same chat thought they understood it.

The next objection was "against the injustice  
 "of this clause, and the ill consequence of that  
 "injustice. The necessities of the crown being  
 "still pressing, and the fleet every day calling  
 "for supply, money had been borrowed from the  
 "bankers upon the credit of this bill, as soon as  
 "the first vote had passed in the house of commons for so considerable a supply; and the  
 "treasurer had made assignments upon several  
 "branches of the revenue, which had been preserved and designed for the army and the immediate expenses of the king's and queen's household, and the like unavoidable issues, upon presumption that enough would come in from this new act of parliament to be replaced to those purposes, before the time that would require it should come. But by this proviso especial care was taken, that none of the money that should be raised should be applied to the payment of any debt that was contracted before the royal assent was given to the bill: so that both the money lent by the bankers upon the promise made to them must be unpaid and unsecured, and the money that had been sup-

"plied from other assignments must not be applied to the original use; by which the army and household would be unprovided for, the inconvenience whereof had no need of an enlargement."

"Besides that the bankers had the king's word, and the engagement of the ministers of the revenue, that all new bills of supply should still make good what former securities were not sufficient to do; as by this heavy visitation of the plague, the assignments which had been made upon the excise and chimney-money, and by the decay of trade that the war and sickness together had produced, the assignments made upon the customs had brought in so little money, that the debt to the bankers, which, but for those obstructions, might by this time have been much abated, remained still very little less than it was in near a year before. And when it should be known, that this sum of money that was to be raised was exempt from the payment of any of those and the like debts, it would be a great heartbreaking to all those, who had not only lent all their own estates, but the whole estates of many thousands of other men, to the king, and must expect to be called upon by all who have trusted them for their money, which, by this invention, they have no means to pay: and for the future, let the necessities be what they will that the crown may be involved in, there is no hope of borrowing any money, since it is not in the power of the king himself to make any assignment upon this new imposition."

Very much of this had been so absolutely unthought of by the king, that he was very much troubled at it; and he had in his own judgment a just esteem of the bankers, and looked upon any [prejudice] that they should suffer as hurtful to himself, and a great violation of his honour and justice. But it was plain enough that the principal design of the contrivers was to prejudice the bankers, nor did they care what ruin befell them, and so talked loosely and bitterly "of their  
 "cozening the king, and what ill bargains had  
 "been made with them;" though it was made manifest, that no private gentleman in England did, upon any real or personal security, borrow money, but considering the brokerage he pays, [and] the often renewing his security, it costs him yearly much more than the king paid to the bankers.

They slighted what was past as sufficiently provided for; and for the future confidently undertook the king should never more have need of the bankers, "for that this act would be no  
 "sooner passed, but, upon the credit of it, money  
 "would be poured into the exchequer faster than  
 "it could be told." And when they were told, that expectation would deceive them, and that great sums would not come in, and small sums would do hurt, because they would but stop up the security from giving satisfaction to others, because whatever was first paid in must be first paid: all this was answered confidently, that vast sums were ready, to their knowledge, to be paid in as soon as the bill [should pass]; which fell out as was foretold. For after ten or twenty thousand pounds were delivered in by themselves and their friends to save their credit, there was no more money like to come; and that



sum did more harm than good, by interrupting the security.

But notwithstanding all their answers, the king remained unsatisfied in many particulars which he had not foreseen, and wished "that the matter had been better consulted;" and confessed "that Downing had not answered many of the objections;" and wished "that alterations might be prepared to be offered in the house of peers as amendments, and transmitted to the commons, without casting out the proviso;" the foundation and end of which still pleased him, for those reasons which he would not communicate, and for which only it ought to have been rejected. But as it had been very easy to have had it quite left out, which was the only proper remedy; so the mending it would leave much argument for debate, and would spend much time. And it was to be apprehended, that there were so many of the best affected members of the house of commons gone out of the town, as having no more to do, that when it should be sent down thither again, it might be longer detained there than would be convenient for the public; and so the parliament be kept longer from a prorogation, than would be grateful to them or agreeable to the king.

And therefore, upon the whole matter, his majesty chose that no interruption should be given to it in the house of peers, and only such small amendments, which would be as soon consented to in both houses as read, should be offered, rather than run the other hazard of delay: and so accordingly it was passed; and upon the doing thereof, the parliament was prorogued to April following.

In this debate, upon the insolent behaviour of Downing in the defence of that which could not be defended, and it may be out of the extremity of the pain which at that time he endured in his bed, the [chancellor] had given some very sharp reprehensions to Downing, for his presumption in undertaking to set such a design on foot that concerned the whole fabric of the exchequer, (in which he was an inferior officer,) and such a branch of the king's revenue, without first communicating it to his superior officers, and receiving their advice; and told him, "that it was impossible for the king to be well served, whilst fellows of his condition were admitted to speak as much as they had a mind to; and that in the best times such presumptions had been punished with imprisonment by the lords of the council, without the king's taking notice of it:" which, with what sharpness soever uttered, (in which he naturally exceeded in such occasions,) in a case of this nature, in which, with reference to any disrespect towards himself, he was not concerned, he thought did not exceed the privilege and dignity of the place he held; and for which there were many precedents in the past times.

At the present there was no notice taken, nor reply made to what he said. But they who knew themselves equally guilty, and believed they were reflected upon, found quickly opportunity to incense the king, and to persuade him to believe, "that the chancellor's behaviour was a greater affront to him than to Downing: that a servant should undergo such reproaches in the king's own presence, for no other reason but having,

"with all humility, presented an information to his majesty, which was natural for him to understand in the office in which he served him, and afterwards followed and observed the orders and directions which himself had prescribed; that this must terrify all men from giving the king any light in his affairs, that he may know nothing of his own nearest concerns but what his chief ministers thought fit to impart to him." All which, and whatsoever else was natural to wit sharpened with malice to suggest upon such an argument, they enforced with warmth, that they desired might be taken for zeal for his [service] and dignity, which was prostituted by those presumptions of the chancellor.

And herewith they so inflamed the king, that he was much offended, and expressed to them such a dislike that pleased them well, and gave them opportunity to add more fuel to the fire; and told them, "that the chancellor should find that he was not pleased;" as indeed he did, by a greater reservedness in his countenance than his majesty used to carry towards him; the reason whereof his innocence kept him from comprehending, till in a short time he vouchsafed plainly to put him in mind of his behaviour at that time, and to express a great resentment of it, and urged all those glosses which had been made to him upon it, and "what interpretation all men must make of such an action, and be terrified by it from offering any thing, of what importance soever to his service, if it would offend his ministers;" and all this in a choler very unnatural to him, which exceedingly troubled the chancellor, and made him more discern, though he had evidence enough of it before, that he stood upon very slippery ground.

He told his majesty, "that since he thought his behaviour to be so bad in that particular, for which till then his own conscience or discretion had not reproached him, he must and did believe he had committed a great fault, for which he did humbly ask his pardon; and promised hereafter no more to incur his displeasure for such excesses, which he could never have fallen into at that time and upon that occasion, but upon the presumption, that it had been impossible for his majesty to have made that interpretation of it which it seems he had done, or that any body could have credit enough with him to persuade him to believe, that he desired that his majesty should not have a clear view, and the most discerning insight, into the darkest and most intricate parts of all his affairs, which they knew in their consciences to be most untrue. And he must with great confidence appeal to his majesty, who knew how much he had desired, and taken some pains, that his majesty might never set his hand to any thing, before he fully understood it upon such references and reports, as, according to the nature of the business, was to be for his full information."

He besought him to remember, "how often he had told him, that it was most absolutely necessary that he should make himself entirely master of his own business, for that there would be no acquiescence in any judgment but his own; and that his majesty knew with what boldness he had often lamented to himself, that



"he would not take the pains perfectly to understand all his own affairs, which exposed his ministers to the censures of half-witted men, and was the greatest discouragement to all who served him honestly : and he desired his pardon again for saying, that he would hereafter find that they who had advised him in this late transaction, in the handling whereof he had taken the liberty that had offended his majesty, had but a very dim insight into that business which they took upon themselves to direct."

But his majesty was not willing to enter again into that discourse, and concluded with forbidding him to believe, "that it was or could be in any men's power to make him suspect his affection or integrity to his service;" and used many other very gracious expressions to him, nor ever after seemed to remember that action to his prejudice. But within a short time the bishopric of Salisbury becoming void by the never enough lamented death of Dr. Earle, his majesty conferred that bishopric upon Dr. Hyde, the dean of Winchester, upon the chancellor's recommendation, whose near kinsman he was. Nor was his credit with the king thought to be lessened by any body but himself, who knew more to that purpose than other people could do : yet he judged more from the credit that he found his enemies got every day, than from the king's withdrawing his trust and kindness from him ; nor did the king believe that they had then that design against him, which shortly after they did not dissemble.

The purpose of making the alteration in the government of the treasury was pursued very industriously. And since that proviso, with all the circumstances thereof, had not produced the effect they proposed, for they had believed that the indignity of the affront would have wrought so far upon the great heart of the treasurer, that he would thereupon have given up his staff ; which he was too much inclined to have done, if he had not been prevailed with by those who he knew were his friends, not to gratify those who desired him out of their way, in doing that which they of all things wished : therefore, that plot not succeeding, they persuaded the king to try another expedient. For they all knew, that it was too envious a thing for his majesty himself to remove him from his office by any act of his, and that it would be loudly imputed to them. But if he could be himself persuaded to quit that which every body knew he was weary of, it would prevent all inconveniences : and they had been told that the chancellor only had dissuaded him from doing it, which he would not presume to do, if he were clearly told that the king desired that he should give it up.

Hereupon the king one day called the chancellor to him, and told him, "that he must speak with him in a business of great confidence, and which required great secrecy;" and then enlarged in a great commendation of the treasurer, (whom in truth he did very much esteem,) "of his great parts of judgment, of his unquestionable integrity, and of his general interest and reputation throughout the kingdom. But with all this," he said, "he was not fit for the office he held : that he did not understand the mystery of that place, nor could in his nature [go through] with the necessary obligations of it. That his bodily infirmities were such, that many

"times he could not be spoken with for two or three days, so that there could be no despatch; of which every body complained, and by which his business suffered very much. That all men knew that all the business was done by sir Philip Warwick, whom, though he was a very honest man, he did not think fit to be treasurer; which he was to all effects, the treasurer himself doing nothing but signing the papers which the other prepared for him, which was neither for the king's honour nor his." The truth was, that his understanding was too fine for such gross matters as that office must be conversant about, and that if his want of health did not hinder him, his genius did not carry him that way ; nor would the laziness of his nature permit him to take that pains, that was absolutely necessary for the well discharging that great office.

His majesty concluded, "that he loved him too well to disoblige him, and would never do any thing that would not be grateful to him : but he had some reason, even from what he had sometimes said to him, to think that he was weary of it, and might be easily persuaded to deliver up his staff, which his majesty would be very glad of; and therefore he wished that he, the chancellor, who was known to have most interest in him, would persuade him to it, in which he would do his majesty a singular service."

The chancellor presently asked him, "if he were so unfit, whom he would make treasurer in his room." The king as presently answered, "that he would never make another treasurer, which was an office of great charge, and would be much more effectually executed by commissioners; which had been done in Cromwell's time, as many offices had been : and that his majesty found by experience, that in offices of that kind commissioners were better than single officers ; for though sir William Compton was a very extraordinary man, of great industry and fidelity, yet that the office of the ordnance was neither in so good order nor so thriflily managed whilst he was master of it, as it hath been since his death, since when it hath been governed by commissioners ; and so he was well assured his treasury would be."

The chancellor replied, "that he was very sorry to find his majesty so much inclined to commissioners, who were indeed fittest to execute all offices according to the model of a commonwealth, but not at all agreeable to monarchy : that if he thought the precedent of Cromwell's time fit to be followed, he should be in the posture that Cromwell was, with an army of one hundred thousand men, which made him have no need of the authority and reputation of a treasurer, either to settle his revenue or to direct the levying it ; he could do both best himself." But he very passionately besought his majesty to believe, "that they who advised him to this method of government, though they might have good affection to his person and his service, were very unskilful in the constitution of this kingdom and in the nature of the people. That the office of treasurer had sometimes, upon the death of a present officer, been executed by commissioners, but very seldom for any time, or longer than whilst the king could deliberately make choice of a fit minister. That himself had

"been twice a commissioner for the treasury, once in the time of his father, and again upon his majesty's return: and therefore that he could upon experience assure him, that commissioners, in so active a time as this, could never discharge the duty of that office; and that the dignity of the person of the treasurer was most necessary for his service, both towards the procuring the raising of money in parliament, and the improving his revenue by the grant of additions there, as likewise for the collecting and conducting it afterwards. For the present treasurer," he said, "there was no question, but if he knew that his majesty was weary of his service, and wished to have the staff out of his hand, he would most readily deliver it: but that they who gave the counsel, and thought it fit for his majesty's service, were much fitter to give him that advertisement, than he who in his conscience did believe, that the following it would be of the most pernicious consequence to his service of any thing that could be done."

He most humbly and with much earnestness besought his majesty "seriously to reflect, what an ill savour it would have over the whole kingdom, at this time of a war with at least two powerful enemies abroad together, of so great discontent and jealousy at home, and when the court was in no great reputation with the people, to remove a person the most loved and revered by the people for his most exemplary fidelity and wisdom, who had deserved as much from his blessed father and himself as a subject can do from his prince, a nobleman of the best quality, the best allied and the best beloved; to remove at such a time such a person, and with such circumstances, from his councils and his trust: for nobody could imagine, that, after such a manifestation of his majesty's displeasure, he would be again conversant in the court or in the council, both which would be much less esteemed upon such an action. That many with the same diseases and infirmities had long executed that office, which required more the strength of the mind than of the body: all were obliged to attend him, and he only to wait upon his majesty."

"That it was impossible for any man to discharge that office without a secretary: and if the whole kingdom had been to have preferred a secretary to him, they would have commended this gentleman to him whom he trusted, who had for many years served a former treasurer in the same trust, in the most malignant, captious, and calumniating time that hath been known, and yet without the least blemish or imputation; and who, ever since that time, had served his father in and to the end of the war, and himself since in the most secret and dangerous affairs," (for he had been trusted by the persons of the greatest quality to hold intelligence with his majesty to the time of his return;) "so that all men [rather] expected to have found him preferred to some good place, than in the same post he had been in twenty years before; which he would never have undertaken under any other officer than one with whom he had much confidence, and who he knew would serve his majesty so well. Yet," he said, "that whoever knew them could [never] believe that sir Philip Warwick could govern the lord treasurer."

The king said, "he had a very good opinion of sir Philip Warwick, and had never heard any thing to his prejudice." But upon the main point of the debate he seemed rather moved and troubled than convinced, when by good fortune the duke of York came into the room, who had been well prepared to like the king's purpose, and to believe it necessary; and therefore his majesty was glad of his presence, and called him to him, and told him what he had been speaking of; and the chancellor informed him of all that had passed between the king and him, and told him, "that he could never do a better service to the king his brother, than by using his credit with him to restrain him from prosecuting a purpose that would prove so mischievous to him." And so the discourse was renewed: and in the end the duke was so entirely converted, that he prevailed with his majesty to lay aside the thought of it; which so broke all the measures the other contrivers had formed their counsels by, that they were much out of countenance. But finding that they could not work upon the duke to change his mind, and to return to the former resolution, they thought not fit to press the king further for the present; and only made so much use of their want of success, by presenting to his majesty his irresoluteness, which made the chancellor still impose upon him, that the king did not think the better of the chancellor or the treasurer, for his receding at that time from prosecuting what he had so positively resolved to have done, and promised them "to be firmer to his next determination."

After Christmas the rage and fury of the pestilence began in some degree to be mitigated, but so little, that nobody who had left the town had yet the courage to return thither: nor had they reason; for though it was a considerable abatement from the height it had been at, yet there died still between three and four thousand in the week, and of those, some men of better condition than had fallen before. The general writ from thence, "that there still arose new difficulties in providing for the setting out the fleet, and some of such a nature, that he could not easily remove them without communication with his majesty, and receiving his more positive directions; and how to bring that to pass he knew not, for as he could by no means advise his majesty to leave Oxford, so he found many objections against his own being absent from London." Windsor was thought upon as a place where the king might safely reside, there being then no infection there: but the king had adjourned the term thither, which had possessed the whole town; and he was not without some apprehension, that the plague had got into one house.

In the end, towards the end of February, the king resolved that the queen and duchess and all their families should remain in Oxford; and that his majesty and his brother, with prince Rupert, and such of his council and other servants as were thought necessary or fit, would make a quick journey to Hampton-Court, where the general might be every day, and return again to London at night, and his majesty give such orders as were requisite for the carrying on his service, and so after two or three days' stay there return again to Oxford; for no man did believe it counsellable, that his majesty should reside longer there, than

the despatch of the most important business required : and with this resolution his majesty made his journey to Hampton-Court.

It pleased God, that the next week after his majesty came thither, the number of those who died of the plague in the city decreased one thousand ; and there was a strange universal joy there for the king's being so near. The weather was as it could be wished, deep snow and terrible frost, which very probably stopped the spreading of the infection, though it might put an end to those who were already infected, as it did, for in a week or two the number of the dead was very little diminished. The general came and went as was intended : but the business every day increased ; and his majesty's remove to a further distance was thought inconvenient, since there appeared no danger in remaining where he was.

And after a fortnight's or three weeks' stay, he resolved, for the quicker despatch of all that was to be done, to go to Whitehall, when there died above fifteen hundred in the week, and when there was not in a day seen a coach in the streets, but those which came in his majesty's train ; so much all men were terrified from returning to a place of so much mortality. Yet it can hardly be imagined what numbers flocked thither from all parts upon the fame of the king's being at Whitehall, all men being ashamed of their fears for their own safety, when the king ventured his person. The judges at Windsor adjourned the last return of the term to Westminster-hall, and the town every day filled marvellously ; and which was more wonderful, the plague every day decreased. Upon which the king changed his purpose, and, instead of returning to Oxford, sent for the queen and all the family to come to Whitehall : so that before the end of March the streets were as full, the exchange as much crowded, and the people in all places as numerous, as they had ever been seen, few persons missing any of their acquaintance, though by the weekly bills there appeared to have died above one hundred and threescore thousand persons : and many, who could compute very well, concluded that there were in truth double that number who died ; and that in one week, when the bill mentioned only six thousand, there had in truth fourteen thousand died. The frequent deaths of the clerks and sextons of parishes hindered the exact account of every week ; but that which left it without any certainty was the vast number that was buried in the fields, of which no account was kept. Then of the anabaptists and other sectaries, who abounded in the city, very few left their habitations ; and multitudes of them died, whereof no churchwarden or other officer had notice ; but they found burials, according to their own fancies, in small gardens or the next fields. The greatest number of those who died consisted of women and children, and the lowest and poorest sort of the people : so that, as I said before, few men missed any of their acquaintance when they returned, not many of wealth or quality or of much conversation being dead ; yet some of either sort there were.

The business of the king and of all about him was, that the fleet might be ready and at sea with all the possible expedition : and in or towards this there was less disturbance and interruption than could reasonably have been expected, an universal

cheerfulness appearing in all who could obstruct or contribute towards it, the people generally being abundantly satisfied in the king's choice of the commanders. Prince Rupert was very much beloved, for his confessed courage, by the seamen ; and the people believed that they could not but have the victory where the general commanded, who only underwent unquietness and vexation from the tempestuous humour of his wife. She, from his return from Oxford, and from the time that she had the first intimation that the king had designed her husband for the command of the fleet, was all storm and fury ; and, according to the wisdom and modesty of her nature, poured out a thousand full-mouthed curses against all those who had contributed to that counsel : but the malice of all that tempest fell upon the chancellor. She declared, "that this was a plot of "his to remove her husband from the king, that "he might do what he had a mind to ;" and threw all the ill words at him which she had been accustomed to hear, accompanied with her good wishes of what she would have befall him. But the company she kept, and the conversation she was accustomed to, could not propagate the reproaches far ; and the poor general himself felt them most, who knew the chancellor to be his very fast and faithful friend, and that he would not be less so because his wife was no wiser than she was born to be. He was indefatigable in taking pains night and day, that the fleet might be at sea.

The duke of Beaufort, admiral of France, was already gone to Brest, and had taken leave of the king at Paris, whither he was not to return till after the summer's service at sea, and had appointed a rendezvous of all the ships to be at Brest by the middle of March, which they reported should consist of fifty ships of war.

The rupture was declared on both sides with Denmark. That king had appeared much troubled at the ill accident at Bergen, which had fallen out merely by the accidents of weather, which had hindered the positive orders from arriving in the precise time : and he seemed still resolved to detain the Dutch ships there, and only to fear the conjunction of the Swede with the Hollander, which the king's agent, sir Gilbert Talbot, assured him he need not to fear. Which the better to confirm, Mr. Clifford, who had been present at Bergen, and is before mentioned to be sent after that by the king to Denmark, went from thence into Sweden (where Mr. Coventry yet remained) with a project of such a treaty as would have been with little alterations consented to in Sweden, who had good inclinations to the king, and resolved to join with the bishop of Munster, when he should advance, according to his engagement. But the Danish resident in Sweden delayed to conclude, and pretended to have received less positive orders than the nature of the affair required, and that he expected fuller : and so all matters were deferred, till ambassadors came from Holland with no expostulations, and a desire to renew their alliance, and release some engagements they had upon the Sound, which had been very grievous to the Dane ; and many other conditions were granted which were very convenient to them. An ambassador likewise arrived in the nick of time from France, to dispose them to a conjunction with Holland, and to warrant the

performance of whatsoever the Hollander should promise, and likewise to undertake that France would protect them against England, and therefore that they should not apprehend any danger from a war from thence; and De Ruyter was now gone with the fleet for Bergen.

Upon all these motives concurring in the same conjuncture, the poor king embraced that party; and then declared and complained, "that the English had broken the law of nations in violating the peace of his ports, and endeavouring to fire his town, when they were hospitably received and treated there under the protection of his castle." He denied that he had ever made such an offer or promise as sir Gilbert Talbot still charged him with, and which he had not denied to Mr. Clifford when he came first thither. But now he reproached sir Gilbert Talbot "for falsifying his words, at least for mistaking them, and sending that to the king his master which he gave him no liberty to do." And now sir Gilbert found his error in not having drawn from him or his servant Gabell, in writing, some evidence of the engagement: but after many indignities he left the court and returned to England. All English ships in Denmark or Norway were seized upon; and the persons of all merchants and others who were his majesty's subjects, and to some of whom the king of Denmark owed great sums of money, which they had lent to him, were imprisoned, and their goods seized and confiscated.

All which proceedings provoked the king to give the like orders, and to look upon them as enemies, and to emit a declaration of the motive he had to send his fleet to Bergen, "which he could never have done but upon the invitation and promise of that king; which was evident enough by the reception his ships had there, and expectation the governor had of their arrival, and his allegation, that he expected that very night fuller orders than he had yet received; and lastly, his suffering them to depart securely, after all the acts of hostility had passed in the port." Much of this was denied with many indecent expressions, and such evasions as made all that was said believed by equal considerers: and so the war was declared.

And then in the beginning of the year 1666, a year long destined by all astrologers for the production of dismal changes and alterations throughout the world, and by some for the end of it, the king found his condition so much worse than it had been the last year, as the addition of France and Denmark could make it; against all which, and the prodigies which the year was to produce, (and it did truly produce many,) the king prepared with his accustomed vigour and resolution, though the predictions had a strange operation upon vulgar minds.

The proclamation of the war in France, and the seizure upon the estates of the English, with some circumstances in the point of time, and other actions very unjust and unusual, the great maritime preparations there, and the visible assistance of force that was sent thence to the Dutch, did not trouble nor hurt the king so much as the secret and invisible negotiations of that crown. From the first declaration of the bishop of Munster of his resolution to make a war upon Holland, (with which he acquainted the king of

France before he resolved it, and received such an answer that made him very confident (as hath been remembered before upon his first address to the king of Great Britain) that he should meet with no obstruction from thence; and upon that confidence the treaty was concluded with the king, and great sums of money paid to the bishop upon his promise and engagement, "that he would fix himself with his army within the territories of the States General before the winter was ended; that against the spring, when the king's fleet should be ready for the sea, he would at the same time march with an army of twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse into the heart of their country;" and what the effect of that would have been in that conjuncture may be in some degree guessed at by what hath since fallen out: [I say], France, from the first knowledge they had of his purpose, and before they declared on the behalf of the Dutch, secretly sent to the neighbour princes "not to join with the bishop, and to do all that was in their power to hinder his levies;" and prevailed with the elector of Brandenburg, who had given hopes to the bishop of a powerful assistance upon the expectation of the restoration of Wesel, and other towns then possessed by Holland, totally to decline any conjunction with him, upon promise "that he should find his own account better from the friendship of France." The dukes of Lunenburg, who had made the bishop believe that they would join with him, and had made levies of soldiers to that purpose, having abundant argument of quarrel with Holland, were now persuaded by the same way not only to desist from helping, but to declare themselves enemies to the bishop, if he would not desist, and "that they would serve the Dutch with their forces."

When all this could not discourage the bishop from prosecuting his intention, but that he still gathered troops, and gave new commissions to officers who had prepared for their levies further in Germany; the king of France sent an envoy expressly to the bishop himself, and offered his mediation and interposition with the Dutch, "that they should do him all the right that in justice he could demand from [them], and if [this] were not accepted by him, that he [must] expect what prejudice the arms of France could bring upon him;" and then sent to all those princes who had permitted levies to be made in their countries, "that they should not suffer those troops to march out of their country," but offered "to receive and entertain them in his own army." With this he sent to the other princes of Germany and to the emperor himself, "that if they did not prevent this incursion of the bishop of Munster," (to which they all wished well,) "they would involve the empire in a war."

When all this could not terrify the bishop, who defended himself by his engagement to the king of Great Britain, "that he could not enter into treaty nor give over his enterprise without his consent," and drew his forces together to a rendezvous, and had got permission from the marquis of Castelle Roderigo, then governor of Flanders, to make levies in those provinces without noise or avowing it, and marched with his army into the States' dominions, and took a place or two even in the sight of prince Maurice, (who

drew as many of the States' troops together as could be spared out of their garrisons, but thought not fit to engage with them, after he had found in some light skirmishes that they were not firm;) so that the bishop, by the advantage of the situation of which he was possessed, began to fasten himself in full assurance of increasing his army, in spite of all discouragements, before the spring, (and he had already received some troops out of Flanders, and advertisement from other of his officers, that they were well advanced in their levies:) the king of France in this conjuncture, in the imperious style he customarily used in those cases, sent to the governor of Flanders for a license for such troops, as he had occasion to send into Germany, to pass through such a part of his government; which as he had no mind to grant, so he durst not deny, having orders from Spain to be very careful, that no disgusts might be given to France which might give any occasion, or pretence, or opportunity for a breach, which they well knew was desired and longed for.

Upon this permission the French troops marched into Flanders: and in the first place, whether in their way or out of their way, they fell upon the levies which were made for the bishop, and routed and dispersed them, or took them prisoners. In one place, by the strength of their quarter and a neighbour church, they defended themselves, imagining the country would relieve them, without suspecting that they had license and permission to march through: but they were so much inferior in number or strength, that after some of them were killed, the rest were glad to throw down their arms and become prisoners at mercy, the officers not comprehending what declared enemy could fall upon them in those quarters. With this triumph they marched, and joined with prince Maurice by the time the bishop had notice of the disaster, and speedily advanced upon his quarters, and beat some of his troops.

Upon which the poor bishop (who instead of the supplies and commissions and other countenance that he had reason to expect from those princes, who had been privy and with great promises encouraged his enterprise, received every day arguments from them against his proceeding further, with many conjurations, that he would entirely submit to the king of France's determination) found himself necessitated to comply, and even heart-broken signed a treaty with the French, who then were careful enough both of his honour and interest in the conditions with the Dutch, as for an ally of whom they meant to make more use in another conjuncture. Upon all which the bishop had been much more excusable, if he had not received some of the king's money, even after he saw that he should be obliged to sign the treaty; which he ought not to have done, though it had been due, and it may be expended, before he had any such intention, and to which, it cannot be denied, he had most forcible compulsions.

This was the most sensible blow, but the plague, that the king had felt from the beginning of the war, and was instance enough how terrible the king of France was to all the neighbour kings and princes, who had so suddenly departed from their own inclinations and resolutions, and from their own interest, only upon his insinuations, which became orders to them. And Spain, if

they knew that which all the world besides discerned, could not but believe that France would break all treaties as soon as the other king should die, the news of which was expected and provided for every week. But the drowsy temper of that monarch, who had been so much disquieted throughout his whole reign, extended so far only as to prepare a stock of peace that would last during his own time, that he saw would be very short, and to leave his dominions and his infant son to shift for themselves when he was dead: and it was an unhappy maxim of that state, that it was the best husbandry to purchase present peace and present money at how dear interest soever for the future, which would be assisted with some new expedients, as Spain had always been.

All these disadvantages made the king the more solicitous to have but one enemy to struggle with, though it were France: and therefore he was very solicitous, by all ways he could devise, to make a peace with Holland, and to leave Denmark to their own inventions; and he had some encouragement to believe, that it was not impossible to separate Holland from France. They were sensible enough, that they had been upon the matter betrayed into the war, by the positive promise of assistance, and a firm conjunction from France in the instant that the war should be entered upon, without any mention of mediation or interposition for peace, which was against their desire; and that they had looked on very unconcernedly, or rather well pleased to see them beaten, and their own people ready to rise against the government. Then they knew that France did already provide for an expedition against Flanders, which could not long defend itself with its own forces; and that they depended upon this war between England and the Dutch, as what must hinder both those nations from giving it assistance: and they as well knew what their own portion must be, when that screen was removed, that was their best security against so mighty a neighbour. And this De Wit himself, who was the chief supporter of the war, frequently observed and confessed to those with whom he had most conversation, and in whom he was believed to have most trust: and all those advertisements were transmitted to the king by those whose integrity could not be suspected, and who did not dissemble, being of the States themselves, to be very desirous of peace and very jealous of France.

There was a gentleman, one monsieur Bewett, of a good family in France and born there, but long bred in Holland whilst the wars were there, and who had been captain in the last prince of Orange's horse-guards, and in very particular favour with him, by which he was married to a woman of Holland very rich, and very nearly allied to many of those who had the greatest influence upon the government; and was now looked upon rather as a Dutchman than a Frenchman, and conversed most familiarly amongst the burgo-masters, and other principal persons of the States. And by this interest, after the death of the prince of Orange, that troop was still preserved for a guard to the States, and was the only horse-troop that remained constantly in the Hague. And for the better pleasing the people, it was still called the Prince of Orange's Guard, and continued to wear the same livery it had always

done: and the young prince took much delight to see them, and to hear himself called by them their captain; and the commander thereof, Bewett, professed and paid the same devotion to him that he had done to his father.

This gentleman was generally beloved, and held a man of great sincerity, brave in point of courage, and of good parts of wit and judgment, save that he was immoderately given to wine and to the excess of it, which, being the disease or rather the health of the country, made him not the worse thought of or less fit for business. He was well known to the king, and well thought of by him, and had great familiarity with some of the bed-chamber, and others near the king and trusted by him. He had made a journey once, since the king's return into England, only to kiss his hand, and profess the same affection and duty he had often done when his majesty was abroad, which had always made him acceptable to him.

He was a bold speaker, and from the time that the war was begun against England much inveighed against the counsel that persuaded it, as very pernicious to the affairs of that country; and in this argument used not more freedom with any than with De Wit himself, who loved his person and his spirit, and conversed very freely with him, though he knew his friendships were chiefly with the dependents upon the house of Orange, and with others of the States who were of his own opinion with reference to the war: and the publishing his opinion drew many of the greatest interest amongst the burgomasters to delight in his conversation, and to trust him much. With those he consulted freely what means should be used to procure a peace, and [prevent] the mischief that must attend the continuance [of the war], with good sense and judgment: but those consultations were always in the exercise of drinking, which never ended without the utmost excess, though without noise or disquiet or unkindness, which are never the effects of those excesses amongst that people.

After the first battle, when the Dutch were so much beaten, and the people in that consternation that they called aloud for peace, and reviled all those who were thought to be against it, and amongst those De Wit principally, who had the more enemies, and peace the more friends, for the differences which had arisen amongst the officers of the fleet upon the death of Opdam, and upon the disgrace which Trump had undergone by the power and injustice, as they said, of De Wit upon personal dislikes, and because he was known to have great affection for the prince of Orange, (and Van Trump himself, as hath been said, was not only of much interest amongst the seamen, but very popular in the government, and had his sisters married to burgomasters in some of the greatest towns; so that the disgrace of him increased the number of De Wit's enemies:) in this conjuncture Bewett cultivated the best he could all those ill humours, how mutinous soever, which grew most importunate for peace; yet without any reflection upon the person of De Wit, with whom he was known by the company he most kept to have much familiarity, and whom he did at that time really believe to be inclined to peace, and declared he did think so to those who knew the contrary, yet did not think the worse of him for being deceived, being as-

sured he would never deceive them for want of integrity.

But he took advantage of this general distemper and of the prejudice the people had against him, to talk very frankly to De Wit of both; and admired, "since he did, as he professed, "desire peace, that he would not find some way "to undeceive the people, which was necessary "for his own security; and it might easily be "effected, by giving a beginning to such a consultation as might look towards an accommodation." De Wit had his spies in all places, and knew well what company Bewett most delighted in, though his acquaintance was universal and agreeable to all men: and he was informed too of his particular behaviour with reference to him, and that he did constantly and confidently vindicate him from many imputations, in the presence of those who were not pleased with his contradictions; so that he looked upon him as his friend, and one that might by his interest and credit divert some of that popular envy and malice, of which he had no contempt, but much apprehension.

He renewed his former professions of his desire of peace, and gave so good reasons for it as might naturally gain belief; amongst which one was always a vehement jealousy of France, "which," he said, "though it had at last declared war "against England, which they ought to have "done so long before, [had done it] only to draw "England into some conditions which might "facilitate their own enterprise upon Flanders, "which it concerned them to prevent by all the "ways possible; of which none would be so probable as a peace between England and them, "which would immediately make each solicitous "for their own interest. But how to set any "thing on foot that might contribute to this "he knew not; and the doing that which the "other had proposed, by declaring himself, was "the way only to slacken all the provisions for "war, the expediting of which would most advance a peace."

Bewett replied, "that he knew he had many "friends in the English court, whereof some were "of near trust about his majesty, for whose "secrecy he would be accountable;" and named the lord Arlington, who had lately married a lady of the Hague, the daughter of monsieur Beverwaert, a person in his quality and fortune in the first rank. He offered to him, "that he would "himself write such a letter to the lord Arlington "in his own name, which he should first see and "approve, without which he would not send it, "as should only testify his own good wishes for "a peace between the two nations, which were "not unknown to the king himself; and would "make no other mention of him, than that he "had reason to believe, that monsieur De Wit "(in whose good opinion he had the honour to "be known to have some place) would not be "unwilling to promote any good overture that "should be made." After some debate he was content that he should write, provided that he would promise to write nothing but what he should first see, and would still bring the answers to him which he should receive; to which the other consented.

Upon this encouragement he begun his correspondence with the lord Arlington, and acquainted

his bosom-friends with it, to dispose them the more to hope for peace, and to look upon De Wit as not averse to it. But what he writ was with so much wariness, being dictated upon the matter by the pensioner, that it could draw no other answers from the secretary but of the same style, with expressions of his majesty's desire of peace and esteem of De Wit, and as if he expected some overtures to arise from thence. This intelligence had not been long on foot, but he begun to suspect the sincerity of De Wit, and that indeed he was not so well inclined to peace as he had pretended to be: his countenance was not so open, nor he so vacant when he came, as he used to be; he grew less jealous of the French, and more composed himself, and less apprehensive of the people, as he found them more composed, and a greater concurrence in the making all things ready for the fleet. All which observations he likewise imparted to his companions, who were glad to find him begin to be undeceived; and from that time he was apter to concur with them in the fiercer counsels, how to compass a peace in spite of him by a majority of votes in the States, with the help of the people, for the suppression of any accidental [insurrection] whereof, there were no other forces in view than those horse-guards that were commanded by him.

Hereupon he took a new resolution, but would not lose the advantage he had by the knowledge De Wit had of his correspondence, and therefore shewed him a letter that he had received from the lord Arlington, in which he pressed him "to inform him, what particulars would dispose the States to peace, and to separate from the French," and had sent him a cipher for the more free and safe communication; which cipher he deposited in the hands of De Wit, having received his directions and observed them by using the same cipher, which the other examined and kept, and hoped by the answer to put an end to that correspondence, of which he grew weary, and less confident of the person, because he heard that he was grown less zealous in his defence than he had been.

Bewett upon this grew more resolute one way and less apprehensive the other way, and sent a person with whom he had great friendship, and who was well known to the king and most about him, monsieur Silvius, a servant to the late princess royal, and a native of Orange, with a full account "of the state of the counsels at the Hague, and his discovery that De Wit did not in truth desire a peace, nor would consent to it, but upon very unreasonable terms," whereof some were mentioned in his letter in cipher which he had dictated; "but that he was most assured, that he should be compelled at the next assembly of the States to submit to more reasonable conditions." He gave the king an account of the ground of his confidence, and an information of the persons who were combined together to press it in the States, amongst which there were some of the greatest power: and by their advice he offered the substance of a message they wished the king should send to the States General at the time of their convening, in which there was nothing contained against which any thing could be objected on his majesty's behalf; and "upon the delivery thereof there would so few adhere to De Wit, that he should not be able to pre-

vent a treaty, though France should protest against it." He sent likewise at the same time, and by the same person, another cipher to the lord Arlington, with direction "that in such letters as were intended for the view of the pensioner the former cipher should be used, and in the other letters, which were to be concealed from him, and which were for the most part to contain intelligence and advice against him, the latter cipher was only to be made use of."

Those informations by Silvius, who was a man of parts, and had dependance upon the duke of York, and meant not to return into Holland except upon a pressing occasion, when he durst adventure to go, being looked upon as an inhabitant of the Hague, having been always bred there, and his relation to the duke scarce yet taken notice of; I say, those informations the king thought to be worthy to be well considered, and conferred with the chancellor upon the whole, and appointed the lord Arlington to inform him of all that had passed from the beginning; and that Silvius, who was concealed, that they might have no advertisement in Holland of his having been in England, should likewise attend him in some evening; which he shortly after did, and made him an ample and clear relation of the state of the counsels at the Hague, and the several factions amongst them, and the distemper of the people. He had himself spoken with many of the burgomasters and others in authority, who were privy to his coming, and communicated the method they meant to proceed in towards the depressing De Wit, by mingling the proposition for peace with the interest of the prince of Orange, which the people thought to be inseparable.

In fine, he gave a perfect good account of all to which he was instructed, with great modesty: and when the chancellor, to whom Bewett and he were both well known, would have induced him to deliver somewhat of his own judgment, whether he thought that combination to be strong enough to overrule De Wit; he could draw no other answer from him than the magnifying the credit and interest of Bewett, which he seemed principally to rely upon, and the impossibility that he should fail in point of integrity or courage.

Silvius had settled a sure way of correspondence, and by every post received fresh intelligence of the preparations and progress Bewett and his friends made in their designs, of the success whereof they were every day more confident, and thought their party so much to increase, that as they did not apprehend any discovery like to be made by treachery, so they did not seem to fear it, if De Wit himself should know all that they intended: and they pressed very earnestly, "that the king's letter, in the manner they had proposed, might be at the Hague when the General States were to meet," the time whereof approached.

The king called those to him to whom the whole negotiation had been imparted, to advise what was to be done. On the king's part nothing was considerable, but whether he should write to the States at all, and what he should write: and against writing there seemed to be no objection, and as little against writing what they advised, which was no more than he had formerly writ, and always said to their ambassador, And



that this might be a more favourable conjuncture for the good reception of it, and hearkening to it, his majesty was reasonably to believe those who meant to second and promote it with their own reasons: and therefore the time and the manner of the delivery of it was left to be resolved amongst themselves, the king having no minister there to present it.

The way that they had thought of was, that Bewett should at the proper time deliver it to De Wit, who durst not conceal it, and if he should, there would be ways enough to publish it to his reproach; nor could he take any advantage of Bewett for his correspondence with their enemies, because it had been entered into with his approbation. But for the better security in the sending it, and the better information of the persons engaged, of all the reflections which had been made by the king, and those with whom he had conferred by his majesty's order, it was thought best that Silvius should return; and if Bewett thought fit to decline the delivery of the king's letter, and no better way could be found for the delivery of it, he might present it in the manner his friends there should direct, and avow his having been at London to solicit his own pretences since the death of the princess royal his mistress, and that he had received the letter from the king's own hand. This being the concurrent opinion of all, and the gentleman himself willing to undertake it, Silvius was despatched.

In the debate of the matter, the king asked the chancellor "what he thought of the design, and whether he thought it would succeed;" who said, "he doubted it much, and that it would conclude in the loss of poor Bewett's head, who had not a talent for the managery of an affair of that weight, which would require great secrecy and great sobriety, and the consideration of more particulars at once than his comprehension could contain together." Then he did not like the method they proposed, of joining the demand of peace with the interest of the prince of Orange, which, though it might probably follow the peace and be an effect of it, would not be seasonable to be joined with it in regard of his infancy; and that many did heartily desire the peace, who had no mind that the prince should be restored to the offices of his father and family, or that there should be any debate of it, till the prince came to the age that was provided by the solemn act and declaration of the States: which had been the reason that his majesty (who had all the tenderness for his nephew that a parent could have) would never be persuaded to mention him (though it had been proposed by many, and even by the elector of Brandenburg and the princess dowager) in the conditions of the peace; the king foreseeing that De Wit would have been glad to have that advantage, as to observe to the people, that the king would prescribe to them what officers they should choose and admit into their government, and that they must have no peace, except they would take a general and a stadtholder and an admiral of his nomination, which was to make them subject to himself.

And this was the reason, that in all conferences with the French ambassadors, who sometimes would mention the prince of Orange with compassion for the ingratitude of the States towards him, and add, "that they doubted not their

"master would be ready to join with his majesty in doing him all offices;" and sometimes when the Dutch ambassador (who was of that party that did really wish the restoration of the prince) in conference would seem to wish and to believe, that the restoring the prince of Orange would be the consequence of the peace: the king never gave other answer, than "that he should be very glad that the States would gratify his nephew;" but that it was a matter he had nothing to do to interpose in, it depending wholly upon their own good will and pleasure."

The rest who were present had much more esteem of Bewett than the chancellor had, (who thought as well of his courage and integrity as they did,) and believed he would have success in what he designed, his interest in the right of his wife being confessedly very great amongst the States, and his jolly course of living having rendered him very acceptable and grateful to men of the most different affections; and then of all the officers of the militia he was most esteemed, which was like to be of moment, if the dispute brought the matter to a struggle: but the event shewed the contrary.

After Silvius's departure, letters passed between them, as they had used to do, for two or three posts. And Bewett one day meeting De Wit when he came from his good fellows, and they walking a turn together in common discourse, De Wit asked him, "when he had any letter from England, and how affairs went there:" to which he suddenly answered, "that he came just then from receiving one, which he had not yet deciphered," and put his hand into his pocket, and took thence a letter; and casting his eyes (which were never good, and now worse by the company he had left) upon the superscription, he gave it to him, and said, "he would go with him that they might decipher it together according to custom."

De Wit presently found that it was not the accustomed cipher, (for he had delivered the wrong letter, that which he ought not to see,) and desired him "that he would walk before, and he would presently overtake him, after he had spoken a few words at a house in his way." And so leaving him, he took present order for the apprehending him and searching his pockets; and at the same time sent to his house, and caused his cabinet, where all his papers were, to be examined and sealed up. And so poor Bewett, whilst he stayed at the other's house that they might decipher the letter, was apprehended, and all his papers taken out of his pockets, and he sent to prison. The other cipher was quickly found, and many letters and other papers, which discovered many secrets. Whereupon a court of justice was speedily erected: and within three days, according to the expedition used there in such cases, a scaffold was erected, and the poor gentleman brought thither in the sight of all his friends; and there, with his known courage, and in few words declaring "that he had honest poses to the country," lost his head.

Silvius quickly heard of his imprisonment, and as soon thought it necessary to make his own escape, and arrived in England before he heard of his last misfortune, which he did not suspect, nor knew how the discovery had been made. The knot, thus broken, dispersed themselves: most of



them got into Flanders; the burgomaster of Rotterdam, and two or three others of note, made all the haste they could into England; some thought themselves secure in Antwerp and other parts of Flanders; and some were seized upon in several places of the States' dominions, and imprisoned with all the circumstances of severity, though upon the want of clear proofs few of them were put to death. The troop of guards was reformed, or rather transformed, under new officers, and assigned for a constant guard to the States, without the least formal relation to the prince of Orange, or using his name or livery, or permission to pay any reverence to him. And so the prince was much lower than before, and all hopes of reviving almost extinguished or expired; De Wit stood firmer upon his own feet than ever, and directed all preparations for the war without control; and all the present expectation in England vanished: whilst the pensionary informed France of the dangers he had escaped for them, and what great matters had been offered to him if he would have departed from their interest; and made the plot to contain all that he fancied it might have done.

When the parliament at Oxford was prorogued, it was to a day in April: but the king had reason to believe that they would not so soon be in good humour enough to give more money, which was the principal end of calling them together. And the dregs of the plague still remaining, and venting its malignity in many burials every week, his majesty thought fit to dispense with their attendance at that time by a proclamation: and he caused it at the day to be prorogued to the twentieth of September following. In the mean time the court abounded in all its excesses. There had been some hope during the abode at Oxford, that the queen had been with child; and whilst that hope lasted, the king lived with more constraint and caution, and prepared to make himself worthy of that blessing: and there are many reasons to believe, besides his own natural good inclinations, that if God had vouchsafed to have given him a child, and the queen that blessing to have merited from him, he would have restrained all those inordinate appetites and delights; and that he would seriously have applied himself to his government, and cut off all those extravagant expenses of money and time, which disturbed and corrupted the evenness of his own nature and the sincerity of his intentions, and exposed him to the temptations of those who had all the traps and snares to catch and detain him.

The imagination of the queen's breeding was one cause of her stay there; and her stay there was the longer, because she miscarried when she intended to begin her journey. And though the doctors declared that it was a real miscarriage, ripe enough to make a judgment of the sex; yet some of the women who had more credit with the king assured him, "that it was only a false conception, and that she had not been at all with child:" insomuch that his majesty, who had been so confident upon a former [occasion], as to declare to the queen his mother and to others, "that upon his own knowledge her majesty had miscarried of a son," suffered himself now to be so totally convinced by those ladies and other women, that he did as positively believe that she never had, never could be, with child. And from that time he took little pleasure in her conversation, and more

indulged to himself all liberties in the conversation of those, who used all their skill to supply him with divertisements, which might drive all that was serious out of his thoughts, and make him undervalue those whom he had used, and still did most trust and employ, in what he thought most important; though he sometimes thought many things not of importance, which in the consequence were of the highest.

The lady, who had never declined in favour, was now greater in power than ever: she was with child again, and well enough contented that his majesty should entertain an amour with another lady, and made a very strict friendship with her, it may be the more diligently out of confidence that he would never prevail with her, which many others believed too. But without doubt the king's passion was stronger towards that other lady, than ever it was to any other woman: and she carried it with that discretion and modesty, that she made no other use of it than for the convenience of her own fortune and subsistence, which was narrow enough; never seemed disposed to interpose in the least degree in business, nor to speak ill of any body; which kind of nature and temper the more inflamed the king's affection, who did not in his nature love a busy woman, and had an aversion from speaking with any woman, or hearing them speak, of any business but to that purpose he thought them all made for, however they broke in afterwards upon him to all other purposes.

The lady herself, who every day (as was said before) grew in power and credit, did not yet presume to interpose in any other business, than in giving all the imaginable countenance she could to those who desired to depend upon her, and, in their right as well as her own, in depressing the credit of those who she knew wished hers much less than it was; but in this last argument she was hitherto wary, and took only such opportunities as were offered, without going out of her way to find them. Her principal business was to get an estate for herself and her children, which she thought the king at least as much concerned to provide as she to solicit; which however she would not be wanting in, and so procured round sums of money out of the privy purse, (where she had placed Mr. May,) and other assignments in other names, and so the less taken notice of, though in great proportions: all which yet amounted to little more than to pay her debts, which she had in few years contracted to an unimaginable greatness, and to defray her constant expenses, which were very excessive in coaches and horses, clothes and jewels, without any thing of generosity, or gratifying any of her family, or so much as paying any of her father's debts, whereof some were very clamorous. Her name was not used in any suits for the grant of lands; for besides that there was no avowing or public mention of natural children, she did think the chancellor and treasurer willing to obstruct such grants, and desired not to have any occasion to try the kindness of either of them: and so all the suits she made of that kind were with reference to Ireland, where they had no title to obstruct, nor natural opportunity to know, what was granted; and in that kingdom she procured the grant of several great quantities of land, like to prove of great benefit and value to her or her children.

The chief design they now began to design, and the worst they could ever design, was to raise a jealousy in the king of his brother, to which his majesty was not in any degree inclined, and had in truth a just affection for him and confidence in him, without thinking better of his natural parts than he thought there was cause for; and yet, which made it the more wondered at, he did very often depart in matters of the highest moment from his own judgment to comply with his brother, who was instructed, by those who too well knew the king's nature, to adhere to any thing he once advised, and to be importunate in any thing he proposed; in which he prevailed the more easily, because he never used it in any thing that concerned himself or his own benefit.

The truth is, it was the unhappy fate and constitution of that family, that they trusted naturally the judgments of those, who were as much inferior to them in understanding as they were in quality, before their own, which was very good; and suffered even their natures, which disposed them to virtue and justice, to be prevailed upon and altered and corrupted by those, who knew how to make use of some one infirmity that they discovered in them; and by complying with that, and cherishing and serving it, they by degrees wrought upon the mass, and sacrificed all the other good inclinations to that single vice. They were too much inclined to like men at first sight, and did not love the conversation of men of many more years than themselves, and thought age not only troublesome but impertinent. They did not love to deny, and less to strangers than to their friends; not out of bounty or generosity, which was a flower that did never grow naturally in the heart of either of the families, that of Stuart or the other of Bourbon, but out of an unskilfulness and defect in the countenance: and when they prevailed with themselves to make some pause rather [than] to deny, importunity removed all resolution, which they knew neither how to shut out nor to defend themselves against, even when it was evident enough that they had much rather not consent; which often made that which would have looked like bounty lose all its grace and lustre.

If the duke seemed to be more firm and fixed in his resolutions, it was rather from an obstinacy in his will, which he defended by aversion from the debate, than by the constancy of his judgment, which was more subject to persons than to arguments, and so as changeable at least as the king's, which was in greatest danger by surprise: and from this want of steadiness and irresolution (whencesoever the infirmity proceeded) most of the misfortunes, which attended either of them or their servants who served them honestly, had [their] rise and growth; of which there will be shortly an occasion, and too frequently, to say much more. In the mean time it cannot be denied, and was observed and confessed by all, that never any prince had a more humble and dutiful condescension and submission to an elder brother, than the duke had towards the king: his whole demeanour and behaviour was so full of reverence, that [it] might have given example to be imitated by those, who ought but did not observe a greater distance. And the conscience and resentment he had within himself, for the sally he had made in Flanders, made him after so wary in his actions, and so

abhorring to hear any thing that might lessen his awe for the king, that no man who had most credit with [him] durst approach towards any thing of that kind; so that there was never less ground of jealousy than of him. And (as was said before) the king (who was in his nature so far from any kind of jealousy, that he was too much inclined to make interpretations of many words and actions, which might reasonably harbour other apprehensions) was as incapable of any infusions which might lessen his confidence in his brother, as any noble and virtuous mind could be. And therefore those ill men, who began about this time to sow that cursed seed that grew up to bear a large crop of the worst and rankest jealousy in the succeeding time, did not presume to make any reflection upon the duke himself, but upon his wife, "upon the state she assumed, and "the height of the whole family, that lived in much "more plenty," they said, "than the king's, and "were more regarded abroad."

Such kind of people are never without some particular stories of the persons whom they desire to deprave: and so had many instances, which they used upon all occasions, of some levity or vanity, of some words affected by the duchess, or some outward carriage, true or false, which for the most part concluded in mirth and laughter, and seemed ridiculous; which was the method they used in all their approaches of that kind towards the highest acts of malice, first to make the person, whom they hoped to ruin in the end, less esteemed, by the acting and presentation of his words and gestures and motions; which commonly is attended with laughter. And this is the first breach they make upon any man's reputation; and the frequent custom of this kind of laughter and mirth, which is easily produced without any malice, doth in the end open a space large enough to let [in] calumny and scandal enough to weaken, if not to destroy, the best built reputation.

This was the course they held with reference to the duchess, whom the king had from the beginning treated with great grace and favour, and considered her as a woman of more than an ordinary wit and understanding: and the queen mother had from the reconciliation used her with that abundant affection and familiarity that was very wonderful; and the heights she assumed, and all that greatness which many thought too much, [were] not only inculcated, but enjoined by the queen as a duty due to her husband, of whose high degree she thought she could not be too tender and careful. And she had the happiness so well to behave herself towards the duke, that he was exceedingly pleased with her, and lived towards her with an affection so remarkable and notorious, that it grew to be the public discourse and commendation; and which made the liberties that were taken elsewhere the more spoken of and censured. It was very visible that he liked her company and conversation very well, and was believed to communicate all his counsels, and all he knew or thought, without reserve to her; which, being so contrary to the professed doctrine of the court, administered occasion to the men of mirth, in those seasons which took up a good part of every night, to be very pleasant upon the government of the duchess, and the submission [of the duke]; in which there were always some

witty reflections upon the chancellor. And this kind of liberty, being first grateful to the king for the wit that accompanied it and the mirth that it produced, grew by the custom of it the more acceptable; and it may be the general and public observation of the disparity in the lives of the two brothers made it wished, that there were no more of that strictness in the one place than in the other, towards which there wanted not application and advice accordingly as well as example.

In the mean time the chancellor had a hard part to act, being neither able to do the good he constantly endeavoured on one side, nor remove the ill he disliked on the other side; for he saw well the mischief that would inevitably follow the great expenses of the duke, which exceeded all limits, and could never be provided for; and thought the duchess to be blamed for what she spent upon herself, and used all the credit he had with both to begin in time to reform what necessity would shortly do with more dishonour: but the disease had grown from the first ill digestion.

The lord Berkley had upon the king's first arrival formed a family without rule or precedent, and made the servants in a much better condition than the master, by assigning liberal pensions and allowances to them, who had paid him dear for their places, without considering from what fund they should arise: and now they all would have the duke believe, "that he spent not too much; but that he had too little provision assigned to him for his quality and relation, and this proceeded from the neglect in the chancellor, who was able, if he endeavoured it, to persuade the king to enlarge it to a just proportion." And this was as much urged to the duchess as to the duke, and it made in her a greater impression; and though she had in all other respects a very entire affection and even a duty and resignation to her father, yet in this he had no authority with her, nor did she think him a competent judge what expenses princes should make: and having seen the state and lustre in which the duke of Anjou lived in France, and having received many infusions from the queen, of the great defect in the customs of England, in providing either for the respect or for the support of the younger sons of the crown, [she thought] that the chancellor should rather use his credit for the enlarging that narrowness, which the king was enough disposed to, than to reform their expenses. But of this enough.

The plague had really swept away and destroyed so many seamen, (Stepney and the places adjacent, which were their common habitations, being almost depopulated,) that now, all other obstructions being removed, there seemed even an impossibility to procure sailors and mariners enough to set out the fleet; insomuch as they found it necessary to press many watermen, and to dis-furnish all merchant ships which were prepared to be set out to the plantations or to other places of trade: all which turned not so much to benefit one way, as it did to loss another way. But the best way to expedite all things was the two admirals going to the fleet themselves, that they who resolved to go might hasten thither, and that they who had no mind to go might, out of shame, likewise accompany them.

There appeared great unanimity and consent

between them. Only prince Rupert had a great desire to go in a ship apart, and that they might not be both [in one] ship: but upon debate it appeared to be unpracticable, and that in a time of action the orders could not be the same, if they who gave them were not together and in the same place; and so the prince was persuaded not to be positive in that particular. And so they both went together, and took leave of the king towards the end of April, and laboured so effectually, (as they were both men of great dexterity and indefatigable industry in such conjunctures,) that they carried the fleet out to sea, well fitted and provided, by the middle of May; with which they presently visited the coast of Holland, and took many prizes; and, by the intelligence they met with, concluded that the Dutch fleet would not be ready in a month, of which they gave the king advertisement, and returned into the Downs. And prince Rupert at the same time expressed an inclination to go himself with part of the fleet to meet the duke of Beaufort, who was reported to be under sail to join with the Dutch, and "that they would not put to sea till they foresaw that they were like to join about Calais."

At or near the same time the lord Arlington received intelligence, "that the Dutch were not yet well manned; and that the ships which were in the Texel, and were to join with the other under De Ruyter in the Wierings, were more unprovided:" though at the same time secretary Morrice (who had always better intelligence from Holland) was assured from thence, "that all the ships in both places were so ready that they would join within very few days." But the lord Arlington, who thought he ought to be more believed, received as positive advertisement from France, "that the duke of Beaufort set sail from Brest on such a day:" and though the wind had not been yet directly favourable for him, it was concluded that he must be well advanced in his way, and he had no port to friend till he came to the coast of France near Calais.

Upon this there seemed a great desire that prince Rupert might take the course he had proposed; for the convenience was agreed to be very great, if the French could be met with before the conjunction. However, the council was so wary that at that time attended the king at Worcester-house, the chancellor being affected with the gout, that they advised the king "not to send positive orders for the dividing the fleet, which by many accidents might produce inconveniences; but rather to send two of the council to the fleet, with an account of all the intelligence, and the reflections which occurred to the king upon it." And hereupon sir George Carteret and sir William Coventry were presently sent, and carried such orders with them, as would be necessary if the generals had not other intelligence, or did think that the division was not liable to more objections than had been in view. And this caution I set down more particularly, because the council underwent reproaches which it did not deserve.

The two counsellors used such expedition, and found so good conveniences by land and water, that they returned to the king the next day with an account, "that the state of the Dutch fleet was confirmed to be the same that his majesty had heard, and that they believed the other concern-

"ing the duke of Beaufort to be very probable; "whereupon they had concluded with a mutual consent and approbation, that prince Rupert should take twenty of the ships, which he had already chosen, to meet the French, though they were superior in number, whilst the general remained in the Downs with the rest: and in order to this, that the prince went aboard his ship before they came away, and the rather, because the wind was so much against him, that his majesty's orders, if he found cause to send any, would be sure for some days to find him upon the western coast; and the wind that was against him was so favourable to the duke of Beaufort, that it was probable they might speedily meet, and in a place to be wished." The king saw no cause yet to send orders to the contrary; and this was the reason, and all the circumstances, of the separation of the fleet, that proved unfortunate.

It appeared very soon after, which secretary had the better intelligence: for the very next day after the departure of the prince, the general, who remained in the Downs, had certain intelligence that the Dutch were come out of their harbours, having it seems received intelligence likewise of the French fleet's being at sea, and being obliged to meet them, and had been long ready to do so; which had deceived the court, they believing that they stayed because they were not ready to come out; whereas they were ready, and expected only the other advertisement.

As soon as the general was informed, he sent notice presently to the duke late in the same evening, who, informing the king of it, gave orders to sir William Coventry to prepare orders to prince Rupert immediately to return; and if those orders had been carefully despatched, they might have come to the prince before the morning. But sir William Coventry thought he had done his part when he got the order signed, which was about twelve of the clock at night, and then sent them by his servant to the lord Arlington, whose part he thought it was to charge a messenger with them: but he was gone to bed, and his servants durst not disquiet him, a tenderness not accustomed to be in the family of a secretary. But whether they did not wake him, as he pretended, or being awake he deferred it, it was not sent away till the next day, and never came to prince Rupert's hand till he had turned his sails upon the thunder of the cannon; and he no sooner endeavoured to return, but the wind chopped about to retard him, that he could make little way that day or the night following. Whose fault it was that these important orders were not sent with more expedition, whether sir William Coventry ought not to have taken care for the conveying them, at least to have given the lord Arlington notice what the contents of them were, of which he denied to have any notice, was disputed with some warmth between themselves, and so came to be published: but it was never examined any where else, though the negligence was very mischievous in its effect; but they were both too great men to be questioned in any judicatory.

The general, after the notice he had received of the motion of the Dutch, ordered the fleet to weigh anchor about three of the clock in the morning upon the first of June 1666, to sail to the Buoy

of the Gunfleet to join with some other ships which lay there, to get more men, being then but ill manned: and about seven of the clock in the morning the scouts came in, and brought the general notice, that the Dutch fleet was to the leeward, and probably intended to decline fighting till they might join with the French. And it had been to be wished that the English had stood off too, upon confidence that prince Rupert, whom the wind had kept from being far off, as they could not but know, would receive direction from court to return. But the general (who was as impatient upon the sight of an enemy to engage with him as prince Rupert himself, and had a natural contempt of the Dutch) called his flag-officers to council, and quickly resolved, "that it was not convenient nor safe nor honourable to decline the battle, lest it might take off the pre-sent courage of the seamen." And truly in all those consultations, upon the like occasions, who-ever proposed any wary advice ran great hazard of being reputed a coward. And so they bore up with a full wind upon the enemy, notwithstanding the visible disadvantage they were in, in respect of the strength of the enemy, for in the absence of prince Rupert there remained little above fifty sail with the general; whereas De Ruyter's fleet consisted of above fourscore sail, who easily perceived his advantage, and that a great part of the English fleet was absent, and so willingly embraced the occasion, and made what sail he could to meet with them.

It was about two of the clock in the afternoon when the engagement began; and the English had got the wind, which was so high that they could not carry out their lower tiers. The admiral was so shattered in his rigging and masts, that he was compelled to get off and anchor, that he might mend what was amiss; and many of his squadron had their main-yards shot off, and received such damage in their tackling, which was the chief aim of the Dutch, that they could hardly govern their ships. And by this means the enemy got the wind; and the battle continued with great fierceness, and loss of many men on both sides, till nine or ten of the clock at night, when all were willing to have some rest.

That night was spent in repairing masts and rigging: and at six of the clock in the morning the battle began again with the same fierceness, and lasted till night. And that day the Dutch suffered much, and one of their vice-admirals was boarded and afterwards sunk, as many of their other ships likewise were; so that they began to fall off: when sixteen new great ships came to their aid, which gave them new courage; so that they renewed and maintained the fight with great resolution, and killed many men of the English, and disabled many of the ships, till the night again parted them.

Upon the account the general received that night, and the new access of force to the Dutch, he thought it necessary to retire; for though he had lost no ship, very many were so disabled, that there was reason to fear they would hardly hold out to recover the shore. And thereupon he caused all those ships to be put before and make all the sail they could, and himself with sixteen ships in a breadth went in the rear: which as soon as the enemy perceived, they pursued, but came not within reach of their guns till four of

the clock in the afternoon ; and then, though they shot hard, they did very little harm, the stern-pieces of the English over-reaching their broad-sides, which made many of them get off as quickly as they could. But by this time the English descried about twenty sail of ships standing towards them, which they concluded to be prince Rupert, (as it proved :) and so being earnest to join, they edged up towards them, but so unfortunately, that many of the flag ships were on ground off the Galloper-sand. But with much ado they all got off safe, the Royal Prince only excepted, which for this last age, and till the late war, was held the best ship in the world. This brave ship stuck so fast, that no art or industry could move her ; so that the enemy, when they found they could not carry her off, set her on fire, and took the captain, sir George Ayscue, and all the company prisoners, and without distinction used all with great barbarity, in which they pretended only to use retaliation. That night prince Rupert joined : and then they bore to the northward, that they might get clear of the sands ; and thereby the enemy got the wind again.

The fourth day of the battle, which was the fourth of June, the enemy being to windward about three leagues, the generals in the morning made all sail towards them : and they lay with their sails to the masts to stay for them, which they would not have had the courage to have done, if they had not had intelligence from the prisoners of the Prince, in how tattered a condition the fleet was. The battle began about eight of the clock in the morning with extraordinary confidence on both sides, the Dutch continuing their old guard, to spend all their shot upon the rigging and masts, and to defend themselves from being boarded, which the English most intended and laboured to do. But the design of the others succeeded better : insomuch that one of the vice-admirals of a squadron, and other of the best ships, were so disabled that they bore off from the battle, that they might mend and repair ; which gave no small encouragement to the enemy. But the two generals were invincible, and continued the battle all the day in several forms, and by the advantage of the wind fired six or seven of their ships, and sunk others, and had two or three of their own likewise sunk. And between six and seven at night, as if by consent, (and no doubt both sides were very weary of the encounter,) they separated without looking after each other, and hastened to their several coasts ; many of the English being so hurt in yards, masts, rigging, and hulls, many of them wanting men to ply their guns, and their powder and shot near spent, that with very much difficulty they got into harbour : and so concluded that great action, wherein either side pretended to have advantage, and both lost very much.

The next day after the battle was spent in fitting their masts and repairing their rigging, that they might be able to reach the coast : and when they came near it, the generals called a council about disposing those ships which could not remain at sea, and sent them to such several places as they might be soonest repaired in ; and gave every captain very strict order, "that all possible diligence" and expedition should be used to get their ships "ready, and furnished with whatsoever was want-

ing ;" and the commissioners of the navy were required to be assistant in all places. And so wonderful diligence was used, (which appears almost incredible,) that the whole fleet was so well fitted, that by the seventeenth day of the same month, within a fortnight after so terrible a battle, it was gathered together to a rendezvous to the Buoy of the Nore. The enemy made as much haste, rather to meet with the French, who were every day still expected, than to fight with the English, and kept as near to their own coast as conveniently they could : so that how ready soever the generals were (who had never left their ships) with the fleet by the seventeenth of the month, the winds were so averse or so calm, that it was the four and twentieth day of that month before they could reach the sight of the enemy.

And the next day, which was the twenty-fifth, the English made all the sail they could, and by ten in the morning engaged in as hot an encounter as had hitherto been in any engagement : and though the Dutch seemed not to fight with the same spirit and mettle, yet the battle held till two in the afternoon, when by the advantage of the wind they bore away faster than the English could follow. However, here they took vice-admiral Banchart, and his ship of threescore guns and three hundred men was burned ; and another ship of seventy guns and three hundred men was likewise taken and burned ; which the generals thought better, than to undergo the possible inconvenience of keeping them : and so they kept up as close to the enemy in the night as they could do. The next morning they used all their sails, and designed to board De Ruyter ; which, the wind lessening, they could not effect, he fighting very well, but running faster : and so, though very well pursued, he got into his fastness at the Wierings, with those who were nearest to him. But the rest who were further off, and were like to have the benefit of the night, tacked about : which they who attacked De Ruyter perceiving, and that they could follow him no further, and that the rest were five and forty sail, they followed them, the generals doing all they could with their squadron to put themselves between them and the coast ; but the wind growing on a sudden calm, about midnight they dropped their anchors, that they might not be driven further than they had a mind to be. But in the morning, when they weighed anchor to pursue them, and made all the way they could with a little wind, the enemy got so close to their own shore, their ships drawing less water than the English, that there could be no further pursuit.

Another part of the fleet, which was separated when De Ruyter got into the Wierings, and which the generals looked upon as their own, was so unhappily pursued, though by men of very good name, that they escaped ; which raised a great distemper in the fleet, whilst some officers of the prime and most unquestionable courage charged and accused others, who had always given great testimony that they durst do any thing, "of base declining to fight when the enemy was in their power, and that they chose rather to suffer them to escape than to encounter them." And this dispute and expostulation, between men who had many seconds, divided the generals, one declaring himself on the one side and the other ; but they

wisely laid aside the debate, till they should be at more leisure with less inconvenience to determine it.

The generals thereupon, having thus scattered the enemy, resolved to ply upon the Dutch coast to take all ships of trade, which they did; and off the Texel and the Flie took many rich prizes, both homeward and outward bound, of great value. And they having now nothing to do but to lie still, there was a Dutch captain, one Laurence Van Humakerke, who after the first battle, in the faction between Evertson and Van Trump, had given De Wit so great an advantage, that if he had not made his escape, he had been hanged, who from that time had always been on board with prince Rupert: this man, whilst the fleet lay in this posture, advised prince Rupert to attempt a place near the Flie, which was so locked in the land that it was always looked upon as very secure, (and where all ships laden at Amsterdam for the Straits and those parts, when they were outward bound, used to lie two or three days, as in a safe port, until all things which might be forgotten [were prepared], and all the company came together,) and had never been invaded in any war; and by it was a pretty large village, called Schelling, which had many good houses in it, besides others inhabited by, and for the entertainment of, seamen.

This enterprise was committed to sir Robert Holmes, a very bold and expert man; who, with a number of small vessels very well manned, besides a body of stout foot to land upon occasions, being assisted by the Dutchman, so vigorously assaulted it, that he burned all the Dutch ships lying there, being of inestimable value, all outward bound, and some of them worth above one hundred thousand pounds each ship. They burned likewise the whole town of Schelling; which conflagration, with that of the ships, appearing at the break of day so near Amsterdam, put that place into that consternation that they thought the day of judgment was come, not thinking of their ships there, as being out of the power or reach of any enemy: and no doubt it was the greatest loss that state sustained in the whole war, that is, greater than all the rest. And as this victory, if it can be called a victory when there is no resistance, occasioned great triumph in England, so it raised great thoughts of heart in De Wit, and a resolution of revenge before any peace should be consented to; which they effected to a good degree the next year.

There appeared no more likelihood of the Dutch coming out again: so about the fifteenth of August the generals returned to Southwold Bay, to receive a recruit of men, provisions, and ammunition, having left ships enough upon the coast of Holland to take prizes, and scouts upon the coast to get intelligence in what readiness the enemy's fleet was, and what was done within the land. And about the twenty-seventh a little pink, that waited upon the coast of Zealand, brought notice that the enemy, consisting of about four-score sail of ships, were ready to come out from the Wierings; and the next day they were assured that they were come out and bound westward, by which they concluded that they had hope to join the French fleet. Whereupon the generals gave present orders to unmoor the fleet; and weighing

anchor about seven of the clock in the morning stood to sea, and about noon discovered the Dutch fleet about four leagues to the leeward. The generals made all sail towards them: but the enemy stood away for the coast of Flanders, whilst the English were so entangled upon the Galloper-sands, that they could not stand after the enemy till late in the afternoon; so that it was night before they came near each other, and then several guns were fired to little purpose.

The next morning, being the first of September, the season when the winds begin to grow boisterous, they had, upon the breaking of the day, lost the sight of the enemy, and believed that they had bore up in the night for them: but when it was light, they found that they were to the leeward, as far as they could discover, near St. John's Bay beyond Calais. The English pursued them, and making some stay for the fireships, which could not make haste by reason of the blustering weather, it was four in the afternoon before the fleet came up together to them; when De Ruyter made a show as if he would draw off from the shore towards them. But when he saw the English stand with him and advance with their usual resolution, he tacked back again, and stood close in to the shore, where the rest of the fleet was, in the Bay of Staples. And then the night came, and the wind blew so violently, that the English were forced to tack, and many of the ships were forced to the leeward, the night being so foul, that neither the generals nor the chief flags could be discerned. And though the storm continued very violent the next day, a good part of the fleet got again together, and stood to the Bay of Staples, where the Dutch still remained close under the shore at anchor, but could not be invited to come out. So the English found it necessary to stand further out to the sea; and then they discovered the rest of the fleet at a great distance to the leeward, and so bore after them, and at night they all arrived at St. Helen's Point. And though the tempest still increased, a squadron went every day out to the coast of France.

In this tempest the French fleet had a very narrow escape, by a providence they are seldom without. A gentleman of good quality of that nation returned at this time out of England, (whither they repaired with as much liberty and were as kindly treated as if there were no war, whilst no Englishman could be safe there;) and landing at Calais, and finding that the duke of Beaufort was every day expected, he despatched two or three barks to find him, with information how and where the English lay; one of which came so luckily to him towards the evening, that he changed his course, and by the darkness of the night got into the road of Dieppe, where he dropped his anchors. But his vice-admiral, being the biggest and the best ship but one in the fleet, and carrying seventy pieces of cannon, pursuing the course he was directed, in the dark of the night fell amongst the English, as the rest had done if it had not been for that advertisement; and after a little defending himself, which he saw was to no purpose, was taken prisoner, and desired to be brought to prince Rupert, who knew him well, and treated him as a gallant person ought to be, and caused many things which belonged to his own person to be restored to him;

and when he was brought into England, he found another kind of reception (though he was prisoner in the Tower) than any of the English, though of the same quality, met with abroad. By this accident the French fleet made a happy state: and the continuance of the storm for many days kept the English and the Dutch from any further engagement. But the same winds, and at the same time, did much more mischief at land than at sea.

It was upon the first day of that September, in the dismal year of 1666, (in which many prodigies were expected, and so many really fell out,) that that memorable and terrible fire brake out in London, which begun about midnight, or nearer the morning of Sunday, in a baker's house at the end of Thames-street next the Tower, there being many little narrow alleys and very poor houses about the place where it first appeared; and then finding such store of combustible materials, as that street is always furnished with in timber-houses, the fire prevailed so powerfully, that that whole street and the neighbourhood was in so short a time turned to ashes, that few persons had time to save and preserve any of their goods; but were a heap of people almost as dead with the sudden distraction, as the ruins were which they sustained. The magistrates of the city assembled quickly together, and with the usual remedies of buckets, which they were provided with: but the fire was too ravenous to be extinguished with such quantities of water as those instruments could apply to it, and fastened still upon new materials before it had destroyed the old. And though it raged furiously all that day, to that degree that all men stood amazed, as spectators only, no man knowing what remedy to apply, nor the magistrates what orders to give; yet it kept within some compass, burned what was next, and laid hold only on both sides; and the greatest apprehension was of the Tower, and all considerations entered upon how to secure that place.

But in the night the wind changed, and carried the danger from thence, but with so great and irresistible violence, that as it kept the English and Dutch fleets from grappling when they were so near each other, so it scattered the fire from pursuing the line it was in with all force, and spread it over the city: so that they, who went late to bed at a great distance from any place where the fire prevailed, were awakened before morning with their own houses being in a flame; and whilst endeavour was used to quench that, other houses were discovered to be burning, which were near no place from whence they could imagine the fire could come; all which kindled another fire in the breasts of men, almost as dangerous as that within their houses.

Monday morning produced first a jealousy, and then an universal conclusion, that this fire came not by chance, nor did they care where it began; but the breaking out in several places at so great distance from each other made it evident, that it was by conspiracy and combination. And this determination could not hold long without discovery of the wicked authors, who were concluded to be all the Dutch and all the French in the town, though they had inhabited the same places above twenty years. All of that kind, or, if they were strangers, of what nation soever, were laid hold of; and after all the ill usage that can consist in words, and some blows and kicks, they were thrown into

prison. And shortly after, the same conclusion comprehended all the Roman catholics, the papists, who were in the same predicament of guilt and danger, and quickly found that their only safety consisted in keeping within doors; and yet some of them, and of quality, were taken by force out of their houses, and carried to prison.

When this rage spread as far as the fire, and every hour brought reports of some bloody effects of it, worse than in truth there were, the king distributed many of the privy-council into several quarters of the city, to prevent, by their authorities, those inhumanities which he heard were committed. In the mean time, even they or any other person thought it [not] safe to declare, "that they believed that the fire came by accident, or that it was not a plot of the Dutch and the French and papists to burn the city;" which was so generally believed, and in the best company, that he who said the contrary was suspected for a conspirator, or at best a favourer of them. It could not be conceived, how a house that was distant a mile from any part of the fire could suddenly be in a flame, without some particular malice; and this case fell out every hour. When a man at the furthest end of Bread-street had made a shift to get out of his house his best and most portable goods, because the fire had approached near them; he no sooner had secured them, as he thought, in some friend's house in Holborn, which was believed a safe distance, but he saw that very house, and none else near it, in a sudden flame. Nor did there want, in this woful distemper, the testimony of witnesses who saw this villany committed, and apprehended men who they were ready to swear threw fire-balls into houses, which were presently burning.

The lord Hollis and lord Ashley, who had their quarters assigned about Newgate-market and the streets adjacent, had many brought to them in custody for crimes of this nature; and saw, within a very little distance from the place where they were, the people gathered together in great disorder; and as they came nearer saw a man in the middle of them without a hat or cloak, pulled and hauled and very ill used, whom they knew to be a servant to the Portugal ambassador, who was presently brought to them. And a substantial citizen was ready to take his oath, "that he saw that man put his hand in his pocket, and throw into a shop a fireball; upon which he saw the house immediately on fire: whereupon, being on the other side of the way, and seeing this, he cried out to the people to stop that gentleman, and made all the haste he could himself;" but the people had first seized upon him, and taken away his sword, which he was ready to draw; and he not speaking nor understanding English, they had used him in the manner set down before. The lord Hollis told him what he was accused of, and "that he was seen to have thrown somewhat out of his pocket, which they thought to be a fireball, into a house which was now on fire:" and the people had diligently searched his pockets to find more of the same commodities, but found nothing that they meant to accuse him of. The man standing in great amazement to hear he was so charged, the lord Hollis asked him, "what it was that he pulled out of his pocket, and what it was he threw into the house:" to which he answered, "that he did



"not think that he had put his hand into his pocket; but he remembered very well, that as he walked in the street, he saw a piece of bread upon the ground, which he took up, and laid upon a shelf in the next house;" which is a custom or superstition so natural to the Portuguese, that if the king of Portugal were walking, and saw a piece of bread upon the ground, he would take it up with his own hand, and keep it till he saw a fit place to lay it down.

The house being in view, the lords with many of the people walked to it, and found the piece of bread just within the door upon a board, where he said he laid it; and the house on fire was two doors beyond it, which the man who was on the other side of the way, and saw this man put his hand into the house without staying, and presently after the fire break out, concluded to be the same house; which was very natural in the fright that all men were in: nor did the lords, though they were satisfied, set the poor man at liberty; but, as if there remained ground enough of suspicion, committed him to the constable, to be kept by him in his own house for some hours, when they pretended they would examine him again. Nor were any persons who were seized upon in the same manner, as multitudes were in all the parts of the town, especially if they were strangers or papists, presently discharged, when there was no reasonable ground to suspect; but all sent to prison, where they were in much more security than they could have been in full liberty, after they were once known to have been suspected; and most of them understood their commitment to be upon that ground, and were glad of it.

The fire and the wind continued in the same excess all Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday till afternoon, and flung and scattered brands burning into all quarters; the nights more terrible than the days, and the light the same, the light of the fire supplying that of the sun. And indeed whoever was an eyewitness of that terrible prospect, can never have so lively an image of the last conflagration till he beholds it; the faces of all people in a wonderful dejection and discomposure, not knowing where they could repose themselves for one hour's sleep, and no distance thought secure from the fire, which suddenly started up before it was suspected; so that people left their houses and carried away their goods from many places which received no hurt, and whither they afterwards returned again; all the fields full of women and children, who had made a shift to bring thither some goods and conveniences to rest upon, as safer than any houses, where yet they felt such intolerable heat and drought, as if they had been in the middle of the fire. The king and the duke, who rode from one place to another, and put themselves into great dangers amongst the burning and falling houses, to give advice and direction what was to be done, underwent as much fatigue as the meanest, and had as little sleep or rest; and the faces of all men appeared ghastly and in the highest confusion. The country sent in carts to help those miserable people who had saved any goods: and by this means, and the help of coaches, all the neighbour villages were filled with more people than they could contain, and more goods than they could find room for; so that those fields became likewise as full as the other about London and Westminster.

It was observed that where the fire prevailed most, when it met with brick buildings; if it was not repulsed, it was so well resisted that it made a much slower progress; and when it had done its worst, that the timber and all the combustible matter fell, it fell down to the bottom within the house, and the walls stood and enclosed the fire, and it was burned out without making a further progress in many of those places; and then the vacancy so interrupted the fury of it, that many times the two or three next houses stood without much damage. Besides the spreading, inasmuch as all London seemed but one fire in the breadth of it, it seemed to continue in its full fury a direct line to the Thames side, all Cheapside from beyond the Exchange, through Fleet-street; inasmuch as for that breadth, taking in both sides as far as the Thames, there was scarce a house or church standing from the bridge to Dorset-house, which was burned on Tuesday night after Baynard's-castle.

On Wednesday morning, when the king saw that neither the fire decreased nor the wind lessened, he even despaired of preserving Whitehall, but was more afraid of Westminster-abbey. But having observed by his having visited all places, that where there were any vacant places between the houses, by which the progress of the fire was interrupted, it changed its course and went to the other side; he gave order for pulling down many houses about Whitehall, some whereof were newly built and hardly finished, and sent many of his choice goods by water to Hampton-Court; as most of the persons of quality in the Strand, who had the benefit of the river, got barges and other vessels, and sent their furniture for their houses to some houses some miles out of the town. And very many on both sides the Strand, who knew not whither to go, and scarce what they did, fled with their families out of their houses into the streets, that they might not be within when the fire fell upon their houses.

But it pleased God, contrary to all expectation, that on Wednesday, about four or five of the clock in the afternoon, the wind fell: and as in an instant the fire decreased, having burned all on the Thames side to the new buildings of the Inner Temple next to White-friars, and having consumed them, was stopped by that vacancy from proceeding further into that house; but laid hold on some old buildings which joined to Ram-alley, and swept all those into Fleet-street. And the other side being likewise destroyed to Fetter-lane, it advanced no further; but left the other part of Fleet-street to the Temple-bar, and all the Strand, unhurt, but what damage the owners of the houses had done to themselves by endeavouring to remove; and it ceased in all other parts of the town near the same time: so that the greatest care then was, to keep good guards to watch the fire that was upon the ground, that it might not break out again. And this was the better performed, because they who had yet their houses standing had not the courage to sleep, but watched with much less distraction; though the same distemper still remained in the utmost extent, "that all this had fallen out by the conspiracy of the French and Dutch with the papists;" and all gaols were filled with those who were every hour apprehended upon that jealousy; or rather upon some evidence that they were guilty of the crime.



And the people were so sottish, that they believed that all the French in the town (which no doubt were a very great number) were drawn into a body, to prosecute those by the sword who were preserved from the fire: and the inhabitants of a whole street have ran in a great tumult one way, upon the rumour that the French were marching at the other end of it; so terrified men were with their own apprehensions.

When the night, though far from being a quiet one, had somewhat lessened the consternation, the first care the king took was, that the country might speedily supply markets in all places, that they who had saved themselves from burning might not be in danger of starving; and if there had not been extraordinary care and diligence used, many would have perished that way. The vast destruction of corn, and all other sorts of provisions, in those parts where the fire had prevailed, had not only left all that people destitute of all that was to be eat or drank; but the bakers and brewers, which inhabited the other parts which were unhurt, had forsaken their houses, and carried away all that was portable: insomuch as many days passed, before they were enough in their wits and in their houses to fall to their occupations; and those parts of the town which God had spared and preserved were many hours without any thing to eat, as well as they who were in the fields. And yet it can hardly be conceived, how great a supply of all kinds was brought from all places within four and twenty hours. And which was more miraculous, in four days, in all the fields about the town, which had seemed covered with those whose habitations were burned, and with the goods which they had saved, there was scarce a man to be seen: all found shelter in so short a time, either in those parts which remained of the city and in the suburbs, or in the neighbour villages; all kind of people expressing a marvellous charity towards those who appeared to be undone. And very many, with more expedition than can be conceived, set up little sheds of brick and timber upon the ruins of their own houses, where they chose rather to inhabit than in more convenient places, though they knew they could not long reside in those new buildings.

The king was not more troubled at any particular, than at the imagination which possessed the hearts of so many, that all this mischief had fallen out by a real and formed conspiracy; which, albeit he saw no colour to believe, he found very many intelligent men, and even some of his own council, who did really believe it. Whereupon he appointed the privy-council to sit both morning and evening, to examine all evidence of that kind that should be brought before them, and to send for any persons who had been committed to prison upon some evidence that made the greatest noise; and sent for the lord chief justice, who was in the country, to come to the town for the better examination of all suggestions and allegations of that kind, there having been some malicious report scattered about the town, "that the court had so great a prejudice against any kind of testimony of such a conspiracy, that they discountenanced all witnesses who came before them to testify what they knew;" which was without any colour of truth. Yet many, who were produced as if their testimony would remove all

doubts, made such senseless relations of what they had been told, without knowing the condition of the persons who told them, or where to find them, that it was a hard matter to forbear smiling at their evidence. Some Frenchmen's houses had been searched, in which had been found many of those shells for squibs and other fireworks, frequently used in nights of joy and triumph; and the men were well known, and had lived many years there by that trade, and had no other: and one of these was the king's servant, and employed by the office of ordnance for making grenades of all kinds, as well for the hand as for mortarpieces. Yet these men were looked upon as in the number of the conspirators, and remained still in prison till their neighbours solicited for their liberty. And it cannot be enough wondered at, that in this general rage of the people no mischief was done to the strangers, that no one of them was assassinated outright, though many were sorely beaten and bruised.

There was a very odd accident that confirmed many in what they were inclined to believe, and startled others, who thought the conspiracy impossible, since no combination not very discernible and discovered could have effected that mischief, in which the immediate hand of God was so visible. Amongst many Frenchmen who had been sent to Newgate, there was one Hubert, a young man of five or six and twenty years of age, the son of a famous watchmaker in the city of Roan; and this fellow had wrought in the same profession with several men in London, and had for many years, both in Roan and in London, been looked upon as distracted. This man confessed "that he had set the first house on fire, and that he had been hired in Paris a year before to do it: that there were three more combined with him to do the same thing; and that they came over together into England to put it in execution in the time of the plague: but when they were in London, he and two of his companions went into Sweden, and returned from thence in the latter end of August, and he resolved to undertake it; and that the two others went away into France."

The whole examination was so senseless, that the chief justice, who was not looked upon as a man who wanted rigour, did not believe any thing he said. He was asked, "who it was in Paris that suborned him to this action?" to which he answered, "that he did not know, having never seen him before;" and in the enlarging upon that point he contradicted himself in many particulars. Being asked "what money he had received to perform a service of so much hazard," he said, "he had received but a pistole, but was promised five pistoles more when he should have done his work;" and many such unreasonable things, that nobody present credited any thing he said. However, they durst not slight the evidence, but put him to a particular, in which he so fully confirmed all that he had said before, that they were surprised with wonder, and knew not afterwards what to say or think. They asked him, "if he knew the place where he first put fire?" he answered, "that he knew it very well, and would shew it to any body." Upon this the chief justice, and many aldermen who sat with him, sent a guard of substantial citizens with the prisoner, that he might shew them the house; and

they first led him to a place at some distance from it, and asked him "if that were it:" to which he answered presently, "No, it was lower, nearer to 'the Thames.'" The house and all which were near it were so covered and buried in ruins, that the owners themselves, without some infallible mark, could very hardly have said where his own house had stood: but this man led them directly to the place, described how it stood, the shape of the little yard, the fashion of the door and windows, and where he first put the fire; and all this with such exactness, that they who had dwelt long near it could not so perfectly have described all particulars.

This silenced all further doubts. And though the chief justice told the king, "that all his discourse was so disjointed that he did not believe 'him guilty,'" nor was there one man who prosecuted or accused him: yet upon his own confession, and so sensible a relation of all that he had done, accompanied with so many circumstances, (without the least show of compunction or sorrow for what he said he had done, nor yet seeming to justify or to take delight in it; but being asked whether he was not sorry for the wickedness, and whether he intended to do so much, he gave no answer at all, or made reply to what was said; and with the same temper died,) the jury found him guilty, and he was executed accordingly. And though no man could imagine any reason why a man should so desperately throw away his life, which he might have saved though he had been guilty, since he was only accused upon his own confession; yet neither the judges nor any present at the trial did believe him guilty, but that he was a poor distracted wretch, weary of his life, and chose to part with it this way. Certain it is, that upon the strictest examination that could be afterwards made by the king's command, and then by the diligence of the house, that upon the general jealousy and rumour made a committee, that was very diligent and solicitous to make that discovery, there was never any probable evidence (that poor creature's only excepted) that there was any other cause of that woful fire, than the displeasure of God Almighty: the first accident of the beginning in a baker's house, where there was so great a stock of fagots, and the neighbourhood of much combustible matter, of pitch and rosin and the like, that led it in an instant from house to house through Thames-street, with the agitation of so terrible a wind to scatter and disperse it.

Let the cause be what it would, the effect was very terrible; for above two parts of three of that great city were burned to ashes, and those the most rich and wealthy parts of the city, where the greatest warehouses and the best shops stood. The Royal Exchange, with all the streets about it, Lombard-street, Cheapside, Paternoster-row, St. Paul's church, and almost all the other churches in the city, with the Old Bailey, Ludgate, all Paul's churchyard even to the Thames, and the greatest part of Fleet-street, all which were places the best inhabited, were all burned without one house remaining.

The value or estimate of what that devouring fire consumed, over and above the houses, could never be computed in any degree: for besides that the first night (which in a moment swept away the vast wealth of Thames-street) there was

[not] anything that could be preserved in respect of the suddenness and amazement, (all people being in their beds till the fire was in their houses, and so could save nothing but themselves,) the next day with the violence of the wind increased the distraction; nor did many believe that the fire was near them, or that they had reason to remove their goods, till it was upon them, and rendered it impossible. Then it fell out at a season in the year, the beginning of September, when very many of the substantial citizens and other wealthy men were in the country, whereof many had not left a servant in their houses, thinking themselves upon all ordinary accidents more secure in the goodness and kindness of their neighbours, than they could be in the fidelity of a servant; and whatsoever was in such houses was entirely consumed by the fire, or lost as to the owners. And of this classis of absent men, when the fire came where the lawyers had houses, as they had in many places, especially Sergeants-Inn in Fleet-street, with that part of the Inner Temple that was next it and White-friars, there was scarce a man to whom those lodgings appertained who was in Town: so that whatsoever was there, their money, books, and papers, besides the evidences of many men's estates deposited in their hands, were all burned or lost, to a very great value. But of particular men's losses could never be made any computation.

It was an incredible damage that was and might rationally be computed to be sustained by one small company, the company of stationers, in books, paper, and the other lesser commodities which are vendible in that corporation, which amounted to no less than two hundred thousand pounds: in which prodigious loss there was one circumstance very lamentable. All those who dwelt near Paul's carried their goods, books, paper, and the like, as others of greater trades did their commodities, into the large vaults which were under St. Paul's church, before the fire came thither: which vaults, though all the church above the ground was afterwards burned, with all the houses round about, still stood firm and supported the foundation, and preserved all that was within them; until the impatience of those who had lost their houses, and whatsoever they had else, in the fire, made them very desirous to see what they had [saved], upon which all their hopes were founded to repair the rest.

It was the fourth day after the fire ceased to flame, though it still burned in the ruins, from whence there was still an intolerable heat, when the booksellers especially, and some other tradesmen, who had deposited all they had preserved in the greatest and most spacious vault, came to behold all their wealth, which to that moment was safe: but the doors were no sooner opened, and the air from without fanned the strong heat within, but first the driest and most combustible matters broke into a flame, which consumed all, of what kind soever, that till then had been unhurt there. Yet they who had committed their goods to some lesser vaults, at a distance from that greater, had better fortune; and having learned from the second ruin of their friends to have more patience, attended till the rain fell, and extinguished the fire in all places, and cooled the air: and then they securely opened the doors, and received all from thence that they had there.

If so vast a damage as two hundred thousand pounds befell that little company of stationers in books and paper and the like, what shall we conceive was lost in cloth, (of which the country clothiers lost all that they had brought up to Blackwell-hall against Michaelmas, which was all burned with that fair structure,) in silks of all kinds, in linen, and those richer manufactures? Not to speak of money, plate, and jewels, whereof some were recovered out of the ruins of those houses which the owners took care to watch, as containing somewhat that was worth the looking for, and in which deluge there were men ready enough to fish.

The lord mayor, though a very honest man, was much blamed for want of sagacity in the first night of the fire, before the wind gave it much advancement: for though he came with great diligence as soon as he had notice of it, and was present with the first, yet having never been used to such spectacles, his consternation was equal to that of other men, nor did he know how to apply his authority to the remedying the present distress; and when men who were less terrified with the object pressed him very earnestly, "that he would give order for the present pulling down those houses which were nearest, and by which the fire climbed to go further," (the doing whereof at that time might probably have prevented much of the mischief that succeeded,) he thought it not safe counsel, and made no other answer, "than that he durst not do it without the consent of the owners." His want of skill was the less wondered at, when it was known afterwards, that some gentlemen of the Inner Temple would not endeavour to preserve the goods which were in the lodgings of absent persons, nor suffer others to do it, "because," they said, "it was against the law to break up any man's chamber."

The so sudden repair of those formidable ruins, and the giving so great beauty to all deformity, (a beauty and a lustre that city had never before been acquainted with,) is little less wonderful than the fire that consumed it.

It was hoped and expected that this prodigious and universal calamity, for the effects of it covered the whole kingdom, would have made impression, and produced some reformation in the license of the court: for as the pains the king had taken night and day during the fire, and the dangers he had exposed himself to, even for the saving the citizens' goods, had been very notorious, and in the mouths of all men, with good wishes and prayers for him; so his majesty had been heard during that time to speak with great piety and devotion of the displeasure that God was provoked to. And no doubt the deep sense of it did raise many good thoughts and purposes in his royal breast. But he was narrowly watched and looked to, that such melancholic [thoughts] might not long possess him, the consequence and effect whereof was like to be more grievous than that of the fire itself; of which that loose company that was too much cherished, even before it was extinguished, discoursed as of an argument for mirth and wit to describe the wildness of the confusion all people were in; in which the scripture itself was used with equal liberty, when they could apply it to their profane purposes. And Mr. May presumed to assure the king, "that this was the greatest blessing that God had

"ever conferred upon him, his restoration only excepted: for the walls and gates being now burned and thrown down of that rebellious city, which was always an enemy to the crown, his majesty would never suffer them to repair and build them up again, to be a bit in his mouth and a bridle upon his neck; but would keep all open, that his troops might enter upon them whenever he thought necessary for his service, there being no other way to govern that rude multitude but by force."

This kind of discourse did not please the king, but was highly approved by the company; and for the wit and pleasantness of it was repeated in all companies, infinitely to the king's disservice, and corrupted the affections of the citizens and of the country, who used and assumed the same liberty to publish the profaneness and atheism of the court. And as nothing was done there in private, so it was made more public in pasquils and libels, which were as bold with reflections of the broadest nature upon the king himself, and upon those in whose company he was most delighted, as upon the meanest person.

All men of virtue and sobriety, of which there were very many in the king's family, were grieved and heartbroken with hearing what they could not choose but hear, and seeing many things which they could not avoid the seeing. There were few of the council that did not to one another lament the excesses, which must in time be attended with fatal consequences, and for the present did apparently lessen the reverence to the king, that is the best support of his royalty: but few of them had the courage to say that to his majesty, which was not so fit to be said to any body else. Nor can it be denied, that his majesty did, upon all occasions, receive those advertisements from those who presented them to him, with patience and benignity, and without the least show of displeasure; though the persons concerned endeavoured no one thing more than to persuade him, "that it was the highest presumption imaginable in the privy-council to believe, that they had any jurisdiction in the court, or ought to censure the manners of it."

Nor were all those endeavours without making some impression upon his majesty, who rather esteemed some particular members of it, than was inclined to believe that the body of it ought to receive a reverence from the people, or be looked upon as a vital part of the government: in which his majesty (as hath been often said before) by the ill principles he had received in France, and the accustomed liberty of his bedchamber, was exceedingly and unhappily mistaken. For by the constitution of the kingdom, and the very laws and customs of the nation, as the privy-council and every member of it is of the king's sole choice and election of him to that trust, (for the greatest office in the state, though conferred likewise by the king himself, doth not qualify the officer to be of the privy-council, or to be present in it, before by a new assignation that honour is bestowed on him, and that he be sworn of the council;) so the body of it is the most sacred, and hath the greatest authority in the government of the state, next the person of the king himself, to whom all other powers are equally subject: and no king of England can so well secure his own just prerogative, or preserve it

from violation, as by a strict defending and supporting the dignity of his privy-council.

When it was too much taken notice of, that the king himself had not that esteem or consideration of the council that was due to it, what they did or ordered to be done was less valued by the people; and that disrespect every day improved by the want of gravity and justice and constancy in the proceedings there, the resolutions of one day being reversed or altered the next, either upon some whispers in the king's ear, or some new fancy in some of those counsellors, who were always of one mind against all former orders and precedents; the pride and insolent humour of sir William Coventry taking not so much delight in any thing, as to cross and oppose whatsoever the chancellor or the treasurer advised, and to reverse what had been ordered upon that ground. And though he had sucked his milk at the charge of the law, no man was so professed an enemy to it and to the professors of it, and shewed so little respect to any thing passed and granted under the great seal of England, but spake against it with the same confidence as if it had been a common scroll of no signification; which kind of behaviour in a person unqualified by any office to speak much in such an assembly, as it had never been accustomed, so it would have found much reprehension there, if it had not been for respect to the duke, and if the king himself had not very often declared himself to be of his opinion, even in particulars which himself had caused to be proposed to a contrary purpose.

One day his majesty called the chancellor to him, and complained very much of the license that was assumed in the coffeehouses, which were the places where the boldest calumnies and scandals were raised, and discoursed amongst a people who knew not each other, and came together only for that communication, and from thence were propagated over the kingdom; and mentioned some particular rumours which had been lately dispersed from those fountains, which on his own behalf he was enough displeased with, and asked him what was to be done in it.

The chancellor concurred with him in the sense of the scandal, and the mischief that must attend the impunity of such places, where the foulest imputations were laid upon the government, which were held lawful to be reported and divulged to every body but to the magistrates, who might examine and punish them; of which there having yet been no precedent, people generally believed that those houses had a charter of privilege to speak what they would, without being in danger to be called in question: and "that it was high time for his majesty to apply some remedy to such a growing disease, and to reform the understanding of those who believed that no remedy could be applied to it. That it would be fit, either by a proclamation to forbid all persons to resort to those houses, and so totally to suppress them; or to employ some spies, who, being present in the conversation, might be ready to charge and accuse the persons who had talked with most license in a subject that would bear a complaint; upon which the proceedings might be in such a manner, as would put an end to the confidence that was only mischievous in those meetings." The king liked both the expedients, and thought that the last

could not justly be made use of till the former should give fair warning; and commanded him to propose it that same day in council, that some order might be given in it.

The chancellor proposed it, as he was required, with such arguments as were like to move with men who knew the inconveniences which arose from those places; and the king himself mentioned it with passion, as derogatory to the government, and directed that the attorney might prepare a proclamation for the suppression of those houses, in which the board seemed to agree: when sir William Coventry, who had been heard within few days before to inveigh with much fierceness against the permission of so much seditious prattle in the impunity of those houses, stood up and said, "that coffee was a commodity that yielded the king a good revenue, and therefore it would not be just to receive the duties and inhibit the sale of it, which many men found to be very good for their health," as if it might not be bought and drank but in those licentious meetings. "That it had been permitted in Cromwell's time, and that the king's friends had used more liberty of speech in those places than they durst do in any other; and that he thought it would be better to leave them as they were, without running the hazard of ill being continued, notwithstanding his command to the contrary." And upon these reasons his majesty was converted, and declined any further debate; which put the chancellor very much out of countenance, nor knew he how to behave himself.

The truth is, he had a very hard province, and found his credit every day to decay with the king; whilst they who prevailed against him used all the skill and cunning they had to make it believed, "that his power with his majesty was as great as it had ever been, and that all those things which he most opposed were acted by his advice." And whilst they procured all those for whom he had kindness, or who professed any respect towards him, to be discountenanced and undervalued, and preferred none but such who were known to have an aversion for him upon somewhat that he had, or they had been told that he had, obstructed their pretences in; they persuaded men, "that nobody had any credit with the king to dispose of any place but he."

Those very men would often profess to him, "that they were so much afflicted at the king's course of life, that they even despaired that he would be able to master those difficulties which would still press him;" and would then tell him some particulars which he himself had said or done, or had been said or done lately in his own presence, and of which he had never heard before; which gave him occasion often to blame them, "that they, having the opportunity to see and know many things which he had no notice of or could not take any, and foresaw the consequence that did attend them, did yet forbear to use the credit they had with his majesty, in advertising him what they thought and heard all others say;" and he offered "to go with them to his majesty, and make a lively representation to him of the great decay of his reputation with the people upon his exorbitant excesses, which God could never bless:" to all which they were not ashamed to confess, "that

"they never had nor durst speak to his majesty "to that purpose, or in such a dialect." Indeed they were the honestest men in not doing it, for it had been gross hypocrisy to have found fault with those actions, upon the pursuing whereof they most depended; and the reformation which they would have been glad to have seen, had no relation to those inordinate and unlawful appetites, which were the root from whence all the other mischiefs had their birth. They did not wish that the lady's authority and power should be lessened, much less extinguished; and that which would have been the most universal blessing to the whole kingdom, would have been received by them as the greatest curse that could befall them.

One day the chancellor and the lord Arlington were together alone, and the secretary, according to his custom, was speaking soberly of many great miscarriages by the license of the court, and how much his majesty suffered thereby; when the king suddenly came into the room to them, and after he was sat asked them what they were talking of: to which the chancellor answered, "that he would tell him honestly and truly, "and was not sorry for the opportunity." And the other looking with a very troubled countenance, he proceeded and said, "that they were "speaking of his majesty, and, as they did frequently, were bewailing the unhappy life he "lived, both with respect to himself, who, by the "excess of pleasures which he indulged to himself, was indeed without the true delight and "relish of any; and in respect to his government, which he totally neglected, and of which "the kingdom was so sensible, that it could not "be long before he felt the ill effects of it. That "the people were well prepared and well inclined "to obey; but if they found that he either would "not or could not command, their temper would "quickly be changed, and he would find less "obedience in all places, than was necessary for "his affairs: and that it was too evident and "visible, that he had already lost very much of "the affection and reverence the nation had for "him."

He said, "that this was the subject they two "were discoursing upon when his majesty entered; and that it is the argument, upon which "all those of his council with whom he had any "conversation did every day enlarge, when they "were together, with grief of heart, and even "with tears; and that he hoped that some of "them did, with that duty that became them, "represent to his majesty their own sense, and "the sense his good subjects had, of his condition of living, both with reference to God, who "had wrought such miracles for him, and expected some proportionable return; and with "reference to his people, who were in the highest "discontent. He doubted all men did not discharge their duty this way; and some had confessed to him that they durst not do it, lest they might offend him, which he had assured them often that they would not do, having had "so often experience himself of his goodness; "and that he had the rather taken this opportunity to make this representation to him in "the presence of another, which he had never used to do:" and concluded "with beseeching "his majesty to believe that which he had often

"said to him, that no prince could be more "miserable, nor could have more reason to fear "his own ruin, than he who hath no servants "who dare contradict him in his opinions, or "advise him against his inclinations, how natural "soever."

The king heard all this and more to the same effect with his usual temper, (for he was a patient hearer,) and spake sensibly, as if he thought that much that had been said was with too much reason; when the other, who wished not such an effect from the discourse, instead of seconding any thing that had been said, made use of the warmth the chancellor was in, and of some expressions he had used, to fall into railery, which was his best faculty; with which he diverted the king from any further serious reflections; and both of them grew very merry with the other, and reproached his overmuch severity, now he grew old, and considered not the infirmities of younger men: which increased the passion he was in, and provoked him to say, "that it was "observed abroad, that it was a faculty very "much improved of late in the court, to laugh "at those arguments they could not answer, and "which would always be requited with the same "mirth amongst those who were enemies to it, "and therefore it was pity that it should be so "much embraced by those who pretended to be "friends;" and to use some other, too plain, expressions, which it may be were not warily enough used, and which the good lord forgot not to put the king in mind of, and to descend upon the presumption, in a season that was more ripe for such reflections, which at the present he forbore to do, and for some time after remembered only in merry occasions.

Though the king did not yet, nor in a good time after, appear to dislike the liberty the chancellor presumed to take with him, (who often told him, "that he knew he made himself grievous to "him, and gave his enemies too great advantages "against him; but that the conscience of having "done his duty, and having never failed to inform his majesty of any thing that was fit for "him to know and to believe, was the only support he had to bear the present trouble of his "mind, and to prepare him for those distresses "which he foresaw he was to undergo:" which his majesty heard with great goodness and condescension, and vouchsafed still to tell him, "that "it was in nobody's power to divert his kindness "from him:") yet he found every day that some arguments grew less acceptable to him, and that the constant conversation with men of great profaneness, whose wit consisted in abusing scripture, and in repeating and acting what the preachers said in their sermons, and turning it into ridicule, (a faculty in which the duke of Buckingham excelled,) did much lessen the natural esteem and reverence he had for the clergy, as a rank of men that compounded a religion for their own advantage, and to serve their own turns. Nor was all he could say to him of weight enough to make impression to the contrary.

And then he seemed to think, "that men were "bolder in the examining his actions and censuring them than they ought to be:" and once he told him, "that he thought he was more severe "against common infirmities than he should be; "and that his wife was not courteous in return-

"ing visits and civilities to those who paid her respect; and that he expected that all his friends should be very kind to those who they knew were much loved by him, and that he thought so much justice was due to him."

The chancellor, who had never dissembled with him, but on the contrary had always endeavoured to persuade him to believe, that dissimulation was the most dishonest and ungentelemanly quality that could be affected, answered him very roundly, "that he might seem not to understand his meaning, and so make no reply to the discourse he had made: but that he understood it all, and the meaning of every word of it; and therefore that it would not become him to suffer his majesty to depart with an opinion, that what he had said would produce any alteration in his behaviour towards him, or reformation of his manners towards any other persons."

"That for the first part, the liberty men took to speak of him and to censure his actions, he was of the opinion that it was a very great presumption, and a crime very fit to be punished: for let it be true or false, men had been always severely chastised for that license, because it tended to sedition. However, he put his majesty in mind of the example of Philip of Macedon, who, when one of his servants accused a person of condition to him of having spoken ill of him, and offered to go himself to the magistrate and make proof of it, answered him; that the person he accused was a man of the greatest reputation of wisdom and integrity in the kingdom, and therefore it would be fit in the first place to examine, whether himself, the king, had not done somewhat by which he had deserved to be so spoken of: indeed this way the best men would often receive benefit from their worst enemies. For the matter itself," he said, "he need make no apology: for that it was notoriously known, that he had constantly given it in charge to all the judges, to make diligent inquiry into misdemeanours and transgressions of that magnitude, and to punish those who were guilty in the most exemplary manner; and that he took not more pains any way, than to preserve in the hearts of the people that veneration for his person that is due to his dignity, and to persuade many who appeared afflicted with the reports they heard, that they heard more than was true; and that the suppressing all reports of that kind was the duty of every good subject, and would contribute more towards the reforming any thing that in truth is amiss, than the propagating the scandal by spreading it in discourses could do. However, that all this, which was his duty, and but his duty, did not make it unfit for him, or any other under his obligations, in fit seasons to make a lively representation to his majesty of what is done, and how secretly soever, that cannot be justified or excused; and of the untruths and scandals which spring from thence to his irreparable dishonour and prejudice."

"For the other part, of want of ceremony and respect to those who were loved and esteemed by his majesty, he might likewise avoid enlarging upon that subject, by putting his majesty in mind, that he had the honour to serve him in a province that excused him from making visits, and exempted him from all ceremonies

"of that kind. But he would not shelter himself under such a general defence, when he perceived that his majesty had in the reprehension a particular intention: and therefore he confessed ingenuously to his majesty, that he did deny himself many liberties, which in themselves might be innocent enough and agreeable to his person, because they would not be decent or agreeable to the office he held, which obliged him, for his majesty's honour, and to preserve him from the reproach of having put a light person into a grave place, to have the more care of his own carriage and behaviour. And that, as it would reflect upon his majesty himself, if his chancellor was known or thought to be of dissolute and debauched manners, which would make him as incapable as unworthy to do him service; so it would be a blemish and taint upon him to give any countenance, or to pay more than ordinary, cursory, and unavoidable civilities, to persons infamous for any vice, for which by the laws of God and man they ought to be odious, and to be exposed to the judgment of the church and state. And that he would not for his own sake and for his own dignity, to how low a condition soever he might be reduced, stoop to such a condescension as to have the least commerce, or to make the application of a visit, to any such person, for any benefit or advantage that it might bring to him. He did beseech his majesty not to believe, that he hath a prerogative to declare vice virtue; or to qualify any person who lives in a sin and avows it, against which God himself hath pronounced damnation, for the company and conversation of innocent and worthy persons. And that whatever low obedience, which was in truth gross flattery, some people might pay to what they believed would be grateful to his majesty, they had in their hearts a perfect detestation of the persons they made address to: and that for his part he was long resolved that his wife should not be one of those courtiers; and that he would himself much less like her company, if she put herself into theirs who had not the same innocence."

The king was not the more pleased for the defence he made, and did not dissemble his dislike of it, without any other sharpness, than by telling him "that he was in the wrong, and had an understanding different from all other men who had experience in the world." And it is most certain, it was an avowed doctrine, and with great address daily insinuated to the king, "that princes had many liberties which private persons have not; and that a lady of honour who dedicates herself only to please a king, and continues faithful to him, ought not to be branded with any name or mark of infamy, but hath been always looked upon by all persons well-bred as worthy of respect:" and to this purpose the history of all the amours of his grandfather were carefully presented to him, and with what indignation he suffered any disrespect towards any of his mistresses.

But of all these artifices the chancellor had no apprehension, out of the confidence he had in the integrity of the king's nature; and that though he might be swayed to sacrifice his present affections to his appetite, he could never be prevailed upon to entertain a real suspicion of his very pas-

sionate affection and duty to his person. That which gave him most trouble, and many times made him wish himself in any private condition separated from the court, was that unfixedness and irresolution of judgment that was natural to all his family of the male line, which often exposed them all to the importunities of bold, and to the snares of crafty, men.

One day the king and the duke came to the chancellor together; and the king told him with a very visible trouble in his countenance, "that they were come to confer and advise with him upon an affair of importance, which exceedingly disquieted them both. That Dick Talbot" (which was the familiar appellation, according to the ill custom of the court, that most men gave him) "had a resolution to assassinate the duke of Ormond. That he had sworn in the presence of two or three persons of honour, that he would do it in the revenge of some injuries which, he pretended, he had done his majesty: that he had much rather fight with him, which he knew the duke would be willing enough to do; but that he should never be able to bring to pass; and therefore he would take his revenge in any way that should offer itself. And every body knew that the man had courage and wickedness enough to attempt any think like it. That the duke of Ormond knew well enough that the fellow threatened it, and was like enough to act it; but that he thought it below him to apprehend it; and that his majesty came to the notice of it by the earl of Clancarty, to whom sir Robert Talbot, the elder brother of the other, told it, to the end that the earl might give the duke notice of it, and find some way to prevent it; and the earl had that day informed the king of it, as the best way he could think of to prevent it." His majesty said, "there remained no doubt to be made of the truth of it; for there were two or three more of unquestionable credit who had heard him use the same expressions: and that he had first spoken with his brother, whose servant he was, whom he found equally incensed as himself; and that they came immediately together to consult with him what was to be done."

The chancellor knew all the brothers well, and was believed to have too much prejudice to them all. They were all of an Irish family, but of ancient English extraction, which had always inhabited within that circle that was called the Pale; which, being originally an English plantation, was in so many hundred years for the most part degenerated into the manners of the Irish, and rose and mingled with them in the late rebellion: and of this family there were two distinct families, who had competent estates, and lived in many descents in the rank of gentlemen of quality; and those brothers were all the sons, or the grandsons, of one who was a judge in Ireland, and esteemed a learned man. The eldest was sir Robert Talbot, who was by much the best; that is, the rest were much worse men: a man, whom the duke of Ormond most esteemed of those who had been in rebellion, as one who had less malice than most of the rest, and had recommended to the king as a person fit for his favour. But because he did not ask all on his behalf, which he must have done for a man entirely innocent, this refusal was looked upon as the highest disobligation.

The second brother was a Jesuit, who had been very troublesome to the king abroad, and had behaved himself in so insolent a manner, that his majesty had forbidden him his court; after which he went into England, and applied himself to the ruling power there, and was by that sent into Spain, at the time when the treaty was at Fuentarabia between the two crowns, to procure that England might be included in that peace, and the king excluded, and not to be suffered to remain in Flanders. Of all which his majesty having advertisement, sent positive orders to sir Harry Bennet his resident then in Madrid to complain of him, and to desire don Lewis de Haro, that he might receive no countenance in that court. But the Jesuit had better and more powerful recommendation; and was not only welcome there, but (which was very strange, considering his talent of understanding) in a short time got so much interest in the resident, that he received him into all kind of familiarity and trust, and undertook to reconcile the king to him, and was as good as his word: and from the time of his majesty's return, or rather from the return of sir Harry Bennet, he was as much and as busy in the court as if he were a domestic servant. And after the queen came to Whitehall, he was admitted one of her almoners; and walked with the same or more freedom in the king's house (and in clergy habit) than any of his majesty's chaplains did; who did not presume to be seen in the galleries and other reserved rooms, where he was conversant with the same confidence as if he were of the bedchamber.

The third brother was Gilbert, who was [called] Colonel Talbot, from some command he had with the rebels against the king. And he had likewise been with the king in Flanders, that is, had lived in Antwerp and Brussels whilst the king was there; and being a half-witted fellow did not meddle with any thing nor angered any body, but found a way to get good clothes and to play, and was looked upon as a man of courage, having fought a duel or two with stout men.

The fourth brother was a Franciscan friar, of wit enough, but of so notorious debauchery, that he was frequently under severe discipline by the superiors of his order for his scandalous life, which made him hate his habit, and take all opportunities to make journeys into England and Ireland: but not being able to live there, he was forced to return and put on his abhorred habit, which he always called his "fool's coat," and came seldom into those places where he was known, and so wandered into Germany and Flanders, and took all opportunities to be in the places where the king was; and so he came to Cologne and Brussels and Bruges, and being a merry fellow, was the more made of for laughing at and contemning his brother the Jesuit, who had not so good natural parts, though by his education he had more sobriety, and lived without scandal in his manners. He went by the name of Tom Talbot, and after the king's return was in London in his man's clothes, (as he called them,) with the natural license of an Irish friar, (which are a people, for the most part, of the whole creation the most sottish and the most brutal,) and against his obedience, and all orders of his superiors, who interdicted him to say mass.

The fifth brother was this Dick Talbot, who



gave the king and the duke the trouble mentioned before. He was brought into Flanders first by Daniel O'Neile, as one who was willing to assassinate Cromwell; and he made a journey into England with that resolution not long before his death, and after it returned into Flanders ready to do all that he should be required. He was a very handsome young man, wore good clothes, and [was] without doubt of a clear, ready courage, which was virtue enough to recommend a man to the duke's good opinion; which, with more expedition than could be expected, he got to that degree, that he was made of his bedchamber; and, from that qualification, embarked himself after the king's return in the pretences of the Irish, with such an unusual confidence, and upon private contracts with very scandalous circumstances, that the chancellor had sometimes at the council-table been obliged to give him severe reprehensions, and often desired the duke to withdraw his countenance from him. He had likewise declared very loudly against the Jesuit, and, though he had made many addresses unto him by letters and by some friends who had credit with him, would never, from the time of the king's return, be persuaded to speak with him, and had once prevailed with the king so far, that he was forbid to come to the court; but he had a friend, who after some time got that restraint off again. The chancellor had likewise observed the friar to be too frequently in the galleries, and sometimes drunk there, and caused him to be forbid to come into the court: and the eldest brother, towards whom he had rather kindness than prejudice, finding many obstructions in his pretences, was persuaded to think him not his friend. And so he got the reproach of being an enemy to the whole family.

This consideration did really affect the chancellor, so that he appeared more reserved and more wary in this particular proposed by the king and by the duke, than he used to be. He said, "that in many respects he was not so fit to advise in this particular as other men were. Though this man's behaviour was so scandalous that it deserved exemplary punishment, yet he did not conceive any present danger from it: that he would deny it and repent it, and give any other satisfaction that would be required or assigned; and then his majesty and the duke would be prevailed with to take off their displeasure; and therefore not to make such a matter public, which, considering the person and the circumstances, would make a deep impression upon the minds of all wise men; than, after the world takes notice of it, to pass it over with a light and ordinary punishment." The king interrupted him as he was going on, and told him, "there was no danger of that, and that he would deal freely with him. That as the offence was in itself unpardonable, so he and his brother were resolved to take this opportunity and occasion to free themselves from the importunity of the whole family: that all the brothers were naughty fellows, and had no good meaning." And thereupon his majesty enlarged with much sharpness upon the Jesuit and friar, with charges upon both very weighty and unanswerable; and the duke upon this man who was the subject of the debate: and both concluded, "that they should be in great ease by the absence of all

"of them, which should be enjoined as soon as a resolution should be taken in this particular."

The chancellor knew that there was somewhat else, which was not so fit to be mentioned, that had offended them both as much; and thought he had reason to believe that they would be both resolute in the punishment, and that they had deliberated it too long to depart from the prosecution. He therefore advised, "that the gentleman should be presently apprehended and examined upon the words, which some witness should be ready to affirm: and that thereupon he should be sent to the Tower, and the next day that his majesty should inform the privy-council of the whole, which without question would give direction to his attorney general to prosecute this foul misdemeanour in such a manner, that should put this gentleman in such a condition, that he should not trouble the court with his attendance; and other men should by his example find, that their tongues are not their own, to be employed according to their own malicious pleasures."

The person was the same night sent to the Tower; and both the king and the duke declared themselves, in the presence of their servants and many others, to be as highly offended, and as positively resolved to take as much vengeance upon the impudent presumption of the offender as the rigour of the law would inflict, as [ever] they had done upon any occurrence and accident in their lives: and if they had had persons enough about them, who out of a just sense of their honour would have confirmed them in the judgment they were of, it would have been in nobody's power to have shaken them. But as from the first day of his commitment, the servants near the person both of the king and duke presumed, against all ancient order, (which made it a crime in any to perform those civilities to persons declared to be under his majesty's displeasure,) to visit Mr. Talbot, and to censure those who had advised his commitment; and after some few days, when they thought the duke's passion in some degree abated, the lord Berkley confidently told the duke, "that he suffered much in the opinion of the world, in permitting a servant of so near relation to his person to be committed to prison for a few hasty and unadvised words to which he had been provoked; and that it was well enough known that it was by the contrivement and advice of the chancellor, who was taken notice of to be an enemy to that whole family, nor any great friend to any of his highness's servants; and if he had that credit to remove any of them from his person, there would in a short time be few of them found in his court."

This was seconded by all the standers by; and though it did not suddenly work its effect, yet the continual pressing it by degrees weakened the resolution: and the same offices being with equal importunity performed towards the king, and with the more zeal after it was published that the whole was done by the chancellor's procurement; both his majesty and his highness grew weary of their severity, and, upon conference together, resolved to interpose with the duke for his remission, who disdained to make himself a prosecutor in such a transgression. And so the prisoner returned to Whitehall, with the advantage which men who have been unjustly imprisoned usually receive:



and all men thought he triumphed over the chancellor, who, how unconcerned soever, knew every day the less how to behave himself. And this unhappy constitution grew so notorious, (for there were too many instances of it,) that all men grew less resolute in matters which concerned the king and drew the displeasure of others upon them, which was like to prove unprofitable to them.

According to their last prorogation the parliament convened again upon the one and twentieth of September; when the king told them, "that he was very glad to meet so many of them together again, and thanked God for their meeting together again in that place." He said, "little time had passed since they were almost in despair of having that place left to meet in. They saw the dismal ruins the fire had made; and nothing but a miracle of God's mercy could have preserved what was left from the same destruction."

His majesty told them, "he need make no excuse to them for having dispensed with their attendance in April; he was confident they all thanked him for it: the truth is, he desired to put them to as little trouble as he could; and he could tell them truly, he desired to put them to as little cost as was possible. He wished with all his heart that he could bear the whole charge of the war himself, and that his subjects should reap the whole benefit of it to themselves. But he had two great and powerful enemies, who used all the ways they could, fair and foul, to make all the world to concur with them; and the war was more chargeable by that conjunction, than any body thought it would have been. He needed not tell them the success of the summer, in which God had given them great success; and no question the enemy had undergone great losses; and if it had pleased God to have withheld his late judgment by fire, he had been in no ill condition." His majesty confessed, "that they had given him very large supplies for the carrying on the war: and yet," he told them, "that if he had not, by anticipating his own revenue, raised a very great sum of money, he had not been able to have set out the fleet the last spring; and he had some hope upon the same credit to be able to pay off the great ships as they should come in. They would consider what was to be done next, when they were well informed of the expense: and he would leave it to their wisdoms, to find out the best expedients for the carrying on the war with as little burden to the people as was possible." He said, "he would add no more than to put them in mind, that their enemies were very insolent; and if they were able the last year to persuade their miserable people whom they misled, that the contagion had so wasted the nation, and impoverished the king, that he would not be able to set out any fleet; how would they be exalted with this last impoverishment of the city, and condemn all reasonable conditions of peace? And therefore he could not doubt but that they would provide accordingly."

Indeed the king did not till now understand the damage he had sustained by the plague, much less what he must sustain from the fire. Monies could neither be collected nor borrowed where the plague had prevailed, which was over all the city and over a great part of the country; the collect-

ors durst not go to require it or receive it. Yet the fountains remained yet clear, and the waters would run again: but this late conflagration had dried up or so stopped the very fountains, that there was no prospect when they would flow again. The two great branches of the revenue, the customs and excise, which was the great and almost inexhaustible security to borrow money upon, were now bankrupt, and would neither bring in money nor supply credit: all the measures by which computations had been made were so broken, that they could not be brought to meet again. By a medium of the constant receipts it had been depended upon, that what had been borrowed upon that fund would by this time have been fully satisfied with all the interest, whereby the money would have been replaced in the hands to which it was due, which would have been glad to have laid it out again; and the security remained still in vigour to be applied to any other urgent occasions: but now the plague had routed all those receipts, especially in London, where the great conduits of those receipts still ran. The plague and the war had so totally broken and distracted those receipts, that the farmers of either had not received enough to discharge the constant burden of the officers, and were so far from paying any part of the principal that was secured upon it, that it left the interest unpaid to swell the principal. And now this deluge by fire had dissipated the persons, and destroyed the houses, which were liable to the reimbursement of all arrears; and the very stocks were consumed which should carry on and revive the trade. And the third next considerable branch of the revenue, the chimney-money, was determined; and the city must be rebuilt before any body could be required to pay for his chimneys.

This was the true state of the crown, if all other inconveniences and casual expenses had been away, and all application to things serious had been made by all persons concerned. And this woful prospect was in view when the parliament met again; which came not together with the better countenance by seeing all hopes abroad with so sad an aspect, and all things at home (that troubled them much more) appear so desperate in many respects. Yet within few days after the king had spoken to them, the house of commons being most filled with the king's servants, the gentlemen of the country being not yet come, there was a faint vote procured, "that they would give a supply to the king proportionable to his wants," without mentioning any sum, or which way it should be raised: nor from that minute did they make the least reflection upon that engagement in many months after. Whilst the enemies, much more exalted than ever, believed, as they had good cause, that they should reap a much greater benefit by the burning of London than they had from the contagion.

When the numbers of the members increased, the parliament appeared much more chagrined than it had hitherto done; and though they made the same professions of affection and duty to the king they had ever done, they did not conceal the very ill opinion they had of the court and the continual riotings there: and the very idle discourses of some (who were much countenanced) upon the miserable event of the fire made them even believe, that the former jealousies of the city, when

they saw their houses burning at such a distance from each other, were not without some foundation, nor without just apprehension of a conspiracy, and that it had not been diligently enough examined; and therefore they appointed a committee, with large authority to send for and examine all persons who could give any information concerning it.

When any mention was made of the declaration they had so lately passed, for giving the king supply, and "that it was high time to despatch it," "that all necessary provisions might be made for the setting out a fleet against the spring;" it was answered with passion, "that the king's wants must be made first to appear before any supply must be discoursed of: that there were already such vast sums of money given to the king, that there was none left in the country; nor could any commodities there, upon which they should raise wherewith to pay their taxes, be sold for want of money, which was all brought to London in specie, and none left to carry on the commerce and trade in the country, where they could not sell their corn or their cattle or their wool for half the value."

They who had not sat in the parliament at Oxford were exceedingly vexed, that there had been so much given there, so soon after the two millions and a half had been granted; and said, "if the king wanted again already, that he must have been abominably cheated, which was fit to be examined. That the number of the ships, which had been set out by the king in several fleets since the beginning of this war, was no secret; and that there are men enough who are acquainted with the charge of setting out and manning and victualling ships, and can make thereby a reasonable computation what this vast expense can amount to: and that they cannot but conclude, that if his majesty hath been honestly dealt with, there must remain still a very great proportion of money to carry on the war, without need of imposing more upon the people, till they are better able to bear it. And therefore that it was absolutely necessary, that all those, through whose hands the money had passed, should first give an exact account of what they had received, and what and how they had disbursed it: and when that should appear, it would be seasonable to demand an addition of supply, which would be cheerfully granted."

And for the better expedition of this (for every body confessed that the time pressed) it was proposed, "that forthwith a bill should be prepared, which should pass into an act of parliament, in which such commissioners should be appointed as the houses should think fit, to examine all accounts of those who had received or issued out any monies for this war; and where they found any persons faulty, and who had broken their trust, they should be liable to such punishment as the parliament should think fit:" and a committee was presently named to prepare such a bill accordingly. This proposition found such a concurrence in the house, that none of the court thought fit to oppose it; and others who knew the method to be new, and liable to just exceptions, thought it to as little purpose to endeavour to divert it: and so all motions for present supply were to be laid aside till a more favourable conjuncture; and the overture had been contrived

and put on by many who seemed not to like it, which is an artifice not unusual in courts or parliaments.

The persons, who were principally aimed at, (for no doubt they believed that others would be comprehended,) were sir George Carteret, the treasurer of the navy, through whom all that expense had passed, who had many enemies upon the opinion that his office was too great, and the more by the ill offices sir William Coventry was always ready to do him; and the lord Ashley, who was treasurer of all the money that had been raised upon prizes, which could not but be a great proportion. The former was a punctual officer and a good accountant, and had already passed his account in the exchequer for two years, upon which he had his "*quietus est*;" which was the only lawful way known and practised by all accountants to the crown, who can receive a good discharge no other way: and he was ready to make another year's account. But what method commissioners extraordinary by act of parliament would put it into, he could not imagine, nor be well satisfied with. The other, the lord Ashley, had more reason to be troubled, for he was by his commission exempted from giving any other account but to the king himself, which exemption was the only reason that made him so solicitous for the office; and he well knew that there were great sums issued, which could not be put into any public account: so that his perplexity in several respects was not small. And they both applied themselves to the king for his protection in the point.

His majesty was no less troubled, [knowing] that both had issued out many sums upon his warrants, which he would not suffer to be produced; and called that committee of the privy-council with which he used to advise, and complained of this unusual way of proceeding in the house of commons, which would terrify all men from serving his majesty in any receipts; to which employment men submitted because they knew what they were to do, and what they were to suffer. If they made their account according to the known rules of the exchequer, their discharge could not be denied; and if they failed, they knew what process would be awarded against them. But to account by such orders as the parliament should prescribe, and to be liable to such punishment as the parliament would inflict, was such an uncertainty as would deprive them of all rest and quiet of mind; and was in itself so unjust, that his majesty declared "that he would never suffer it: that he hoped it would never find a consent in the house of commons; if it should, that the house of peers would reject it; but if it should be brought to him, he was resolved never to give his royal assent." There was no man present, who did not seem fully to concur with his majesty that he should never consent to it: "how-ever, that the best care and diligence should be used, that it might never be presented to him, but stopped in the houses; and to that purpose, that the members should be prepared by giving them notice of his pleasure."

The chancellor upon this argument, in which he discerned no opposition, enlarged himself upon what he had often before put his majesty in mind of; "that he could not be too indulgent in the defence of the privileges of parliament; that he

"hoped he would never violate any of them:" but he desired him "to be equally solicitous to prevent the excesses in parliament, and not to suffer them to extend their jurisdiction to cases they have nothing to do with; and that to restrain them within their proper bounds and limits is as necessary, as it is to preserve them from being invaded. That this was such a new encroachment as had no bottom; and the scars were yet too fresh and green of those wounds which had been inflicted upon the kingdom from such usurpation." And therefore he desired his majesty "to be firm in the resolution he had taken, and not to depart from it; and if such a bill should be brought up to the house of peers, he would not fail in doing his duty, and speaking freely his opinion against such innovations, how many soever it might offend." All which discourse of his was in a short time after communicated to those, who would not fail to make use of it to his disadvantage.

There was a correspondence by this time begun and warmly pursued between some discontented members of the house of peers, who thought their parts not enough valued, (and the duke of Buckingham was in the head of them,) and some members of the house of commons, who made themselves remarkable by opposing all things which were proposed in that house for the king's service, or which were like to be grateful to him, as sir Richard Temple, Mr. Seymour, and Mr. Garraway, and sir Robert Howard; who were all bold speakers, and meant to make themselves considerable by saying, upon all occasions, what wiser men would [not], whatever they thought.

The duke [of Buckingham] took more pains than was agreeable to his constitution to get an interest in all such persons, invited them to his table, pretended to have a great esteem of their parts, asked counsel of them, lamented the king's neglecting his business, and committing it to other people who were not fit for it; and then reported all the license and debauchery of the court in the most lively [colours], being himself a frequent eye and earwitness of it. He had a mortal quarrel with the lady, and was at this time so much in the king's displeasure, (as he was very frequently,) that he forbore going to the court, and revenged himself upon it by all the merry tales he could tell of what was done there.

It cannot be imagined, considering the loose life he led (which was a life more by night than by day) in all the liberties that nature could desire or wit invent, how great an interest he had in both houses of parliament; that is, how many in both would follow his advice, and concur in what he proposed. His quality and condescensions, the pleasantness of his humour and conversation, the extravagance and sharpness of his wit, unrestrained by any modesty or religion, drew persons of all affections and inclinations to like his company; and to believe that the levities and the vanities would be wrought off by age, and there would enough of good be left to become a great man, and make him useful to his country, for which he pretended to have a wonderful affection and reverence; and that all his displeasure against the court proceeded from their declared malignity against the liberty of the subject, and their desire that the king should govern by the example of France. He had always held intelligence with the

principal persons of the levelling party, and professed to desire that liberty of conscience might be granted to all; and exercised his wit with most licence against the church, the law, and the court.

The king had constant intelligence of all his behaviour, and the liberty he took in his discourses of him, for which he had indignation enough; but of this new stratagem to make himself great in parliament, and to have a faction there to disturb his business, his majesty had no apprehension, believing it impossible for the duke to keep his mind long bent upon any particular design, or to keep and observe those hours and orders of sleeping and eating, as men who pretend to business are obliged to; and that it was more impossible, for him to make and preserve a friendship with any serious persons, whom he could never restrain himself from abusing and making ridiculous, as soon as he was out of their company. Yet, with all these infirmities and vices, he found a respect and concurrence from men of different tempers and talents, and had an incredible opinion with the people.

The great object of his dislike, displeasure, and hatred, was the duke of Ormond, who being his equal in title, and superior in credit with the king, and at least equal to him in all other respects, he looked upon him as his rival; and that his constant attendance upon the king through all his fortunes, was a reproach to him for not having performed his duty that way, and gave him a general reputation in the kingdom with all men who had been faithful to the crown. The duke of Ormond's younger son had married his niece, who was the heir apparent of his house; to which, though he had given his consent when he saw it was not in his power to contradict it, yet he pretended that the duke had made many promises of friendship to him which he had not made good; whereas in truth the other did really desire, and had heartily endeavoured, to do him all the good offices he could with the king, which some other new extravagance of his own disappointed and made uneffectual. Let the ground and reason be what they will, he did not dissemble to hate the duke of Ormond heartily, and to be willing to undertake the prosecution of any complaint against him; of which, in that distempered and disjointed condition of Ireland, there could not be [occasion] wanting, as soon as it was known that such a patron was ready to undertake their defence. And it cannot be denied, (the spirit of envy is so powerful,) that there were too many, who had no affection for the duke of Buckingham, who were yet willing that any thing should be done to the prejudice of the duke of Ormond, who they thought eclipsed the nobility of England.

There had been for many months a great murmur, rather than complaint, "of the great damage the kingdom in general sustained by the importation of such great quantities of Irish cattle, which were bred there for nothing, and transported for little, that they might well undersell all the cattle here; and from hence the breed of cattle in the kingdom was totally given over, and thereby the land would yield no rent proportionably to what it had ever done: and that this was a principal cause of the want of money in the country, which could only be remedied by a very strict act of parliament, to forbid the

"importation of any sort of cattle out of Ireland into this kingdom." And some of them who had most thought of the matter had prepared a bill, and brought it into the house of commons, where it was read. At first it underwent very calm and reasonable debates. Very many members of several counties desired, "that their counties might not undergo any damage for the benefit of other individual places." They professed "that their counties had no land bad enough to breed: but that their great traffick consisted in buying lean cattle, and making them fat, and upon this they paid their rent; and if the bringing over Irish cattle should be restrained, their counties must be undone." And this appeared to be the case of very many counties in England. And the complaint was of so new a nature, that it had never been heard of in England till some few months before this meeting in parliament; only it had been mentioned in the parliament at Oxford, as a grievance to the northern counties, which complained no less of the Scots than of the Irish cattle; and the bill that was at this time brought into the house of commons provided as well against the one as the other.

Whether this complaint originally proceeded from the damage which the people of some counties sustained, or thought they sustained, which made their members in parliament press the restraint with much earnestness, (and it cannot be denied that many worthy men were passionate in it, who were not like to be engaged in particular and factious contests, to comply with the humours of other men,) is not easy to other men to judge of than those who sat in the houses, and observed the manner and the passion in which those debates were carried. And it cannot be denied but that, how innocently soever the grievance first came to be mentioned, and to be recommended to the consideration and wisdom of the house, the carrying it on was with unusual heat and passion, different from what appeared in the transaction of any other business, that had an aspect only to the public: and it was observed, that the cabal that is mentioned before, between some of the house of peers and of the house of commons, began at this time to meet more frequently, and were united in the driving on this affair; which suddenly grew to be insisted on as of that importance, that there could be no debate begun with reference to the giving money to the king, till this bill were first passed.

In the mean time the council of Ireland had the alarm of what was intended before the parliament, and did not only write to the king himself, but a large letter to the lords of the privy-council, in which they represented the present distracted condition of that kingdom, "that there were more than one hundred thousand persons who had nothing else to live upon but their droves of cattle; out of which they twice a year sent as many as they could spare into England, which enabled them to pay their rents, and return such goods and merchandise from thence as the kingdom [stood] in need of;" for no money in specie was returned upon that commerce. "That if this liberty of trade, which they had enjoyed in all ages, should be taken from them, the king's army could not be supported, nor the government maintained, but the kingdom must necessarily be ruined; and probably a

"new rebellion, in so general a discontent as this restraint would administer, might be again entered into: and therefore they desired, that at least some years might be allowed to that traffick which had been always enjoyed; to the end that some other husbandry might be introduced into the kingdom, by which the people might live, and which the government would endeavour to plant with all possible diligence and encouragement."

The king himself was so much moved with those letters, that he declared, "that he could neither in justice nor in conscience consent to such a bill, which upon pretence of benefit to one of his kingdoms might and must be so mischievous to the other two," (for Scotland, as is said, was yet comprehended as well as Ireland :) "that he was equally king of all, and obliged to have an equal care of all; and never to consent to any thing that might be prejudicial to either of the other, especially if the benefit to the one were not proportionable to, and as evident as, the damage was to the other." And upon these grounds he recommended to them, "to give such a stop to this bill, that it might never be presented to him; for if it were, he must positively reject it:" and without doubt his majesty at that time did not resolve any thing more within himself, than never to give his royal assent to that bill.

The letters from Ireland did not make the same impressions upon the lords of the council, who were very much divided in their opinions, even they whose zeal for the king's service was most unquestionable. Some were, upon the sole consideration of the injustice of it, and the mischief that it would produce in Ireland, positively against ever consenting to it, and as positive that it might be stopped in the house of commons, or thrown out of the lords' house, that it should never come to the king: others did as much believe that it was a real grievance, in which the subject should have relief; and insisted much, "that in a point evidently for the benefit and advantage of England, Ireland ought not to be put into the scale, because it would be some inconvenience there." Some did in truth think that the king was too much inclined to favour the Irish, and in that respect were well content that this bill should be a mortification to them: and there wanted not others, who in dark expressions (which grew clearer when the matter came into the house of peers) seemed to think, "that the estates in Ireland were more valuable than they were in England; and that some noblemen of that kingdom lived in a higher garb, and made greater expenses, than the noblemen in England were able to do; which had not been in former times." But they never considered, that those noblemen had nothing but what descended to them from their ancestors; and that they had faithfully adhered to the king, and undergone as much damage for doing so, as any men had done.

The house of commons seemed much more more and obstinate than it had formerly appeared to be, and solicitous to grasp as much power and authority as any of their predecessors had done, though no doubt with no ill intention: and it may be this would not have so much appeared, if there had been the same vigour in those who had used to conduct the king's business in that house, as there had used to be. But that spirit was

much fallen. The chief men of the court, upon whose example other men looked, were much more humble than they had used to be, and took more pains to ingratiate themselves than to advance the interest of their master: and instead of pressing what was desirable upon the strength of reason and policy, as they had used to do, and by which the major part of the house had usually concurred with them, they now applied themselves with address to those, who had always frowardly opposed whatsoever they thought would be grateful to the king; and desired rather to buy their votes and concurrence by promises of reward and preferment, (which is the most dishonourable and unthrifty brokery that can be practised in a parliament, which from this time was much practised, and brought many ill things to pass,) than to prevail upon those weighty and important arguments which would bear the light. Which low artifice raised the insolence of those, which would, as easily as it had been, have been still overruled and suppressed; and was quickly discerned by those others, who, upon the principles of honour and wisdom, had hitherto swayed the house in all matters of public concernment, and who now concluded by those new condescensions that the former sober spirit and resolution was laid aside, and that peevish men would be compounded with; and so resolved to sit still or look on, till the success of this stratagem might be discerned.

And by this means the bill for Irish cattle was driven on with more fury, and the other concerning accounts more passionately spoken of; whilst every day not only many of those, who had constantly observed the advice that had been given them on the behalf of the king, fell off to the other party, but many of his household servants concurred in the bill for Ireland; whilst the rest, who did not yet think fit to do so, applied themselves to the king for his leave that they might do the same. And sir William Coventry, who had now by his insinuations and communication made himself very grateful to the refractory party, persuaded the king, "that the house had taken the Irish bill so much to heart, that they would never enter upon the debate of money, till that had passed the house and was sent to the lords, who no doubt, upon the knowledge of his majesty's mind and resolution, would easily throw it out. That if his servants continued obstinate in opposing it below, they should but provoke and anger the house, and render themselves useless to other parts of his majesty's more important business: whereas if they did now gratify the house by concurring with them in this matter, they should make themselves acceptable, have credit enough to divert the bill of accounts, and presently to dispose every body to enter upon the matter of supply."

The king was not pleased with the counsel, but had a very good opinion of the counsellor, who he believed could not but judge aright of the temper of those with whom he had sat and conversed so long: and so his majesty told him, "he was contented he should follow the dictates of his own judgment and conscience;" and the same answer he gave to all such members of the house of commons who came to receive his orders. And after all this, the bill was carried with great difficulty, and long opposition given to it by those members of several counties, which professed,

"that the bringing over the Irish cattle was so much for their benefit, that they could not live well without it," and were exceedingly perplexed that it should pass; which yet they hoped would be prevented in the house of peers: and so the bill was in great triumph, and by all the members, (as in cases they much delight in is usual,) presented to the house of peers.

And the commons no sooner repaired to their own house, than they assumed the debate upon the accounts, with the same fervour they had pursued the other bill of Ireland, and with the same declaration, "that they would not enter upon the subject of money, till they saw what success that bill would likewise have;" and appearing every day more out of humour, expressed less reverence towards the court. And some expressions were frequently used, which seemed to glance at the license and disorders and extravagant expense of that place, not without some reflections which aimed at the lady, and at the exorbitant power exercised by her. And this imperious way of proceeding confirmed those in their wariness, who had no mind to oppose or contradict the party that they would and meant should prevail: but they the more endeavoured to render themselves gracious to the leaders, as being willing to administer fuel to the fire the others intended to kindle; and, so they might preserve themselves, were very willing to expose other ministers to the jealousy of them, who they thought would not be quiet without some sacrifice. And thus they alarmed the king with the new apprehensions, "that the house, which had yet dutiful intentions, if they were crossed in what they designed for his service, might be provoked to be bolder with his majesty than they had been yet, and to mention the prevalence of the lady," which every body knew the duke of Buckingham would have been glad to have contributed to. And with these continued representations, but especially with their old argument of casting it out by the house of peers, where his power could not be doubted, they at last prevailed with the king to leave all men to themselves in the business of the accounts, (where there was a greater concurrence,) as he had done in the Irish bill: and so that bill likewise was transmitted to the lords.

And at this time many wise men thought, that it would have been very happy for the king if he would have dissolved the parliament, and presently after called another; which would have discovered many combinations, when the actors had found themselves excluded from entering again upon the stage; and it would have appeared, that all the storms had been raised by those winds which had their birth in the king's own house. And such a dissolution (to which the king himself was enough inclined) would have been very popular throughout the kingdom, which naturally doth not love long parliaments, and exceedingly detested this for having only given away their money, and raised a war of which they saw no end nor possible benefit, without passing any good laws for the advancement of the peace and happiness of the kingdom. And very few of those, who had gotten credit in the house to obstruct what the king desired, were men of any interest or reputation with the people.

But as nobody was forward publicly to own and avow this counsel, the consequence whereof

they knew if it were not consented to; so they who meant to do themselves more good by the present indisposition and distemper, than they could propose from a new convention of men utterly unknown, and who were like enough to bring prejudice against their own particulars, used all the means they could devise to divert the king from that inclination. They told him, "that he would never have such another parliament, where he had near one hundred members of his own menial servants and their near relations, who were all at his disposal; by which they had incurred so much prejudice in the country, that very few of them would ever be elected again. That the present distemper was contracted by accidents and mistakes, and would vanish upon very reasonable condescensions, and in another prorogation: whereas if it should be dissolved and new writs sent out, the people would return none but presbyterians and known enemies to the church, and such who were most notoriously disaffected to the court." And this argument, pressed by men who had no more affection for the church than the Quakers had, prevailed with most of the bishops to dissuade the king from kearking to any such advice; when they had much more reason to expect a stronger party in a new parliament, and might have observed that their friends fell from them every day in both houses, and that the court was not propitious to them, of which they had afterwards a sad experience, and which they might then have well foreseen.

The house of peers was no sooner possessed of the bill against Irish cattle, but it was read, and a marvellous keen resolution appeared in many to use all expedition in the passing it; though if the matter itself had been without exception, there were so many clauses and provisos in it so derogatory to the king's honour and prerogative, that many thought it a high disrespect to his majesty to admit them into debate. But of these anon. The duke of Buckingham appeared in the head of those who favoured the bill, with a marvellous concernment: and at the times appointed for the debate of it, contrary to his custom of coming into the house, indeed of not rising till eleven of the clock, and seldom staying above a quarter of an hour, except upon some affair which he concerned himself in, he was now always present with the first in a morning, and stayed till the last at night; for the debate often held from the morning till four of the clock in the afternoon, and sometimes till candles were brought in.

And it grew quickly evident, that there were other reasons which caused so earnest a prosecution of it, above the encouragement of the breed of cattle in England: insomuch as the lord Ashley, who next the duke of Buckingham appeared the most violent supporter of the bill, could not forbear to urge it as an argument for the prosecuting it, "that if this bill did not pass, all the rents in Ireland would rise in a vast proportion, and those in England fall as much; so that in a year or two the duke of Ormond would have a greater revenue than the earl of Northumberland;" which made a visible impression in many, as a thing not to be endured. Whereas the duke had indeed at least four times the proportion of land in Ireland that descended to him from his ancestors, that the earl had in England; and the revenue of it before the rebellion was not inferior

to the other's. But nothing was more manifest, than that the warmth of that prosecution in the house of peers in many lords did proceed from the envy they had of the duke's station in one kingdom, and of his fortune in the other.

And the whole debate upon the bill was so disorderly and unparliamentary, that the like had never been known: no rules or orders of the house for the course and method of debate were observed. And there being, amongst those who advanced the bill, fewer speakers than there were of those who were against it, those few took upon them to speak oftener than they ought to do, and to reply to every man who declared himself to be of another opinion: and when they were put in mind of the rule of the house, "that no man should speak above once upon the same question," they called presently to have the house resolved into a committee, which any single member may require, and then every man may speak as often as he please; and so the time was spent unprofitably without the business being advanced. In the mean time the house of commons proceeded as irregularly, in sending frequent messages to hasten the despatch of the bill, when they knew well the debate of every day: and it was frequently urged as an argument, "that the house of commons was the fittest judge of the necessities and grievances of the people; and they having passed this bill, the lords ought to conform to their opinion." In fine, there grew so great a license of words in this debate, and so many personal reflections, that every day some quarrels arose, to the great scandal and dishonour of a court that was the supreme judicatory of the kingdom.

The duke of Buckingham, who assumed a liberty of speaking when and what he would in a dialect unusual and ungrave, his similes and other expressions giving occasion of much mirth and laughter, one day said in the debate, "that whoever was against that bill had either an Irish interest or an Irish understanding:" which so much offended the lord Ossory, who was eldest son to the duke of Ormond, (who had very narrowly escaped the censure of the house lately, for reproaching the lord Ashley with having been a counsellor to Cromwell, and would not therefore trust himself with giving a present answer,) [that] meeting him afterwards in the court, [he] desired the duke "that he would walk into the next room with him;" and there told him, "that he had taken the liberty to use many loose and unworthy expressions which reflected upon the whole Irish nation, and which he himself resented so much that he expected satisfaction, and to find him with his sword in his hand;" which the duke endeavoured to avoid by all the fair words and shifts he could use, but was so far pressed by the other, whose courage was never doubted, that he could not avoid appointing a place where they would presently meet, which he found the other would exact to prevent discovery, and therefore had chosen rather to urge it himself than to send a message to him. And so he named a known place in Chelsea Fields, and to be there within less than an hour.

The lord Ossory made haste thither, and expected him much beyond the time; and then seeing some persons come out of the way towards the place where he was, and concluding they were

sent out to prevent any action between them, he avoided speaking with them, but got to the place where his horse was, and so retired to London. The duke was found by himself in another place on the other side of the water, which was never known by the name of Chelsea Fields, which he said was the place he had appointed to meet.

Finding that night that the lord Ossory was not in custody, and so he was sure he should quickly hear from him, and upon conference with his friends, that the mistake of the place would be imputed to him; he took a strange resolution, that every body wondered at, and his friends dissuaded him from. And the next morning, as soon as the house was sat, the lord Ossory being likewise present that he might find some opportunity to speak with him, the duke told the house, "that he must inform them of somewhat that concerned himself; and being sure that it would come to their notice some other way, he had therefore chose to acquaint them with it himself;" and thereupon related "how the lord Ossory had the day before found him in the court, and desired him to walk into the next room, where he charged him with many particulars which he had spoken in that place, and in few words told him he should fight with him; which though he did not hold himself obliged to do in maintenance of anything he had said or done in the parliament, yet that it being suitable and agreeable to his nature, to fight with any man who had a mind to fight with him," (upon which he enlarged with a little vanity, as if duelling were his daily exercise and inclination,) "he appointed the place in Chelsea Fields, which he understood to be the fields over against Chelsea; whither, having only gone to his lodging to change his sword, he hastened, by presently crossing the water in a pair of oars, and stayed there in expectation of the lord Ossory, until such gentlemen," whom he named, "found him there, and said, they were sent to prevent his and the lord Ossory's meeting, whom others were likewise sent to find for the same prevention. Whereupon, concluding that for the present there would be no meeting together, he returned with those gentlemen to his lodging, being always ready to give any gentleman satisfaction that should require it of him."

Every body was exceedingly surprised with the oddness and unseasonableness of the discourse, which consisted, with some confusion, between aggravating the presumption of the lord Ossory, and making the offence as heinous as the violating all the privileges of parliament could amount unto; and magnifying his own courage and readiness to fight upon any opportunity, when it was clear enough that he had declined it by a gross shift: and it was wondered at, that he had not chosen rather that some other person might inform the house of a quarrel between two members, that it might be examined and the mischief prevented. But he believed that way would not so well represent and manifest the lustre of his courage, and might leave him under an examination that would not be so advantageous to him as his own information: and therefore no persuasion and importunity of his friends could prevail with him to decline that method.

The lord Ossory seemed out of countenance,

and troubled that the contest was like to be only in that place, and cared not to deny any thing that the duke had accused him of; only "wondered, that he should say he had challenged him for words spoken in the house, when he had expressly declared to him, when his grace insisted much upon the privilege of parliament to decline giving him any satisfaction, that he did not question him for any words spoken in parliament, but for words spoken in other places, and for affronts, which he had at other times chosen to bear rather than to disturb the company." He confessed, "he had attended in the very place where the duke had done him the honour to promise to meet him;" and mentioned some expressions which he had used in designing it, which left the certainty of it not to be doubted.

When they had both said as much as they had a mind to, they were both required, as is the custom, to withdraw to several rooms near the house: and then the lords entered upon debate of the transgression; many insisting "upon the magnitude of the offence, which concerned the honour and safety of the highest tribunal in the kingdom, and the liberty and security of every member of the house. That if in any debate any lord exceeded the modest limits prescribed, in any offensive expressions, the house had the power and the practice to restrain and reprehend and imprison the person, according to the quality and degree of the offence; and that no other remedy or examination could be applied to it, even by the king himself. But if it should be in any private man to take exceptions against any words which the house finds no fault with, and to require men to justify with their swords all that they say in discharge of their conscience, and for the good and benefit of their country; there is an end of the privilege of parliament and the freedom of speech: and therefore that there could not be too great a punishment inflicted upon this notorious and monstrous offence of the lord Ossory, which concerned every lord in particular, as much as it did the duke of Buckingham; who had carried himself as well as the ill custom and iniquity of the age would admit, and had given no offence to the house, towards which he had always paid all possible respect and reverence."

They who considered the honour and dignity only of the house, and the ill consequence of such violations as these, which way soever their affections were inclined with reference to their persons, were all of opinion, "that their offences were so near equal that their punishment ought to be equal: for that besides the lord Ossory's denial that he had [made] any reflection upon any words spoken in parliament, which was the aggravation of his offence, there was some testimony given to the house by some lords present, that the lord Ossory had complained of the duke's comportment towards him before those words used in the house by him, of the Irish interest or Irish understanding, and resolved to expostulate with him upon it; so that those words could not be the ground of the quarrel. And it was evident by the duke's own confession and declaration, that he was as ready to fight, and went to the place appointed by himself for encounter; which made the offence equal." And therefore they moved, "that



"they might be both brought to the bar, and upon their knees receive the sentence of the house for their commitment to the Tower."

Some, who would shew their kindness to the duke, were not willing that he should undergo the same punishment with the other, until some lords, who were known not to be his friends, were very earnest "that the duke might receive no punishment, because he had committed no fault; for that it was very evident that he never intended to fight, and had, when no other tergiversation would serve his turn, prudently mistaken the place that was appointed by himself;" which was pressed by two or three lords in such a pleasant manner, with reflection upon some expressions used by himself, that his better friends thought it would be more for his honour to undergo the censure of the house than the penalty of such a vindication: and so they were both sent to the Tower.

And during the time they remained there, the bill against Ireland remained in suspense, and uncalled for by those, who would not hazard their cause in the absence of their strongest champion. But the same spirit was kept up in all other arguments, the displeasure, that had arisen against each other in that, venting itself in contradictions and sharp replies in all other occasions; a mischief that is always contracted from the agitation of private affairs, where different interests are pursued; from whence personal animosities arise, which are not quickly laid aside, after the affair itself that produced those passions is composed and ended. And this kind of distemper never more appeared, nor ever lasted longer, than from the debate and contestation upon this bill.

Those two lords were no sooner at liberty, and their displeasure towards each other suppressed or silenced by the king's command, but another more untoward outrage happened, that continued the same disturbance. It happened that upon the debate of the same affair, the Irish bill, there was a conference appointed with the house of commons, in which the duke of Buckingham was a manager; and as they were sitting down in the painted chamber, which is seldom done in good order, it chanced that the marquis of Dorchester sat next the duke of Buckingham, between whom there was no good correspondence. The one changing his posture for his own ease, which made the station of the other the more uneasy, they first endeavoured by jostling to recover what they had dispossessed each other of, and afterwards fell to direct blows; in which the marquis, who was the lower of the two in stature, and was less active in his limbs, lost his periwig, and received some rudeness, which nobody imputed to his want of courage, which was ever less questioned than that of the other.

The misdemeanour, greater than had ever happened, in that place and upon such an occasion, in any age when the least reverence to government was preserved, could not be concealed; but as soon as the conference was ended, was reported to the house, and both parties heard, who both confessed enough to make them undergo the censure of the house. The duke's friends would fain have justified him, as being provoked by the other; and it was evident their mutual undervaluing each other always disposed them to affect any opportunity to manifest it. But the house

sent them both to the Tower; from whence after a few days they were again released together, and such a reconciliation made as after such rencounters is usual, where either party thinks himself beforehand with the other, as the marquis had much of the duke's hair in his hands to recompense for the pulling off his periwig, which he could not reach high enough to do to the other.

When all things were thus far quieted, the bill was again entered upon with no less passion for the stock that had been wasted. The arguments which were urged against the bill for the injustice of it [were], "that they should, without any cause or demerit on their part, or any visible evidence of a benefit that would accrue from it to this kingdom, deprive his majesty's two other kingdoms of a privilege they had ever been possessed of: that they might as reasonably take away the trade from any one county in England, because it produced some inconvenience to another county more in their favour: that the large counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, and other provinces, would lose as much by the passing of this act, as the northern and any other counties would gain by it: that those two kingdoms might with the same justice press his majesty's concurrence, that they might have no trade with England, which would bring more damage to England by much, than it would gain by this act of restraint: and that it was against all the maxims of prudence, to run the danger of a present mischief and damage, as this would produce in Ireland by the testimony of the lord lieutenant and council of that kingdom, only upon the speculation of a future benefit that might accrue, though it were yet only in speculation."

These, and many other arguments of this kind, which for the most part were offered by men who had not the least relation to Ireland, made no other impression, than that they were content to leave Scotland out of the bill; which increased their party against Ireland, and gave little satisfaction to the other, who did not so much value the commerce with the other kingdom. And this alteration the house of commons likewise consented to, but with great opposition, since in truth that concession destroyed the foundation upon which the whole fabric of the bill was supported.

Then the debate fell upon some derogatory clauses and provisos very contrary to his majesty's just prerogative and power, (for they made his majesty's own license and warrant of no effect or authority, but liable to be controlled by a constable; nor would permit the importation of three thousand beeves, which, by an act of parliament in Ireland, were every year to be delivered at Chester and another port for the provision of the king's house;) which in many respects the house generally disliked, and desired "that it might have no other style than had been accustomed in all the penal acts of parliament which were in force, it being to be presumed, that the king would never dispense with any violation of it, except in such cases as the benefit and good of the kingdom required it; which might naturally fall out, if there should happen such a murrain amongst the beasts of that species, as had been these late years amongst horses, which had destroyed so many thousand, that good horses



"were now hard to be procured. And if the same or the like destruction should fall upon the other cattle, we should have then more cause to complain of the scarcity and the dearth of meat, than we have now of the plenty and cheapness, which was the only grievance now felt, and which kingdoms seldom complained of: and in such a case it would be very great pity, that the king should not have power enough to provide for the supply of his subjects, and to prevent a common dearth."

But this was again opposed with as much passion and violence as had fallen out in any part of the debate; and such rude arguments used against such a power in the king, as if the question were upon reposing some new trust in him, whereas it was upon divesting him of a trust that was inherent in him from all antiquity: and "that it was the same thing to be without the bill, and not to provide against the king's dispensing with the not obeying it, whose inclinations were well known in this particular; and therefore the effect of them, and of the importunity of the courtiers, must be provided against." And throughout this discourse there was such a liberty of language made use of, as reflected more upon the king's honour, and indeed upon his whole council and court, as had not been heard in that house, but in a time of rebellion, without very severe reprehension: and it so much offended the house now, that, notwithstanding all the sturdy opposition, it was resolved that those clauses and provisos should be amended in some places, and totally left out in others. And with the alteration and amendments it was sent down to the house of commons.

At this time the public affairs and necessities were little looked after or considered. The fleet was come into the ports, but [there was] no money to pay off the men: and what was equally mischievous, there was no way to make the provisions for the next spring, that the fleet might be ready for the sea by the time the enemy would assuredly be out. If the victualler were not supplied, who had much money due to him, the season would be past in which he was to buy the cattle that he must kill; and he complained how much he should suffer by this bill of Ireland, which already raised the price of all meats. And the yards wanted all those tacklings and rigging and masts, without which another fleet could not be sent out, and which could no otherwise be provided than by ready money. The king had anticipated all his own revenue, and was ready to expose that for further security, but nobody would trust. The new provisos in the bill of supply at Oxford gave no new credit, but were found as mischievous as any body had apprehended they would be: and the bankers, who in all such occasions were a sure refuge, wanted now credit themselves; which that they might not recover, the parliament had treated them as ill since they came together, that is, with reproaches and threats, as they had done at Oxford. In which kind of persecution sir William Coventry, and some who followed him, led the van, very much to the king's prejudice and against his command; but they excused themselves, upon the credit it gave them in the house to do him service.

All this was well enough understood: and it was as visible, that they intended to make it a

forcible argument for the passing the Irish bill which, though from different motives, was now become the sacrifice, without which they would not be appeased; and therefore, when the bill was sent to them with those alterations and amendments, they rejected them all, and voted, "that they would adhere to their own bill without departing from a word of it, except with reference to Scotland," from which they had receded. And if upon this very unusual return the house of peers had likewise voted, "that they too would adhere," which they might regularly have done, and would have been consented to by the major part of the house if the question had been then put; there had been an end of that bill. But that must not be suffered: the party that cherished it was too much concerned to let it expire in a deep silence, and were numerous enough to obstruct and defer what they liked not, though not to establish what they desired. Some of them, that is, some who desired that the bill should pass, though uncorrupted by their passions, did not like the obstinacy of the house of commons in not departing from some unusual clauses and pretences; yet were not willing to have the like vote for adhering to pass in that house, which it might do when all other remedies should fail; and therefore moved, "that a conference might be required, in which such reasons might be given as might satisfy them." Many conferences, and free conferences, were held, in which the commons still maintained their adherence with a wonderful petulance: and those members, who were appointed to manage the conferences, took the liberty to use all those arguments, and the very expressions, which had been used in the house of peers, against leaving any power in the king to dispense; and added such other of their own as more reflected upon his majesty's honour; and yet concluded as if they could say more if they were provoked, upon which every man might make what glosses he pleased, and the king himself was left to his own imaginations.

There need be no other instance given of the unheard of and incredible passion that was shewed in the transaction of that bill, than a particular that related to the city of London. Upon the news of the great fire in London, and the devastation that it made there, there was so general a lamentation in Ireland as might be expected from a neighbour province, that had so great a commerce with and dependance upon it. And the consent in this lamentation was so digested, that the several provinces had made a computation and division between themselves, and presented a declaration to the lord lieutenant and council, "that they had so tender a sense of that calamity, that if they were able to raise money to administer some assistance to the city towards the reparation of their great loss, they would willingly offer and present it: but that not being in their power or possession, the great scarcity and want of money throughout that kingdom being notoriously known, but there being somewhat in their power to offer, which might at least testify their good-will, and not be wholly useless towards the end they designed it; they had agreed between themselves to give unto the lord mayor and city of London, and to be disposed of by them to such particular uses as

"they should judge most convenient, the number of thirty thousand Irish beasts, which should be delivered within such a time and at such ports," which were named, "to any such persons as should be appointed to receive them." And of this they desired the lord lieutenant and council to advertise the king, and likewise give notice to the city of London: both which were done accordingly; and the advertisement arrived in the city in the time when this bill was depending in the lords' house. Whereupon the lord mayor and aldermen presented a petition to the lords, with a proviso that they desired might be inserted in the bill that was before them, by which it was provided, "that nothing contained in that bill should hinder the city of London from enjoying the charitable donative of the thirty thousand cattle, but that they might have liberty to import the same."

It can hardly be believed with what passion and indignation this petition was received by the house, what invectives were made against the city, "for their presumption in interposing their own particular interest to obstruct the public affairs of the kingdom;" and then the reflections which were "made upon the council of Ireland, for giving countenance to such an address, and becoming instruments themselves to promote and advance it:" which they would not allow to be an offering of charity, but a cheat and a cozenage by combination to elude an act of parliament, which they could not choose but hear of, and could not but believe that it was passed by this time. Which if it had been, and that power left in the king as had been proposed, they might now see how it would have been applied: for they could not doubt, but there would enough have advised the king, that he should gratify the city of London with a license for this importation; which could not or would not have been so warily drawn, but that, under the license for thirty thousand, there would be three hundred thousand imported into England; and this the great charity aimed at and was assured of." And so, after much bitterness, they desired "that the petition and the proviso might be both rejected."

But this passion did not cover the whole house, which neither commended nor approved it, and were much less transported with it. They believed it was a very seasonable intention of charity, and would not take upon them to frustrate it; and so prevailed, that it was passed in that house, and transmitted with approbation to the other. But it had the same fate there with the other provisos, and was thrown out with that bitterness and observation which had been offered against it by some lords. Nor could any expedients alter or remove their obstinacy, though many were offered upon conferences, and particularly "that all the beasts should be killed in Ireland and powdered there, and then sent over in barrels or other casks;" but they found cozenage in that too, and were as angry with the cattle when they were dead, as when they were alive, [as if it would] for a time keep down the price of meat in England, which they desired to advance: so that there was nothing gotten in all those conferences, but the discovery of new jealousies of the king and the court, and new insinuations of the discontents and murmurs in the country, that this

bill was so long obstructed. Which being still represented to the king with the most ghastly aspects towards what effects it might produce, his majesty in the end was prevailed upon, notwithstanding very earnest advice to the contrary, not only to be willing to give his royal assent when it should be offered to him, but to take very great pains to remove those obstructions which hindered it from being offered to him, and to solicit particularly very many lords to depart from their own sense, and conform to what he thought convenient to his service; which gave those who loved him not great argument of triumph, and to those who loved him very passionately much matter of mortification. Yet after all this, and when his majesty had changed some men's resolutions, and prevailed with others to withdraw and to be absent when the bill should come again to be discussed, it was carried with great difficulty and with great opposition, and against the protestation of many of the lords.

In all the debate upon this bill, and upon the other of accounts, the chancellor had the misfortune to lose much credit in the house of commons, not only by a very [strong] and cordial opposition to what they desired, but by taking all occasions, which were offered by the frequent arguments which were urged "of the opinion and the authority of the house of commons, and that it was fit and necessary to concur with them," to mention them with less reverence than they expected. It is very true: he had always used in such provocations to desire the lords, "to be more solicitous in preserving their own unquestionable rights and most important privileges, and less tender in restraining the excess and new encroachments of the house of commons, which extended their jurisdiction beyond their limits." He put them often in mind "of the mischiefs which had their original from the liberties the house of commons assumed, and the compliance the house of peers had descended to, in the late ill times, and which produced the rebellion; and were carried so far, till, after all the multiplied affronts, they had wrested the whole authority out of the hands of the house of peers, and at last declared them useless members of the commonwealth, and shut up the door of their house with a padlock, which they had never power to unfasten till the king's return." And in those occasions his expressions were many times so lively, that they offended many of the lords who were present, and had too much contributed to those extravagancies, as much as it could do any of the commons.

The truth is, he did never dissemble from the time of his return with the king, whom he had likewise prepared and disposed to the same sentiments whilst his majesty was abroad, that his opinion was, "that the late rebellion could never be extirpated and pulled up by the roots, till the king's regal and inherent power and prerogative should be fully avowed and vindicated; and till the usurpations in both houses of parliament since the year 1640 were disclaimed and made odious; and many other excesses, which had been affected by both before that time under the name of privileges, should be restrained or explained;" for all which reformation the kingdom in general was very well disposed, when it pleased God to restore the king to it. Nor did

the convention, which proclaimed the king and invited him to return, exercise after his return any exorbitant power, but what was of necessity upon former irregularities, and contributed to the present ends and desires of the king.

And this parliament, that was upon the dissolution of the former quickly summoned by the king's writ, willingly inclined to that method, as appears by those many excellent acts which vindicated the king's sovereign power over parliaments, and declared the nullity of all acts done by one or both houses without the king's assent; declared and settled the absolute power of the crown over the militia; repealed that act of parliament that had excluded the bishops from being members of the house of peers, and restored them to their session there; and repealed that other infamous act for triennial parliaments, which had clauses in it to have led the people into rebellion; and would willingly have prosecuted the same method, if they had had the same advice and encouragement.

But they had continued to sit too long together, and were invited to meddle and interpose in matters out of their own sphere, to give their advice with reference to peace and war, to hold conferences with the king, and to offer their advices to him, and to receive orders from himself; when his majesty was persuaded by very unskilful men, "that they were so absolutely at his disposal, that he need never doubt their undertaking any thing that would be ingratul to him, and that whilst he preserved that entire interest he had in the lower house, (which he might easily do,) he need not care what the other house did or had a mind to do;" and so induced his majesty to undervalue his house of peers as of little power to do him good or harm, and prevailed with him too far to countenance that false doctrine; towards which the house of peers themselves contributed too much, by not inquiring into or considering the public state of the kingdom, or providing remedies for growing evils, or indeed meddling with any thing in the government till they were invited to it by some message or overture from the house of commons: insomuch as they sat not early in the morning, according to the former custom of parliaments, but came not together till ten of the clock; and very often adjourned as soon as they met, because that nothing was brought from the house of commons that administered cause of consultation; and upon that ground often adjourned for one or two days together, whilst the other house sat, and drew the eyes of the kingdom upon them, as the only vigilant people for their good.

Then when any thing fell in their way, that they could draw a consequence from that might relate to their privileges, they were so jealous of an invasion, that they neither considered former precedents, nor rules of honour or justice; and were not only solicitous for that freedom which belonged to themselves and their menial servants, who ought not to be disquieted by private suits and prosecutions in law, whilst they are obliged to attend upon the service of their country in parliament, but gave their protections "ad libitum," and which were commonly sold by their servants to bankrupt citizens, and to such who were able but refused to pay their just debts. And when their creditors knew that they could have no relation of

attendance to any man, and thereupon caused them to be arrested, they produced some protection granted to them by some lord; whereupon they were not only discharged, but their creditors, and all who bore any part in the prosecution, were punished with great rigour, and to their great loss and damage, and to the great prejudice of the city, and interruption of the whole course of the justice of the kingdom.

When the house of commons sent up a bill for the suppression or reformation of many irregularities and misdemeanours, which had grown up in the late times of disorder and confusion, as conventicles and other riotous assemblies, wherein there was a necessity of some clauses of power to inferior officers, whereby they were qualified to discover those transgressions which would otherwise be concealed; the lords would be sure always to insert some proviso to save their privileges, even in acts which provided for the punishment of such crimes as no person of quality could be supposed to be guilty of, as stealing of wood, and such vile trespasses: which took up much time in debate, and incensed the house of commons, and produced many froward debates, in which the king thought the peers in the wrong.

This kind of temper or distemper upon very trivial and light occasions, in seasons which required gravity and despatch, provoked the house of commons to take more upon them, to enter upon contests sometimes unreasonably with the lords, and to assume to themselves an authority in matters in which they ought not to interpose; and then were encouraged and indeed induced by those who had near relation to the king and were trusted in his service, to affect novelties both in the form and substance of their proceedings, which those persons concurred in, much out of ignorance what was to be done, and more out of affectation to compass some crooked end of their own, to the prejudice of another person who was in their disfavour. And when these sallies out of the old trodden path were taken notice of, and his majesty had [been] advised to prevent them in time, he was persuaded, either "that the exceptions were in matters of little moment, and made only by formal men who liked nothing that was out of the old common road; or that the liberty would be applied to his service, and in many useful occasions would mollify or subdue the inconvenient morosity of the lords; or, when it should exceed, it would be still in his majesty's power to restrain it, when he found it necessary." And these discourses prevailed too much with his majesty, till he now found the humour was grown too sturdy for him to contend with; and the same men, who had persuaded him to condemn it, were now more importunate with him that he would comply with it.

The chancellor had always as earnestly opposed the over-captious insisting upon privilege in the lords' house, either when in truth there was not a just ground for it, or when they would extend it further than it would regularly reach; and oftentimes put them in mind "of many exorbitant acts which stood still mentioned in their journals, books, of their proceedings in the late rebellious times, which might be looked upon as precedents by posterity, and in which the house of commons had really invaded their greatest privileges, and trampled upon their highest

"jurisdiction; which was worthy of their most strict [proceedings] to vindicate by protestation, and by expunging the memorial thereof out of all their books and records, that there might be no footsteps left to mislead the succeeding ages;" and often desired them "to preserve a power in themselves to put the house of commons in mind of their exceeding their limits, for which they often gave them occasion, and particularly as often as they sent to quicken them in any debate, which was a very modern presumption, and derogatory from that respect which a house of commons had always paid to the house of lords. And this they could not reasonably or effectually do, till they declined all unjust or unnecessary pretences to privileges which were not their due, and especially to a power of calling private cases of right and justice, which ought to be determined by the law and in courts of justice, to be heard and adjudged before themselves in parliament; of which there were too frequent occasions to oppose and contradict their jurisdiction."

This free way of discourse offended many of the lords, who thought him not jealous enough of nor zealous for the privilege of the peerage: and they were now very glad that he used so much more freedom against the proceedings of the house of commons, which they were sure would be resented below, more than it had been above. And many of his friends informed him "how ill it was taken; and how carefully all that he said, and much that he did not say, was transmitted by some of the lords to them, who would not fail in some season to remember and apply it to his highest disadvantage;" and therefore desired him "to use less fervour in those argumentations." But he was in that, as in many things of that kind that related to the offending other men, for his own sake uncounsellable: not that he did not know that it exposed him to the censure of some men who lay in wait to do him hurt, but because he neglected those censures, nor valued the persons who promoted them; being confident that he would be liable to no charge that he should be ashamed of, and well knowing that he had, and being well known to have, a higher esteem of parliament, and a greater desire to preserve the just privileges of both houses, than they had who seemed to be angry with him on that behalf; and that the extending [them] beyond their due length would in the end endanger the destruction of parliaments.

But he shortly after found, that this guard was not secure enough to defend him. What he said in parliament was the sense of more who would not speak it, than there were of those who disliked it; and how much soever it offended them, they could not out of it find a crime to accuse him of. But they who were more concerned to remove him from a post, where he too narrowly watched and too often obstructed the liberties they took, resolved to sacrifice all their oaths and obligations, which obliged them to the contrary, to the satisfaction of their envy and their malice: and so whatsoever he said or advised in the most secret council to the king himself with reference to things or persons, they communicated all to those who had most reason to be angry, yet could not own the information. Of all which he had advertisement, and that a storm would be shortly

raised to shake him, of which he had little apprehension; never suspecting that it would arise out of that quarter, from whence he soon after discerned it to proceed.

There was another particular and private accident that fell out at this time, that administered more occasion of faction and dissension in the houses, which always obstructed and perplexed all public business. The marquis of Dorchester had some years before married one of his daughters to the lord Roos, eldest son to the earl of Rutland; both families very noble in themselves, and of great fortunes, and allied to all the great families of the kingdom. The lady being of a humour not very agreeable, and not finding the satisfaction she expected where she ought to have received it, looked for it abroad where she ought not to find it. And her husband, as men conscious to themselves of any notable defect used to be, was indulgent enough, not strictly inquiring how she behaved herself, and she as little dissembling or concealing the contempt she had of her husband; until his friends, especially the mother, (who was a lady of a very great spirit and most exalted passion,) took notice of her frequent absence from her husband, and of her little kindness towards him when she was present with him. And the young lady, who with her other defects had want of wit to bear a reprehension she deserved, instead of excusing, avowed her no esteem of her husband; charged him with debauchery, and being always in drink, which was too true; and reproached him with folly, as a man not worthy to be beloved. And the passion swelling to a great height on both sides, the marquis came to be engaged on the behalf of his daughter, and challenged her husband to fight with him, who in many respects was not capable, nor did understand those encounters.

In the end, after many acts of passion, which administered too much cause of mirth and scandal to the world, yet by the advice and mediation of friends, as good a reconciliation as in such cases is usual was made, and the young couple brought to live again together. And the lady having the ascendant over the lord, who was very desirous to live quietly upon any conditions, that he might enjoy himself though he could not enjoy her, he was contented that she made a journey to London upon pretence to see some friends: and the time being expired which she had prescribed for her absence, he sent to her to return, which she deferred from time to time. But at last, after many months, she returned to him in so gross a manner, that it appeared that she had kept company too much, which she never endeavoured to conceal; and when her husband told her "that she was with child," and asked "who got it;" she answered him confidently, "that whoever got it, if it proved a boy, as she believed it would, he should be earl of Rutland."

This was more than the young man could bear without informing his mother, (the good earl not loving to engage himself in so much noise,) who presently took care that the great-bellied lady was made a prisoner in her chamber, strictly guarded, that she could not go out of those lodgings which were assigned her; all her own servants removed from her, and others appointed to attend; and all other things supplied that she could stand in need of or require, liberty only

excepted. Yet in this close restraint she found means to advertise her father of the condition she was in, and made it much worse than it was, seeming to apprehend the safety of her life threatened by the malice of the countess, mother to her husband, "who," she said, "did all she could to "alienate his affection from her; and now that she "found she was with child, would persuade him that "it was not his; and took all this extreme course, "either to make her miscarry and so endanger "her life, or to put an end to mother and child "when she should miscarry:" and therefore besought her father, "that he would find some way "to procure her liberty, and to remove her from "that place, as the only means to save her life."

The marquis, with the passion of a father, and confidence of his daughter's virtue, and having no reverence for the countess, thought it an act of great barbarity, and consulted whether he could have any remedy at law to recover his daughter's liberty; and finding little hope from thence, (the restraint of a wife by the jealousy of her husband in his own house being not a crime the law had provided a remedy against,) he resorted then to the king, who as little knew how to meddle in it. In the mean time he sent women to see and attend his daughter, who were admitted to see and confer with her, but not to stay with her; the countess declaring, "that she should want nothing; but "that since it was impossible that the child could "be of kin to her son, who had not seen her in "so many months before the child must have "been got, she would provide that there should "be no more foul play, when she should be delivered; and after that time she should have no "more restraint or residence in that house, but "be at liberty to go whither she would."

The conclusion was, the lady was delivered, and a son born, who was quickly christened by the name of Ignoto, and committed to a poor woman, who lived near, to be nursed; and as soon as the lady recovered strength enough, she was dismissed and sent to a house of her father, who received her with the affection he thought was due to her. And having conferred and examined her with all the strictness he could, he remained satisfied in her innocence, and consequently of the barbarous treatment she had received, and the injury and indignity, both to him and her, that was done to the son; for which he was resolved to leave no way untried in which he might receive a vindication. In order to which he first desired the king to hear all parties, who was prevailed with to appoint a day for the doing it, being attended by some bishops and other lords of his council; when the marquis and his daughter, and the lord Roos and his mother, [appeared,] with more ladies than could have the patience to stay till the end of the examination, where there were so many indecent and uncleanly particulars mentioned, that made all the auditors very weary. Nor was there any room for his majesty to interpose towards a reconciliation, which was in view impossible; nor could the lady be excused for a great delight she took in making her husband jealous of her, and in expressing a contempt of him, whatever else she was guilty of: and so the king left it as he found it. And the marquis, who had heard many things he did not expect to have heard, took his daughter to his own house, that by her own strict behaviour she might best vindicate

herself from the scandal she lay under: but she quickly freed him from that hope and expectation; for within a short time after, she, not being able to submit to the strict order and discipline of her father's house, which would not permit those wanderings she desired to make, nor the visits she desired to receive, made an escape from thence, and lodged herself at more liberty, and lived in that manner as gave too much evidence against her with reference to the time that was past.

The marquis, who was a man of great honour, and most punctual in all things relating to justice, gave a noble instance of both, and how much he detested the base and unworthy behaviour of his own child, when it was manifest to him. He went to the other noble family, asked their pardon "for his incredulity, and for any offence he "had committed against them, or reproach he "laid upon [them], for the vindication of an unworthy woman, who he believed now had deserved all and more aspersions than had been laid on her: and therefore he was ready to join "with them to free the family, as much as was "possible, from the infamy she had brought to "them and him, and that her base issue might not "be an eternal reproach in their family." Upon this she was first, upon the complaint of her husband, cited into the court of the arches before the ecclesiastical judges: where, after a full examination of witnesses on both sides, and hearing what she could allege in her own defence, her crime was declared to be proved sufficiently; and thereupon a judgment was pronounced "of a full and "entire separation *a toro et a mensa pro causa "adulterii*," in such a form, and with such circumstances, as are of course in those cases.

But all this was not remedy enough against the bastard's title to the honour of that illustrious family: and therefore there was a bill prepared, wherein all the foul carriage of the lady was set out, the birth and christening of Ignoto, the declaration and judgment of the court of the arches, and separation of the parties for the adultery proved; and thereupon a desire that it might be declared by act of parliament, "that the son, Ignoto "by name, is a bastard and incapable to inherit any "part of the title, honour, or estate of or belonging to the house of Rutland; and the same incapacity to attend all other children, which from "that time, the birth of Ignoto, had or might be "born from the body of that lady." And this bill being presented to the house of peers by a lord nearly allied to that family, the earl of Rutland being present with the marquis, as soon as it was read the marquis stood up, and "with expressions of trouble, and of the justice that was "due to the greatness of a noble house, that had "received a foul blemish by a woman of too near "a relation to him, of whom he was ashamed," gave his free consent to the bill, and desired that it might pass: and the earl likewise besought the house, "that so infamous a branch might not be "ingrafted into his family, of which his son, the "lord Roos, was the sole heir male, with whom "the honour must expire."

It was a case of general concernment as well as compassion, that an impudent woman should have the power to give an heir to inherit a noble title and fortune by descent, when it was so notoriously known and adjudged to be illegitimate,

and a mere stranger to the blood of the house. Yet there were some very good lords, and who detested the woman and the wickedness, made such scruple of making a new precedent in a particular case, that undermined a foundation of law, and opened a door to let in an unjust declaration, upon pretences not so well proved, to the disinherison of one that should not be illegitimate. But though it was a rare case, it was found not to be a new one, there having been one or two declarations of bastardy in parliament in the reign of king Henry VII. and Henry VIII.

However, it was as just that she should be heard, to defend both herself and her son; and therefore the bill being read the second time, it was committed, with direction "that the lady" "should have personal [notice] to attend, before" "the committee entered upon it:" and after long inquiry at the places where she used to be, it was found that she had transported herself into Ireland, in the company of the person whom she had preferred before her husband; and there was reason to believe, that it was after she had notice of the bill. However, all proceedings were respite till there was full proof given to the house, by the person himself who had spoken with her in Ireland, and given her the warrant that required her attendance upon the committee: and then, after many days longer delay, it was read and debated, and by the committee reported to the house to be engrossed.

And then, and not till then, the duke of Buckingham opposed the passing of it, upon pretence, "that in the bill [the lord Roos] had assumed a" "title that belonged to him by his mother, who" "had been heir female to Francis earl of Rutland;" when that title, now challenged, had descended to George the brother of Francis, and had been enjoyed by two earls of Rutland since. It was generally thought a strange exception: nor was it known, whether the duke was disposed to it as a revenge upon the marquis, or to shew his own power, (for he had many who concurred with him in both houses upon many occasions,) or whether he did in truth desire to support the lady in her infamy, he not being over-tender in cases of that nature. However, it was necessary to recommit the bill, that some expedient might be there found to remove the obstruction, which though he was obstinate in till the house was tired with many days debate upon it, in which most of his adherents upon the unreasonableness left him, he persisted still and maintained the debate almost alone, till the time of the session approached; when the lord Roos was compelled to humour him in leaving out a title that all the world gave him. And then, after intolerable vexation to the house and loss of time, he desisted to appear against it; and the act passed the royal assent.

The ill humour of the house of commons was not abated; and though they knew well that their Irish bill could never have passed the upper house but by the king's powerful interposition, they remained still jealous, or pretended to be so, that he would not give his assent; which till he should do, they would admit no debate of money: so that as soon as the bill was presented to him, his majesty came to the house of peers, and sent for the commons to attend him upon the 18th day of January; when, after he had given his

consent to that and another private bill which they had presented, he told them, "that he had now" "passed their bills, and that he had been in hope" "to have had other bills ready to have passed" "too." He said, "that he could not forget, that" "within few days after their coming together in" "September, both houses had presented to him" "their vote and declaration, that they would give" "him a supply proportionable to his occasions;" "and the confidence of that had made him anticipate that small part of his revenue which was" "unanticipated, for the payment of the seamen;" "and his credit had gone further than he had" "reason to think it would, but it was now at an" "end."

"This was the first day," he said, "he had" "heard of a supply, being the 18th of January," "and what it would amount unto, God only knew;" "and what time he had to make such preparations as were necessary to meet three such" "enemies as he had, they could well enough" "judge. And he must tell them, what dis-  
courses soever were abroad, he was not in any" "treaty; but by the grace of God he would not" "give over himself and them, but would do what" "was in his power for defence of both. It was" "high time for them to make good their promise; and it was high time for them to be in" "the country, as well for the raising of money, as" "that the lords lieutenants and deputy lieutenants" "might watch those seditious spirits which were" "at work to disturb the public peace. And" "therefore he was resolved to put an end to that" "session on Monday next come sennight, before" "which time he desired that all things might be" "made ready that he was to despatch." His majesty said, "he was not willing to complain" "that they had dealt unkindly with him in a" "bill he had then passed, in which they had" "manifested a greater distrust of him than he" "had deserved. He did not pretend to be without infirmities, but he had never broken his word to them; and if he did not flatter himself, the nation had never less cause to complain of grievances, or the least injustice or oppression, than it had had in those seven years since it had pleased God to restore him to them: he would," he said, "be glad to be used accordingly."

This little quickness in his majesty prevailed more upon them, than all the former application had done: and now they saw that they should not be suffered to continue longer together, they resolved to leave some relish of their former duty and compliance. Not that the humour was at all reformed or abated in those who had shewed so much frowardness, who still continued as perverse as ever; but they were overruled by the major part of the house, as they would have been sooner, if it had not been that a contrary course had been pursued to what had been formerly. Nor were they, who had advised that change, willing that his majesty should decline the same method, and were much troubled that he had not caressed the house more in his late discourse. And as they had before advised his majesty freely and without any condition to offer the repeal, and release the act that had granted the chimney-money to him, which was a very good and a growing revenue, but they observed to be unpopular; upon a presumption (which they assured him could not fail) that so generous an action in his majesty towards

his people would be immediately requited by a grant of much greater value, (and they had prevailed in this counsel, if the chancellor and the treasurer had not with great resolution opposed it, and made evident to his majesty, "that he ought never to propose it himself though with conditions, because it would make the grace undervalued, and the conditions to be esteemed unreasonable; nor to hearken to any general proposition, or consent to the repeal of that act, without having a full and equivalent recompense (which ought to be very well weighed) granted in the same act of parliament; for he had now sufficient evidence, that the constant good-humour of the house was not to be depended upon:" which confirmed his majesty to resolve never to hearken to the one without the other, and so that mischief was prevented:) yet were now as desirous that the house of commons would still press the despatch of the bill of accounts, which rested in the lords' house; and assured them, "that if they would embrace the same positiveness they had done, the chancellor would be no more able to hinder the passing of that act, than he had been to keep his majesty from consenting to the Irish bill so much against his resolution." But they and their friends could not keep up the same spirit of stubbornness in the house, nor prevail with the king to recede from his purpose: so that the bill for accounts remained still in the house of lords not fully discussed. And such a progress was made in the house of commons, notwithstanding all opposition, that a bill for supply was prepared within the time prescribed, though in respect of the proportion not equal to the occasions, and entangled still with the same inconvenient clauses and provisos which had so unwarily been admitted at Oxford, and which made what was granted unapplicable to the procuring ready money; of which his majesty was now fully convinced. But the time was too short to labour in the alteration. And so the bill, as it was, was sent up to the lords, who, after the short formality that cannot be avoided, gave it a passage through that house: so that it was now ready for the king.

The eighth of February the king came to the parliament, and the speaker of the house presented the bill to the king, who gave his royal assent to it, and thanked them for it, with his assurance, "that the money should be laid out for the ends it was given: however," he said, "he hoped he should live to have bills of this nature in the old style, with fewer provisos." He took notice, "that the bill of accounts for the money that had been already raised since the war was not offered to him: but," his majesty said, "that he would take care (after so much noise) that the same should not be stifled; but that he would issue out his commission in the manner he had formerly promised the house of peers; and the commissioners should have very much to answer, if they should not discover all matters of fraud and cozenage." He told them, "the season of the year was very far spent, in which the enemy had got great advantage; but by the help of God, he would make all the preparations he could, and as fast as he could: and yet he would tell them, that if any good overtures were made for an honourable peace, he would not reject

"them; and he believed all sober men would be glad to see it brought to pass.

"He would now prorogue them till towards winter, that they might in their several places intend the peace and security of their several countries, where there were unquiet spirits still working. He did pray them," and said, "he did expect it from them, that they would use their utmost endeavours to remove all those false imaginations out of the hearts of the people, which the malice of ill men had industriously infused into them, of he knew not what jealousies and grievances: for he must tell them again, and he was sure he was in the right, that the people had never so little cause to complain of oppression and grievances, as they had since his return to them. If the taxes and impositions were grievous and heavy upon them, they would put them in mind, that a war with such powerful enemies could not be maintained without taxes; and he was sure the money raised thereby came not into his purse." He concluded with promising himself good effects from their affections and wisdoms, wherever they were: and he did hope they should all meet again of one mind, for his honour, and the good of the kingdom." And so they were prorogued to the tenth day of October next.

And now the king had very much to do, more than he had time or tools to despatch. Yet he began first where the parliament left off, that when they came again together, they might have no cause to say, that he had not performed what he had promised, and so with the same passion renew their clamour upon the accounts, which was made now a very popular complaint; and whoever was accused of obstructing that examination, was presently concluded to have had a share in the prey. Yet he was not willing that such a strict account or examination should be made, especially into the receipt of the lord Ashley for the prizes, that all the world should know what money had been issued out by his own immediate orders, and to whom. Hereupon he commanded his attorney and solicitor general to prepare a commission, with all necessary clauses, to call all persons to account who had received any such monies, and to examine and take any exception to the same.

And that there might be no just exception to the commission, which he knew would be strictly looked into, they were required "to advise with all or any of the judges, that it might have their approbation; and that there should be a clause in the commission, whereby the commissioners should be authorized to call any of the judges to their assistance, when upon any matters of difficulty they should think it necessary." And that there might be no exception to any of the commissioners, as like to be partial in respect of friendship or alliance to any of those who were to be called before them, his majesty appointed all those persons, who were nominated for commissioners in the bill sent to the house of lords by the commons, to be inserted into this commission; and likewise made choice of such a number of the peers as was fit, to be joined to the others, and named those who had upon all debates in the house appeared most solicitous, that a very exact account should be required, and of such others



who had no relation to the court, and were looked upon with the most esteem by the house of commons: all which was prepared with the expedition that was possible, and the commission sealed; and notice given to all the commissioners, that they should meet at a place appointed; upon a day named, presently after Easter, by which time the judges would be returned out of their circuits; and they were then at liberty to adjourn to what place they pleased.

We are now to enter upon the occurrences of the year 1667, a year little more prosperous to the public than the year preceding, and fatal in respect of many calamitous accidents to the chancellor, and which put a period to his greatness; the circumstances whereof, very notorious, were so interwoven with the public transactions of state, that it is not easy to make a distinct and clear relation of the one without the other.

The temper the parliament had been in, and the delay they had used in giving the king any supply towards the carrying on the war, made the king discern that he had been too confident of their generosity, and that they had already departed from that spirit with which they first had persuaded him to enter into that war: and it was as evident (which had been often foretold to him) that the Dutch could endure being beaten longer than he could endure to beat them. They were now relieved and supplied with the money of France, and the governing party had subdued all contradictions; and whatever their affections were, all compliance and submission appeared to the commands of the state; and there wanted nothing but the season of the year to carry their fleet again to sea, as great and as well provided as it had ever been. All murmuring was transplanted from thence into England, where it grew up plentifully: and the king was, upon the credit of an act of parliament that was passed on the eighth of February, to provide a fleet ready to encounter with the potent enemies in the spring. There was no trade by sea, and therefore could not be much by land, that could bring any benefit to the king; and the seamen ran all to the privateers, who adventured for booty, which they preferred before serving in the royal navy.

The king in these straits called that council together with whom he used to consult his most secret affairs; and the chief officers at sea, and the commissioners of the navy, attended to give such information as was necessary before any resolution could be taken. There the whole state of the navy [was inquired into]; what was in the stores, and what the defects or deficiencies were, and what hopes there were of supplying them; what ships were ready, and what would be made ready in three months. The victualler was sent for, to give an account what provision of victuals was ready, and what could be provided and put on board in the same time, which was the utmost that could be limited. Every officer protested, "that there could not be the least [attempt] towards any preparations without a good sum of ready money:" and the yards were in that necessity by reason of the great arrear of wages that was due to them, that they were near a mutiny, and could not be kept to their work, being necessitated to do any work abroad to get victual for their families. The inferior officers, which

belonged to the stores, lived by stealing and selling what they were intrusted to keep. In short, all things were presented to be in that confusion, that there appeared no probability of being able to set out any fleet before the enemy would be so strong upon the coast, that it would be very difficult to make a conjunction between those ships which were in the river, and the other which were at Portsmouth and in other ports.

This desperate representation did not make the king take a sudden resolution: but the same council met many days morning and evening. All ways were thought upon which might administer hope to get any money; and considerations were entered upon what was to be done in case a fleet could not be provided fit to engage the enemy, and which way a defensive war was to be made at sea, and how the trade should be secured, and the coast and harbours be so preserved, that the enemy might do no affront at land; for every day brought loose and ungrounded intelligence of bodies of horse and foot, drawn in France to the sea-side in many places upon that large coast, and likewise in Holland, and great provision of flatbottoms, as if they intended to make some descent; which kind of rumours exceedingly discomposed the common people, though they who understood the expeditions of that nature, and with what difficulty land armies were transported, were not moved by those reports. After all expedients were considered and well weighed, his majesty found cause to despair of being able to set out in any time a fleet equal to the occasion, and so contracted his thoughts to the other part, for the defensive.

There is a point of land on the Kentish coast that extends itself into the sea, and at the very entrance of the river, where the king had often thought and discoursed of erecting a royal fort, that would both preserve the coast, and likewise be a great security to the river: and the prosecuting this design was in this consultation thought of great importance, and the erecting another fort in another place, and repairing and strengthening Landguard Point upon the coast of Essex and Suffolk.

For preparations for the sea, it was thought fit and enough, "that a good squadron of light frigates should ride on the coast of Scotland, and another of the same strength lie off Plymouth, both which should intercept the trade of Holland both outward and inward, if they did not maintain it with strong convoys, which would break their fleet; and in those cases the frigates would easily retire to their harbours. That some frigates should be always in the Downs, to chase picaroons from infesting the coast, and to observe and get intelligence of the enemies' motion, and upon occasion should retire up the river. That there should be some of the greatest ships at Chatham, Portsmouth, and other places, prepared and put in readiness against the end of summer, before which time money might be provided: and then the enemies' fleet being weary and foul, it might be presumed the French would return early into their own ports, which were so far off; and then the frigates from the west and the north might find the way to join with the great ships, which should be ready against that time, and



"either fight the Dutch if they should choose it, or infest their coast more than they had done this, and take all their ships homeward bound from all places, which, upon the fame of their being masters of the sea all the summer, would repair home without apprehension of an enemy." And there were some officers of great experience at sea, who, being called by the king to advise upon this project, declared with confidence, "that the Dutch would be greater losers by the war thus conducted the next summer, than they had been in any year since the war begun."

For the security of trade, it was declared, "that there was no possible way to secure it but by restraining it, and not suffering any merchants' ships to go to sea, and by giving them advice to send to all their factors and correspondents, that they should send no goods home till they received new orders:" which restraint some were against, "both because it would have an ill reception with the people, when they should find that a war, which had been entered into for the enlargement and advancement of trade, had produced a cessation of all trade; and it would appear very hard that men, who had laid out their own stocks and were willing to venture them, should be forbid and hindered from sending them to those markets for which they had provided them, and which would turn to little less loss to them than they should incur by their being taken by the enemy. Then it would be, not a discouragement but a dissipation of the seamen, who, if they could have no employment in the king's ships or in the merchant ships, would be scattered abroad to seek their fortune, that they would not be brought together when the king had occasion for their service. In the last [place]; that the giving this order for restraint, and advice to the merchants to inform their factors and correspondents, would be, and could not choose but be, an absolute publication of this resolution of the king to send out no fleet in the spring; which was yet agreed to be the highest secret."

All these reasons were temperately weighed and answered, "that it could not be unreasonable or unjust to hinder men from doing themselves harm: the king could not take their goods from them to his own use; but he might lawfully hinder them from spoiling or destroying the goods that were their own. That their being taken by the enemy (which would be unavoidable) concerned the king and the kingdom little less than it did the private owners: it would increase the insolence and the wealth of the enemy, and reflect upon his majesty's honour as well as impoverish his subjects; and the difference would be very great between losing their goods, and keeping them upon their hands for a better market. For the dissipation of the seamen, there would no great danger be of that: the squadrons on the western and the northern coasts, which must be very well manned, would entertain good numbers; and the rest would put themselves on board the privateers, who should be all bound to come home against the time the king would have occasion for their service, and then the privateers should be restrained as now the merchants. For the keeping the present resolution

"secret, which would by this means be published, it were to be desired that it might remain a secret as long as should be possible: but as discerning men would easily discover it, and could not but already know that it was impossible for the king in time to set out a ship, so it would quickly be evident to all the world; and the secret was not to be affected longer than it could be concealed."

There was another inconvenience or mischief that was in view, that would come like an armed man upon the city, which was want of fuel, especially the want of coals from Newcastle, of which there had been a vast quantity consumed in the late fire, which had likewise consumed those houses and chimneys which should be supplied; yet the people remained still, and were not like to be much the warmer for being crowded closer together. But to that there could be no other remedy applied, but the sending both orders to Newcastle to employ all their ships, and all they could procure, in sending as much coal as was possible to London and the towns adjacent, before the enemy's fleet could put to sea: and convoys were assigned too strong for their privateers or small parties of their men [of war]: and the king gave two or three vessels of his own, and likewise money, to fetch coals, that the poor might have them at the rates they cost; and directed the city to do the same. All which produced some good effect.

Upon the whole matter, and thorough examination of the whole, the king concluded upon all the particulars mentioned before, assigning proper persons to supervise every particular, that all should be executed in time that was agreed upon. The duke issued out all his orders to the ships, with which sir William Coventry was charged, whose office it was: and the king would charge himself with that which was most important, the fortification at Sheerness; whither his majesty made a journey in the cold and depth of winter, and took an engineer and some officers of the ordnance with him, that all things might be supplied from thence which belonged to that office. He caused master-workmen to be sent from London, and drew common labourers enough out of the country, having provided money to pay them. And after all things were in this order, and he had seen the work begun, he left the master-engineer, whom he designed to be the governor of the fort, for which he was very equal, upon the place; and committed the overlooking of the whole, that all possible expedition might be used, to one of the commissioners of the ordnance, who promised to look carefully to it: and his majesty returned to London, when in the opinion of all his servants he had stayed too long in such a season, and such an air, to the danger of his health. How all those resolutions and orders were executed afterwards, or complied with, must unavoidably be mentioned in its place.

It cannot be imagined by any man who in any degree knew him, that the chancellor, though he was present, could have any part in these resolutions but the submitting to them; every particular being so much [out] of his sphere, that he never pretended to understand what was fit and reasonable to be done: nor throughout the whole conduct of the war was he ever known to presume to give an advice; but presuming that all whose

profession it was advised what was fit, he readily concurred. And he did always declare, "that in this last consultation all points were so fully debated; and that there was so concurrent an opinion in the commanders of the ships, and the officers of the navy, with the approbation of the duke of York, prince Rupert, and the general, that it was not possible to set out a fleet in time equal to that of the enemy, to engage with it; and that the next best would be to stand upon the defensive in the manner proposed: [that] it did not appear to him, that there was any election left but to pursue that course," which he did believe very reasonably proposed and resolved upon; nor did any thing occur to him, why very much good might not be hoped from it, he being so totally unskilful in the knowledge of the coast and the river, that he knew not where Sheerness was, nor had ever heard of the name of such a place till this last discourse, nor had ever been upon any part of the river with any other thought about him, than to get on shore as soon as could be possible.

The king had not himself thought of this defensive way, but approved it very much when he heard it so fully discussed, and in which himself had proposed all his doubts, which no man raised more pertinently in arguments of that nature than his majesty; and it may be he liked it the better, because at that time, as he was heartily weary of the war, so he was not without a reasonable hope of peace, which he resolved to cherish, as he told the parliament at parting he would do. The grounds of which hope, and the progress thereupon, the entering upon a treaty, and the conclusion thereof, will be the discourse and relation we shall next enter upon.

How ill success soever had attended the negotiation of Denmark by the irresolution and unsteadiness of that court, Mr. Coventry had conducted what had been committed to him with very good effect in Sweden. And after he had disposed that court (where he had rendered himself extremely acceptable) to a just esteem of the king's friendship, and an equal aversion to the Hollander, and concluded such articles as were for the present and joint convenience and benefit of both nations, and prepared them to be willing to enter into a stricter and nearer alliance, and to that purpose to send ambassadors into England, where they had an agent; he returned to give his majesty an account and information of the constitution and temper of that court, and of the nature and disposition of the two ambassadors who were to attend his majesty, who were chosen before he left Stockholm, and resolved to embark within ten days: which they did, and arrived about the time, or soon after, that the city was so miserably destroyed by fire; which was the less favourable conjuncture, not so much by the influence that dreadful distraction and damage was like to have upon the vigorous carrying on the war, as by the ill humour which the parliament shortly after appeared to be in, and their manifest obstinacy against the king's desires; which was a temper very different from what they expected to have found, and what they had been informed had possessed them from the time of his majesty's return. Nor was this manifest indisposition without some unhappy impression upon the spirits of the ambassadors, and that alacrity they brought

with them presently to enter into a treaty, and conjunction of forces against the common enemy.

It was manifest enough, that the crown of Sweden was weary of the obligations they had been long bound in to France, which had superciliously neglected of late to comply with what was on their part to be performed; and rather endeavoured to make alliances with Denmark, and the lesser neighbour princes, as those of the house of Brunswick and Lunenburg, to their disadvantage, than to consider that crown which had been so useful to them, as if their friendship was so considerable to them. Nor was this out of a real disesteem of them; but that they might bind them to a faster dependance upon them, and that they might not be severed from their interest, whatsoever they should declare it to be. And therefore, when it was first suspected that they might be inclined to England, and that Holland apprehended that they might be induced to make a conjunction with the bishop of Munster, France (as hath been touched before) sent their ambassador Pomponne into Sweden, with a full year's salary of what was in arrear, much more still remaining due, and to incline that crown to a neutrality between the English and the Dutch; in which he found Mr. Coventry had prevented him, and though he had not then the character of ambassador, he was much better respected there than he was. And as they would have joined with the bishop of Munster, if he had advanced according to his pretence, or had not been absolutely taken off by France; so, when he was diverted from his purpose, they were the more inclined to make a firm alliance with England, and thereby such a further conjunction with other princes, protestant or catholic, that might give some check to the impetuous humour of France, which they now were as jealous of, and of their overflowing all the banks which belonged to their neighbours, as they had been formerly of the house of Austria; and for the same reason were as desirous to retire from any dependance upon or relation to that crown, as they had been formerly of its protection; and were very well prepared to change their alliance, and, if they might not be losers by it, to make a conjunction with Germany and the house of Austria, into which it was reasonable to be presumed that the United Provinces would be glad to be received upon moderate conditions when a peace should be made with England.

And this was the prospect that had been presented to them by Mr. Coventry, and upon view of which they now sent their ambassadors, without being terrified by the declaration of France on the behalf of the Dutch; and with a resolution, if they could not persuade Holland to separate from that conjunction, and make a peace apart with the king, (which they laboured by their ambassador the count of Dhona to the States,) to join their interest frankly to that of his majesty, and to run the hazard and expect the issue and event of the war.

The two ambassadors were Flemming and Coyet, both senators in the great council of Sweden, and men of prime authority there: the former of the greater place and esteem, being a nobleman of an ancient and noble extraction of a family in Scotland, that had lived through many descents in Sweden in great employment and lustre; and this man never dissembled a particular devotion

to the king, and for that reason principally was designed to this negociation. The other was not so well born or bred, or of so cheerful a complexion, but a more thinking and melancholic man, more conversant in books, and more versed in the course and forms of business; and by his own virtue and humble industry had from a mean and low birth, which in those northern kingdoms is the highest disadvantage, by degrees ascended to the degree of a senator, which is the chiefest qualification; and had gotten his first credit and reputation by a negociation he was intrusted with in Holland, and a treaty well managed by him there: which made him liable in that court to be much inclined to the Dutch, and to have some particular friendship with De Wit, they having studied together in Leyden when they were young; and their familiarity after was improved to a good correspondence in that negociation in Holland.

This being well known and commonly spoken of there, Mr. Coventry endeavoured to prevent his designation to that employment, by speaking to the chancellor of that kingdom, who always received him with open arms, and gave good testimony of his hearty and passionate desire of a firm conjunction between the two crowns; and, though he was of a French extraction, had a full jealousy of the want of sincerity and justice of that nation. When he discovered the apprehension Mr. Coventry had, he persuaded him to acquiesce in his judgment rather than to credit common rumour: "that he well knew both, and had contributed to the election of both, who were very fit to be joined together in an employment of this nature, the gaiety and warmth of the one standing in need sometimes of the phlegm of the other, who would yet pay that reverence to him that was due to his superior quality; and that he was too good a Swede to have inclinations to the Dutch, how much conversation soever he had with them. In a word, he would pass his word;" which put an end to all further doubts: and it was well enough known, that he had been raised by and was a creature of the chancellor.

And in truth, from the time of their arrival in England he carried himself very fairly, and without any visible inclination to the Dutch, and much less to the French; and they both very frankly declared to those of the king's ministers with whom they conferred with intimacy, "that that crown would gladly be separated from them, if a good expedient might be found to make them no losers by it." Yet it is as true, that after they had been some months in England, and saw in how ill a posture the king was for the carrying on the war, and how far the parliament was from giving money, or from any reasonable compliance with his majesty's desires, Coyet did not concur with the same warmth in his despatches, with Flemming, into Sweden; but writ apart to the ministers there, "that they must take new measures, and not depend upon a conjunction with England, to which, how well soever the king was inclined, he would not be able to bear the part they expected, by reason that he had no power with the parliament;" which letters his majesty's agent then in Sweden had a sight of: which produced no other effect there, but, that if they saw that either the king was inclined to a peace, or would be reduced to a necessity to treat,

the ambassadors should offer in the name of their master his interposition, which their ministers in France and Holland should then likewise make proffer of, upon advertisement first from them, but with a secret assurance to the king, "that if a treaty should not take effect," (which it could hardly be believed it would do), "the crown of Sweden would firmly unite itself to his majesty's interest, and engage in the war with him;" which it was evident they were more inclined to, than to a peace in which France might be comprehended. But that which they most desired was, that a peace might be made with the Dutch without comprehending France, in which they would willingly enter, which would draw Spain and all the princes of Germany to desire to be admitted for their own security.

The Conde of Molina was ambassador from Spain, near the king, a man rather sincere than subtle, and so had the more need of the advice and assistance of the baron of Isola, who was, under the title of envoy from the emperor, entirely trusted and supported (as most of the emperor's ministers were) by the king of Spain; who being a Burgundian, born in those parts which remain subject to Spain, had an implacable hatred to the French; and by the employments he had undergone in Italy and other places, where he had been ambassador, had made himself so considerable, that he was become notoriously odious to the French, and was a man of great experience and very subtle parts. Both those ministers did heartily wish a peace between England and Holland, with the exclusion of France: but if that could not be, they had much rather the war should continue as it was, than that France should be comprehended in the peace; for which they had some reason. For at this time the king of Spain died, which they had too many reasons to believe would put an end to the quiet of Flanders; and therefore would be glad that they might have the assistance of England for their defence, and in which Holland could not think itself unconcerned. The probability of this, and the constant intelligence they received from the Hague, "that there were already jealousies grown up between the French and the Dutch," persuaded them, and they endeavoured to persuade the king, "that Holland might be now induced to treat by themselves; or if they could not do that, but must proceed jointly with France, they would upon assurance of the king's affection sever themselves from them, if they insisted upon any thing that was not for the joint benefit of all." The king left them to do what they thought fit towards it, without undertaking any thing on his part until their fair intentions were discerned, and then to assure them of his majesty's inclinations to peace upon just and honourable conditions.

There is no doubt, there was a real jealousy and dissatisfaction between France and Holland at this time. The Dutch complained, "that the French had broken their promise with them no less this year than they had done the last: they had indeed declared and proclaimed a war, but they had done no acts of hostility; and whereas they were engaged that their fleet should have joined with theirs in the month of May, they had never been in view but at a great distance, and suffered the Dutch to fight so

"many days together without any help from them. And upon their renewed promise, they had again carried out their fleet to meet with them in August; when they failed again, and left them exposed to the whole English fleet: so that they were compelled with some loss to get again into their harbours." And now they had a real apprehension, that they might treat with England apart, and leave them to support the war at sea by themselves, whilst they pursued their expedition against Flanders upon the death of the king of Spain.

On the other side, France as much complained of the proceedings of the Dutch: "that after they had received a great sum of money from them, without which they could not have set out their fleet, they no more cared for a conjunction with their ships, nor went to that length at sea which they were bound to; to join with them; which they might have done, if they had continued their course when they put to sea in the beginning of June. Instead of which they went over to the coast of England to find the English, confessing thereby, that they had no need of the assistance of the French ships; but leaving [them] to shift for themselves. And afterwards, in the end of August, they came not to the place they had promised to have done; by reason of which neglect and breach of faith, if a singular act of Providence had not prevented it, their whole fleet had fallen into the hands of the English, as some part of it did." But that which made them likewise willing that this war should be at an end was, that now, the king of Spain being dead, they might enter upon a war with Spain; towards which they prepared manifestos to publish upon the matter of their right, and already prepared levies of men, of which they could pretend no other use: yet they professed to the Spanish ambassador to have no such design in their purposes. However, they would not enter upon any treaty apart without the Dutch: nor would De Wit, who entirely governed the councils of Holland, be induced to consent to any overtures made to separate, before or in the treaty, from France; but informed me of whatsoever was proposed by the baron of Isola, or the Spaniard, or any other person, to that purpose, and enlarged upon that information more than was true, to endear his own punctuality.

The mother of the king was then at Paris, having chosen rather to reside there than in England, since she saw the resolution of a war between them, and desired nothing more than to be an instrument in the composing those differences, which she thought were not good for either of the crowns; and found now another style in that court than it had used to discourse in, and from the time of the news of the death of the king of Spain, that the French king had spoken as if he wished a peace with England: whereupon, about the time when the parliament was prorogued, the earl of St. Alban's came to London, as to look to the queen's affairs, of which he was the great intendant. He informed the king "of the good temper the French court was in, and that he was confident, if his majesty would make any advance towards it, the queen would be able to dispose that king to hearken to it, and to be a mediator between England and Holland; and

"either to draw them to consent to what was just, or to separate from them: and he thought it very reasonable, that the conditions should be referred to the king of France, who he was sure, upon such a trust, would be very careful of the king's honour and interest." He professed "to have no authority for any thing he proposed, from the French king or any of his ministers, but from the queen's conjectures and his own observation: and if the king would give him a commission, he would presently return, and would not be known to have any powers, till he should find such a conjuncture to own it, as [that] the peace should be concluded before there should be any discourse of a treaty, (which he knew the French most desired,) lest Spain might interpose to perplex or delay it." And therefore he proposed, "that he might carry instructions with him, upon what conditions the king would be willing that a peace should be established." His majesty was resolved never to make the French king arbitrator of the conditions of the peace, nor that it should be treated at Paris; and most of all, that the earl of St. Alban's should not have any power to treat, "who," the king always used to say, "was more a French than an English man:" and he likewise resolved, "that no overture should be made towards peace in his name."

Whilst this was in suspense, the earl received letters from Paris, in which he was advised "to return thither with power to treat, and with information what conditions the king expected; for that his most Christian majesty had so prepared the Dutch, that he should have present power to treat and conclude; and so all things might be settled before the formality of a treaty should be entered into or heard of." This did not alter the king's resolution against authorizing the earl to treat, or making Paris the place of the treaty. But because the letters were written by monsieur Ruvigny, who was a person well known to the king, and of whom he had a good opinion, and whom he well knew to be too wary a man to write in that manner without having good authority to do so; his majesty was contented "that the earl should make haste to Paris; and if he found by Ruvigny that what they proposed was really desired, he should undertake to know that the king was very well inclined to peace, and that himself would willingly confer with any body he would carry him to; and whatsoever should be proposed, he would with all possible expedition transmit it to the king:" with this further direction, "that if he were satisfied that their intentions were real, which the alterations in their own affairs made probable, he should endeavour, by the queen or Ruvigny, to discover whether it would not be possible to persuade that king to treat apart and exclude Holland; and if it appeared to him that was not to be hoped, that at least his majesty would think it reasonable, that the Dutch should restore whatsoever fort or other place they had taken upon the coast of Guinea, and likewise pay a good sum of money to the king towards the charge of the war."

The earl of St. Alban's had no mind to return with no larger a commission, and pretended to know "that this was not the way to advance a treaty, and that he could as well write what the

"king directed, and know again by letter what they thought of it; and therefore he would stay and despatch the business which the queen sent him about, before he would return." But when he saw the king was contented he should stay, rather than have nothing to do in the treaty, he chose to be at the beginning of it, and thought he should not be afterwards left out; and so offered the king to depart without further delay.

The king had from the beginning informed the chancellor of all that the earl had said to him from his arrival: and when he had received those letters from Ruvigny, he sent him to shew them to him; and himself came presently whilst the earl was there, and directed him to prepare the instructions for him, which the earl likewise desired he might do. The chancellor very well knew, that his credit with the king was much lessened, and that of the lord Arlington much increased, who did not like that he should meddle in the affairs proper to his office: besides he had no mind to be intrusted in the transactions with France, of whose want of faith he had too much experience; which would neither be grateful to the queen mother nor to the earl. And therefore he very earnestly besought the king, "that, it being the lord Arlington's province, all those despatches might pass through his hands." The king said, "that he knew the lord Arlington desired his help, and that he should prepare all those despatches," which he required him to do: and the earl of St. Alban's seemed very much to desire, "that not only his instructions might be prepared by him, but that he might always receive his majesty's pleasure signified by him, upon any material point that should arise;" which the king promised him he should do. Upon which the other, who durst not decline those commands he was so unwilling to obey, humbly desired his majesty, "that the whole matter might be first communicated to that committee of the council, with which he consulted his most secret affairs; and that the earl of St. Alban's might be present at the debate; and that whatever he should be appointed to put into writing might be perused at that board, and if it required his majesty's signature, it should be presented to him by the secretary:" all which his majesty consented to. And all being done according to what is mentioned before, the earl departed for France.

It is very true, there was yet no visible alteration in the king's confidence towards the chancellor with reference to his business, in which his majesty had no reserve, and spent as much time with him, and vouchsafed as often to go to his house, as he had ever used to do. But when he offered to speak to him of other matters, as he could not forbear to do, which he thought concerned him more than his most public transactions; he found his countenance presently shut, no attention, and no answer, or such a one as shewed he was not pleased: and he took all occasions to make others see, that he was advised only by him in what immediately related to his business, and not more in that than by other men.

When the earl came to Paris, he found the French less upon their guard than he expected: and the king himself frankly expressed himself "to wish an end of this war, and that he might be possessed of the king's friendship, which he

"valued exceedingly;" and referred to monsieur Lionne, "who," his majesty said, "was prepared to speak to him." Monsieur de Lionne kept himself within generals, "of the benefit that England would receive by a peace, which made his Christian majesty desire to promote it, and never more to depart from his friendship. That he was obliged in honour now not to quit the Dutch, having entered into a treaty with them when he had no imagination that there would be a war between them and England; that he had been often sorry for it, and had given them just occasion to complain, that he forbore longer than he ought to have done to give them help: and therefore he could not now leave them to themselves, except they were obstinate, and refused to make peace upon just conditions; and then he would renounce them." But when he found that the earl had no power, and that he talked of money to be given for the charge of the war, and expected to have particular overtures to send to the king; he brake off the discourse till he could confer with his master.

Within two or three days monsieur de Lionne visited the earl, and told him, "that if any thing were to be done towards a peace, there must be no time lost: it was yet in the power of the most Christian king to bring it to pass upon just and honourable terms; but he knew not how long it would continue in his power; for he confessed the Dutch took themselves to be so much behindhand, that they had no mind to peace, believing they had now advantage. That it was never heard of, that after a war between two nations, upon the making peace, either side consented to pay the charge of the war: therefore any expectation of that, or but mention of it, would shut the door against any treaty." He gave two papers to him to send to the king, both under his own hand, which his majesty had the choice of, and which the Dutch would consent to; "but if [that] should be required, the treaty was at an end before it was begun, and the sword must determine it."

One of the papers contained an equivalent, of which his majesty might make his choice; whether "all things should continue in the state and posture in which they were at present, either side enjoying what they had got, and sustaining what they had lost, and so all things to remain as they were before the war;" or, "that a true and just computation should be made of the losses on both sides, and they who were found to have received most damage should be repaid at the charge of the other." The other paper was, "that if his majesty approved of either of these expedients, he should himself make choice of the place where the treaty should be, whither all parties should send their ambassadors:" but then the French king desired, "that his majesty would not make choice of any place in the king of Spain's dominions;" and the Dutch ambassador there had nominated Cologne or Francfort or Hamburg. And the earl of St. Alban's immediately sent away an express with those two papers to the king, upon receipt whereof the council were summoned.

There was no hope of money, which some, not reasonably, had expected should be paid whenever a peace should be made; and it had been mentioned in Holland as a thing they expected should

be propounded, it may be, that it might be propounded and rejected. Then the despatch of whatsoever should be agreed concerned the king very much, that the Dutch might not put to sea, nor discover that the king had no fleet to set out; for the spring was not yet come, though approaching. There appeared little difficulty in the choice of the equivalent, for the English had taken much more from the Dutch than they had taken from England; and the other computation would be endless, and liable to very difficult examinations: so that by an unanimous advice the king resolved to choose the first equivalent.

But then the place for the treaty was not so easy to be chosen. The most natural had been Brussels, Antwerp, or some other large city in Flanders, which were all neutral places, and to which all parties might repair with the same ease and security. Whereas all the places mentioned in Germany were at so great a distance, that the summer would be far entered into, and so, many acts of hostility pass, before the ambassadors could meet; and the English must pass through the enemy's country thither: therefore there could be no thought of any of those places. Then the king of France had taken upon him to exclude Flanders, which he had no power to do, and it was as desirable to the Dutch as to the king: and therefore it was thought reasonable, that the king should insist upon some good town there, of which there was choice enough; and if Holland should approve it, France could not reject it. But on the other hand it was clearly discerned, that France would never send ambassadors into a country which he meant at the same time to invade; and that his majesty knew very well to be the intention, and the ground of that king's desiring the peace, which it was plain enough the Dutch did not desire, and were only drawn to consent to a treaty by the positive demand of France, which they durst not contradict: and therefore it concerned the king to preserve that good disposition, and that the French ambassadors might come fully instructed to concur with the English in what should be just, and prevent any insolent carriage of the Dutch, or the Dane, who was likewise to have his ambassadors upon the place.

Upon those reasons the express returned with his majesty's consent and election of the first equivalent, and "that as soon as he should know that the Dutch had consented to it, his majesty would propose some equal place for the treaty." And as soon as the express was despatched, his majesty entered upon the debate of a fit place for the treaty; and said, "that he had a proposition then made to him by sir William Coventry, that was of such a nature as much surprised him, as he believed it would the lords; yet he had not thought enough to dislike or condemn it:" and so bade the other to propose it. He, with some short apology which he did not use to make, said, "that he perceived there would be little less difficulty in agreeing upon a place for the treaty than upon any doubts which might arise in it; for if the king of France was to be gratified in the exclusion of Flanders, it would be very inconvenient to oblige the king to send into Germany, which by the great delay would deprive the king of the greatest benefit he expected from the treaty; the speedy de-

spatch whereof would be attended with the greatest conveniences: therefore he had proposed to the king, that he would immediately write to the States General without acquainting France with it, and offer to send his ambassadors to treat the peace at the Hague, that it might be speedily concluded, which would otherwise take up much time in sending for any resolution to the States upon what should arise. If they consented to it, it would probably be attended with success, the general affection of the people being well known to desire peace: and if they refused it, the world would conclude that they would have no peace, when they would not treat about it; and that his majesty would never have done them the honour to have sent his ambassadors home to them, if he had intended to deny any thing that was reasonable to them."

It was very new, and thought of by nobody but the lord Arlington [and sir William Coventry], who had communicated it together; and the objection of the condescension that it would seem to most men, as if the king sent to beg a peace at their own doors, was obvious to all men: but that would have been an objection against admitting it to have been at Paris. But the States not [being] upon any level that pretended to an equality, the probable convenience or benefit that might attend it was only to be considered; and the affection and desire of the people generally to peace was so notorious, that there was reason to believe that they would not be willing that a treaty begun amongst them should end but with effect: and therefore it was unanimously agreed, that the advice should be pursued. But then it was a new doubt, how the message or overture or letter, for the form was not yet thought of, should be conveyed; for the sending a trumpet or express had much more of application than the thing itself: and it was to be wished, that it might be gone out of the king's hands before the answer could come from Paris, lest new instance should be made for a particular place.

It was at last resolved, that the Swedes ambassadors (both France and Holland having accepted the mediation of that crown) should be consulted with, to engage their minister at the Hague to deliver [it] to the States General; for there was some apprehension, that if De Wit knew of it, it might be considered only by that committee which was deputed for that affair, and never be brought to the States: and the adjusting all that was commended to the chancellor, who presently sent for the ambassadors, and found them very ready to perform any office which might bring them upon the stage in the treaty. And upon communication together, they were willing to send a servant of their own to the Hague, who should deliver to their ambassador the king's message to the States General, as an effect of their mediation and credit with the king. And so it was delivered, not in the form of a letter, but of a message in the third person to the States General, signed by the king and under the signet; and the ambassadors sent a gentleman in post with it.

But within two days a new alarm comes from France; and all that was done proved to be to no purpose. When they received the king's answer, they could not but acknowledge that it was as fair as they could expect; and monsieur de Lionne

shewed it as such to the Dutch ambassador, who finding that he was satisfied with it, and by him, that the king was so too, fell into much passion, and declared, "that it was not according to the consent he had given to the king and to monsieur de Lionne; and that he must protest against any treaty to be entered into upon this declaration." He put him then in mind, "that he had informed the king, in his presence, that there was an article in the late treaty between England and Holland, by which they were obliged to deliver up the island of Poleroone in the East Indies to the East India company of London, which they had formerly consented to with Cromwell, but had neither delivered it then nor yet, and were resolved rather to continue the war than to part with it; which he had declared, when with reference to all other things he consented to the alternative: and if the king would [not] release that article of the former treaty, his masters would not enter upon any new."

Whether this was true or no cannot be known. But monsieur de Lionne came in great disorder to the lord of St. Alban's, and told him all that the ambassador had said, and confessed it "to be very true, and that the king remembered it well, and promised that article should be released: but that he, not clearly understanding the delivery of it to be contained in a former treaty, and knowing it had been many years in the possession of the Dutch, and that it still remained so, thought it had been comprehended in the alternative, and forgot to insert it in the paper that was sent to the king, for which he asked a thousand pardons; and made it his suit to the king that he would yield to it, and that a treaty that was so necessary to the good of Christendom might not be extinguished upon his negligence and want of memory;" which was a strange excuse for a minister of his known sagacity.

The earl of St. Alban's refused to transmit any such tergiversation to the king, and said, "he knew the king would never consent to it; and that this manner of proceeding, after that his majesty had consented to what themselves proposed, would shut out all future confidence of their sincerity." Monsieur de Lionne was exceedingly troubled and out of countenance, as a man conscious to himself of a great oversight, and desired him, "that he would meet the Dutch ambassador at his lodging, that they might together endeavour to remove him from the obstinacy he professed;" which the earl was contented to do, and the ambassador, how unwillingly soever, was prevailed with to meet at the time appointed: but they were no sooner met, and monsieur de Lionne entered upon the argument of Poleroone, but the ambassador fell into a rude passion, and said, "the war should determine it." And when the earl of St. Alban's began to speak of the unreasonableness of the demand, and entered upon the foul manner in which they had first taken that island from the English, who were in possession of it; he told him, "that he had nothing to say to him," and used much other language unfit for the other to hear, and [which] he had returned with interest, if monsieur de Lionne had not interposed, and being very desirous the conference should end, the ambassador's insolence being not to be endured. And so

they parted, Lionne seeming very much offended; and he complained to the king, and the earl gave the account of all to his majesty.

The French king was no less surprised and offended when he heard what message the king had sent to the States, (which he was advertised of by an express from Holland,) than De Wit had been at the delivery of it, who presently knew the drift of it, and could not forbear to tell the States, "that the design was only to stir up the people against the magistrates, and indeed to make them the judges of the conditions of the peace:" and he knew well that the people generally were no friends to the East India company, (where himself had a great stock, and therefore would never consent that a treaty entered into should break only upon their interest; which likewise was the reason, why they had provided that that particular should be first consented to, before any treaty should be agreed upon. And hereupon he prevailed upon the States General forthwith to declare in the negative, "that the treaty should not be at the Hague." But at the same time, after the naming again of Cologne and Francfort, they added, "that if the king desired to do them the honour to appoint it in any place of their dominions, which they did not presume to propose, they should consent that it might be at Breda, or Maestricht," or a place or two that they named: and this was resolved before the people heard that the king had named the Hague, and wondered and murmured at their refusal.

The king of France took it ill, that at a time when he proceeded with so much openness, and had given the first rise to a treaty, and opened the door which the Hollander peevishly shut against it, by his own offering the alternative, which the king had so far approved as to make his election; he should at the same time, without communicating it to him, send this overture to the Hague: which troubled him the more, that it gave him matter of jealousy to apprehend, that there was some other underhand treaty that was concealed from him, and contrived by the baron of Isola, who he knew had been privately at the Hague, and had conference with De Wit. And the same imagination did more perplex the queen mother and the earl of St. Alban's, who looked upon this as a device to exclude them from having any share in the peace; the earl having digested the conclusion in his own breast, that in what place soever the treaty should be held, he should without doubt be intrusted in the managery of it. However the king could not own his part of the dislike, since his majesty might without any violation of friendship make the overture by message to the Hague, as well as to or by him: therefore he seemed to take no exception to it, and only sent the king word, "that he believed the Dutch would quickly discern, that this condescension in his majesty proceeded from some expectation of a party amongst the people to second it; and therefore he was confident they would never consent to treat at the Hague." But he proposed, "as the best way for expedition, that it might be at Dover," which he advised his majesty not to reject: "for if it were once begun there, it might possibly, and he would further it all he could, quickly be removed to Canterbury, and probably might be concluded in London."



But before this message arrived, the other new demand of Poleroone, with monsieur de Lionne's acknowledgment of the defect of his memory, and that he ought to have inserted it in the paper that contained the alternative, with all the excuses he made for it, was received; which seemed to put an end to all hopes of peace. The king was highly incensed, and looked upon it as an affront contrived by both parties to amuse him. Every body concluded, that there could be no safety in depending upon any thing that could be offered from France, when they could never be without as reasonable a pretence as they had at present, to disclaim or avoid any concession they had made in writing:—that the particular demanded could never be consented to by his majesty, without swerving from the common rules of justice, and the violation of his own honour:—that though it did not immediately concern his majesty in his own interest and the interest of the crown, which was an argument used in France for his majesty's not insisting upon it, it was however an unquestionable and a very considerable interest of his subjects, which he was in justice bound to maintain, and which in justice he had no power to release. It was an interest so valuable, that Cromwell had insisted upon it so resolutely, that they had consented to it as a principal article of the peace he made with them; by which he gained great reputation with the people. And his majesty had thought himself so much concerned in honour not to suffer his subjects to be deprived of that right which Cromwell had vindicated, (though by his death it came not to be executed,) that he would never consent to the treaty that had been concluded since his happy return, until they consented to and renewed the same article, and promised the redelivery of the said island to the English by such a day: and their having broken their faith in not delivering it according to the last treaty, and with very offensive circumstances, his majesty had declared to be a principal cause of the war, and made them unquestionably to appear the first aggressor. And in that respect, his honour could not receive a more mortal wound than in releasing that article, which concerned the estates of other men, and would in the opinion of the world draw the guilt of the war upon himself, or, which would be as bad, the reproach of having purchased a peace upon very dishonourable conditions to himself, at the charge and with the estates of his subjects.

Upon the whole, the king resolved rather to undergo the hazard of the war, upon what disadvantage soever, than to consent to a proposition so dishonourable: and a despatch was presently sent to the earl of St. Alban's, with a very lively resentment "of the indignity offered to the king "in receding from what was offered by themselves, and in asking what he was resolved "never to grant." And all were enjoined to review all that had been resolved for the war, and to give the utmost advancement to it that could be possible: and without doubt, if Spain had yet put itself into any posture to defend itself against the power that was even ready to invade it, and to act any part towards the support of a common interest, the king would hardly have been persuaded to have hearkened more to any propositions from France.

Notwithstanding all this, new overtures and

new importunities were sent from France. "It "was true, that the Dutch had always protested "against making a peace or consenting to a treaty "without the release of Poleroone; which his "Christian majesty had consented to, and could "not recede from it without their consent, though "the mention of it had been unfortunately "omitted by monsieur de Lionne: but his majesty promised and engaged his royal word, "that when the treaty should be entered into, he "would use all his credit and authority to persuade the States General to recede from their "obstinacy, and to make no alteration in the last "treaty; but that all things [should] remain as "had been settled by it. And if he could not "prevail with them to satisfy him therein, as he "did fear that there was upon their particular interest some peremptory resolution fixed, from "whence they would not be removed as to the "main; yet in that case he did in no degree despair of obliging them to give a considerable "sum of money for recompense thereof, which he "desired might satisfy the king, who would find "himself at much ease by it. And if the commissioners once met and the treaty was begun, "it would not be dissolved before a peace should be "concluded; and that the French ambassadors, as "soon as they met, should propose a cessation "from all acts of hostility, which he expected "should be as soon yielded to as proposed; and "that already they had promised that their fleet "should remain in their harbours till the middle "of May, before which time the treaty might well "begin." And from the present time the French king promised, "that no hostile act should be "done by him, and that his own fleet should not "stir out of their port; and that his ambassadors "should in all things behave themselves as his "majesty could wish, that particular only of "Poleroone [excepted], in which they should do "as he had promised."

The king had by this time had recourse to all the inventions and devices, which might yet enable him to set out a fleet that might be able to fight the enemy; but in vain. He found all men of the same opinion they had been, that he must be upon the defensive in the manner expressed before, and expect the end of the summer before he could draw his ships together; and that there was an universal impatience for peace: so that when the warmth of his indignation was a little remitted, he was very willing to hear any thing that might revive the hope of a treaty, when this last overture from Paris arrived; upon which he presently convened the council, that he might take a speedy resolution what he was to do, for he saw many conveniences might be lost by the not speedily entering upon the treaty, if it were to be entered upon at all. The protestation and promise of France to assist in all things, that particular only excepted, for his majesty's service, and his promise even in that, made him willing to believe that they might be real: the hope of recompense for it seemed little inferior to the redelivery of the island, and was an equal satisfaction to his majesty's honour. And it seemed the more probable to be compassed, in that De Wit in his private conference with the baron of Isola, in all his passion, in which he would not endure the mention of the delivery of Poleroone, and said, "that the States would perish before they would



"part with it," concluded, "that he would not say, that they might not be persuaded to give some recompense for it."

And many believed that the East India company, which was only concerned in the interest of it, would choose rather to receive a good recompense than the island itself, which was a barren, sandy soil, which yielded no fruit, but only nutmegs, which was the sole commodity it bore, and is a commodity of great value. But when they were bound to give it up to Cromwell, there had been immediate order sent to cut down all the trees upon the island; which order would be now again repeated: and so no less than seven years must expire before any fruit could be expected from thence. And it was so far from any English factory, and so near to the Dutch, that they would easily possess themselves of it again when they had a mind to it. And therefore if the company might have money, or such a quantity of nutmegs delivered to them, as might, besides being enough for the expense of England, bear a part in the foreign trade, (which had been mentioned by some merchants of that company,) it might be reasonably preferable to the island.

Whatsoever resolution should in the end be taken, this expedient of recompense gave a hint to a counsel that had not been yet thought of, which was to leave the business of Poleroone to the sole managery of the East India company, who should be advised to choose some members of their own, who should go over with the ambassadors, and receive all advice and assistance from them in the conduct of their pretences: and they would be the witnesses of what the king insisted upon on their behalf; and would likewise judge, if nothing prevented the peace but that interest, how far it should be insisted on.

The East India company was sent for, and were told "that the king had hope of a treaty for peace, which he presumed would be welcome to them: he heard that the greatest difficulty and obstruction that was like to arise would be concerning their interest in the island of Poleroone, which he was resolved never to abandon. But because he heard likewise that the Dutch did intend to offer a recompense rather than to restore the place, and that the recompense might be such as might be as agreeable to them, (of which he would not take upon him to judge, but leave it entirely to themselves,) he had given them this timely notice of it, that they might bethink themselves what was fit for them to do, upon a prospect of all that might probably occur; and that they might make choice of such persons amongst themselves, who best understood their affairs, to the end that when the treaty should be agreed upon and the place appointed, and his majesty had resolved what ambassadors he would send, (of all which they should have seasonable notice,) those persons elected by them as their commissioners [might] go over with the ambassadors; that when that point came into debate, and the Dutch should call some of their East India company to inform them, they likewise might be ready to advertise his ambassadors of whatsoever might advance their pretences: and if a recompense was to be considered, they might enter into that consultation with the other deputies; and that they should be sure to receive all the

advice and assistance from his ambassadors, that they could require or stand in need of." The company received this information from his majesty with all demonstration of duty and submission, giving humble thanks for his majesty's bounty and care of their interest; and said, "they would not fail to make choice of a committee to attend the ambassadors, when they should know it would be seasonable."

The king thought it now time to receive the advice of his whole council-board upon this affair, which had been hitherto only debated before the committee for foreign affairs: and so being assembled, an account was given of all that had passed, with all its circumstances, in France and in Holland, by the baron of Isola and by the Swedes ambassadors. And his majesty said thereupon, "that he had yet taken no resolution, and had been so provoked by the miscarriage of France, that he would have been glad to have put himself into a better posture, and not thought further of a treaty, till there should appear a more favourable conjuncture: but they now understood as much as he did, with reference to the state he was in both at home and abroad, and that he was resolved to follow their advice."

All the objections which had been foreseen before, and the considerations thereupon, were renewed and again debated: and in the end there was a general concurrence, "that his majesty should embrace the opportunity of a treaty; and if a reasonable peace could be obtained, it would be very grateful to the whole kingdom, that was weary of the war; and that his majesty should lose no time in returning such a despatch to Paris, as might bring on the treaty." And some of the lords proceeded so far as to declare, "that the consideration of Poleroone was not of that importance, nor could be thought so by the East India company themselves, as that the insisting upon it should deprive the kingdom of a peace that was so necessary for it." But the king thought the entering upon that argument was not yet seasonable: but he gave order for the despatch to be prepared for France.

There were two material points not yet determined, the first of which was fit to be inserted into the present despatch; which was the nomination of the place where the treaty should be. Some were of opinion, "that his majesty should [lay] hold of the overture that had been made from France, which was since likewise confirmed by Holland, that the treaty should be at Dover:" but they changed their minds, when they well considered that the same objections would be naturally made against Dover on the king's behalf, that had been made by the Dutch against the Hague; and that the people there, and less at Canterbury, were not incapable of any impressions, which the numerous trains of the French and the Dutch would be ready to imprint in them. In a word, there was much more fit to be considered upon that point, than is fit to be remembered. The conclusion was, "that Breda, which had been offered by the Dutch, should be the place the king would accept;" which was added to the despatch for Paris, and presently sent away.

The other matter undetermined of was the choice

of ambassadors, which had been never entered upon. The king had spoken with the chancellor, what persons would be fit to be employed in that negotiation, when the time should be ripe for it; and took notice, as he did frequently, of the small choice he had of men well acquainted with business of that nature: upon which he had named to the king the lord Hollis, who had been lately ambassador in France, and was in all respects equal to any business, and Mr. Henry Coventry of his bedchamber, who had shewed so great abilities in his late negotiation in Sweden. Upon the naming of whom his majesty said, "they were both very fit, and that he would think of no other:" so that when all other particulars were adjusted with reference to the treaty, the king, without further consulting it, declared, "that he intended to send those two his ambassadors for the treaty," before either of them knew or thought of the employment. And when his majesty told them of it, he bade them repair to the chancellor for their instructions. And this gave new thoughts of heart to the lord Arlington, who had designed himself and sir Thomas Clifford, who was newly made a privy counsellor and controller of the household upon the death of sir Hugh Pollard, for the performance of that service; and thought himself the better qualified for it by his late alliance in Holland, by his marriage with the daughter of monsieur Beverwaert, a natural son of prince Maurice. And this disappointment went very near him; though the other had not the least thought that he had any such thing in his heart, but advised it purely as the fittest persons who could be thought of; and their abilities, which were well thought of before, were very notorious in this negotiation.

The Swedish ambassadors, who were the only mediators, prepared likewise to go to the treaty, having agreed with the king, "that if the treaty should not produce a peace," of which they who hoped most were not confident, "that crown would immediately declare for the king, and unite itself to his interest both against the Dutch and the French;" their army at that time, being held the best in Europe, under the command of their general Wrangel, being near the States' dominions. And for the better confirming them in that disposition, the chancellor had brought the baron of Isola to a conference with the Swedes ambassadors, and begun that treaty between them which was shortly after finished, and known by the style of the Triple Alliance, that was the first act that detached the Swede from France: and for the present the king himself found means to supply the crown of Sweden with a sum of money for the support of their army.

All things being thus adjusted, and the place of the treaty being on all hands agreed to be Breda, and notice being sent from Paris, "that their ambassadors were departed from thence;" the king thought himself as much concerned in the expedition in respect of the cessation, which the French promised to obtain in the very entrance into the treaty; and it was now the month of May. And so his ambassadors were despatched, and arrived there before the middle of that month, with an equipage worthy their master who sent them.

There happened at this time an accident that made a fatal breach into the chancellor's fortune,

with a gap wide enough to let in all that ruin which soon after was poured upon him. The earl of Southampton, the treasurer, with whom he had an entire fast friendship, and who, when they were together, had credit enough with the king and at the board to prevent, at least to defer, any very unreasonable resolution, was now ready to expire with the stone; a disease that had kept him in great pain many months, and for which he had sent to Paris for a surgeon to be cut, but had deferred it too long by the physicians not agreeing what the disease was: so that at last he grew too weak to apply that remedy. They who had with so much industry, and as they thought certainty, prevailed with the king at Oxford to have removed him from that office, had never since intermitted the pursuing the design, and persuaded his majesty, "that his service had suffered exceedingly by his receding from his purpose;" and did not think their triumph notorious enough, if they suffered him to die in the office: insomuch as when he grew so weak, that it is true he could not sign any orders with his hand, which was four or five days before his death, they had again persuaded the king to send for the staff. But the chancellor again prevailed with him not to do so ungracious an act to a servant who had served him and his father so long and so eminently, to so little purpose as the ravishing an office unseasonably, which must within five or six days fall into his hands, as it did within less time, by his death.

He was a person of extraordinary parts, of faculties very discerning and a judgment very profound, great eloquence in his delivery, without the least affectation of words, for he always spake beat on the sudden. In the beginning of the troubles, he was looked upon amongst those lords who were least inclined to the court, and so most acceptable to the people: he was in truth not obliged by the court, and thought himself oppressed by it, which his great spirit could not bear; and so he had for some years forbore to be much seen there, which was imputed to a habit of melancholy, to which he was naturally inclined, though it appeared more in his countenance than in his conversation, which to those with whom he was acquainted was very cheerful.

The great friendship that had been between their fathers made many believe, that there was a confidence between the earl of Essex and him; which was true to that degree as could be between men of so different natures and understandings. And when they came to the parliament in the year 1640, they appeared both unsatisfied with the prudence and politics of the court, and were not reserved in declaring it, when the great officers were called in question for great transgressions in their several administrations: but in the prosecution there was great difference in their passions and their ends. The earl of Essex was a great lover of justice, and could not have been tempted to consent to the oppression of an innocent man: but in the discerning the several species of guilt, and in the proportioning the degrees of punishment to the degree of guilt, he had no faculties or measure of judging; nor was above the temptation of general prejudice, and it may be of particular disobligations and resentments, which proceeded from the weakness of his judgment, not the malice of his nature. The earl of

Southampton was not only an exact observer of justice, but so clear-sighted a discernor of all the circumstances which might disguise it, that no false or fraudulent colour could impose upon him; and of so sincere and impartial a judgment, that no prejudice to the person of any man made him less awake to his cause; but believed that there is "*aliquid et in hostem nefas*," and that a very ill man might be very unjustly dealt with.

This difference of faculties divided them quickly in the progress of those businesses, in the beginning whereof they were both of one mind. They both thought the crown had committed great excesses in the exercise of its power, which the one thought could not be otherwise prevented, than by being deprived of it: the consequence whereof the other too well understood, and that the absolute taking away that power that might do hurt, would likewise take away some of that which was necessary for the doing good; and that a monarch cannot be deprived of a fundamental right, without such a lasting wound to monarchy itself, that they who have most shelter from it and stand nearest to it, the nobility, could [not] continue long in their native strength, if the crown received a maim. Which if the earl of Essex had comprehended, who set as great a price upon nobility as any man living did, he could never have been wrought upon to have contributed to his own undoing; which the other knew was unavoidable, if the king were undone. So they were both satisfied that the earl of Strafford had countenanced some high proceedings, which could not be supported by any rules of justice, though the policy of Ireland, and the constant course observed in the government of Ireland, might have excused and justified many of the high proceedings with which he was reproached: and they who had now the advantage-ground, by being thought to be most solicitous for the liberty of the subject, and most vigilant that the same outrages might not be transplanted out of the other kingdom into this, looked upon him as having the strongest influence upon the counsels of England as well as governor of Ireland. Then he had declared himself so averse and irreconcilable to the sedition and rebellion of the Scots, that the whole nation had contracted so great an animosity against him, that less than his life could not secure them from the fears they had conceived of him: and this fury of theirs met with a full concurrence from those of the English, who could not compass their own ends without their help. And this combination too soon drew the earl of Essex, who had none of their ends, into their party, to satisfy his pride and his passion, in removing a man who seemed to have no regard for him; for the stories, which were then made of disobligations from the earl of Strafford towards the earl of Clanrickard, were without any foundation of truth.

The earl of Southampton, who had nothing of obligation, and somewhat of prejudice to some high acts of power which had been exercised by the earl of Strafford, was not unwilling that they should be so far looked into and examined, as might raise more caution and apprehension in men of great authority of the consequence of such excesses. But when he discerned irregular ways entered into to punish those irregularities, and which might be attended with as ill consequences, and that they intended to compound one great crime

out of several smaller trespasses, and, to use their own style, to complicate a treason out of misdemeanours, and so to take away his life for what he might be fined and imprisoned; he first dissuaded and then abhorred that exorbitance, and more abhorred it, when he found it passionately and maliciously resolved by a direct combination.

From this time he and the earl of Essex were perfectly divided and separated, and seldom afterwards concurred in the same opinion: but as he worthily and bravely stood in the gap in the defence of that great man's life, so he did afterwards oppose all those invasions, which were every day made by the house of commons upon the rights of the crown, or the privileges of the peers, which the lords were willing to sacrifice to the useful humour of the other. And by this means, whilst most of the king's servants listed themselves with the conspirators in promoting all things which were ingrateful to him, this lord, who had no relation to his service, was looked upon as a courtier; and by the strength of his reason gave such a check to their proceedings, that he became little less odious to them than the court itself; and so much the more odious, because as he was superior to their temptations, so his unquestionable integrity was out of their reach, and made him condemn their power as much as their malice.

He had all the detestation imaginable of the civil war, and discerned the dismal effects it would produce, more than most other men, which made him do all he could to prevent it. But when it could not be avoided, he made no scruple how to dispose of himself, but frankly declared for the king, who had a just sense of the service he had done him, and made him then both of his privy-council and gentleman of his bedchamber, without the least application or desire of his, and when most of those who were under both those relations had chosen, as the much stronger, the rebels' side: and his receiving those obligations at that present was known to proceed more from his duty than his ambition. He had all the fidelity that God requires, and all the affection to the person of the king that his duty suggested to him was due, without any reverence for or compliance with his infirmities or weakness; which made him many times uneasy to the king, especially in all consultations towards peace, in which he was always desirous that his majesty should yield more than he was inclined to do.

He was in his nature melancholic, and reserved in his conversation, except towards those with whom he was very well acquainted; with whom he was not only cheerful, but upon occasion light and pleasant. He was naturally lazy, and indulged overmuch ease to himself: yet as no man had a quicker apprehension or solid judgment in business of all kinds, so, when it had a hopeful prospect, no man could keep his mind longer bent, and take more pains in it. In the treaty at Uxbridge, which was a continued fatigue of twenty days, he never slept four hours in a night, who had never used to allow himself less than ten, and at the end of the treaty was much more vigorous than in the beginning; which made the chancellor to tell the king when they returned to Oxford, "that if he would have the earl of Southampton in good health and good humour, he must give him good store of business to do."

His person was of a small stature; his courage,

as all his other faculties, very great; having no sign of fear or sense of danger, when he was in a place where he ought to be found. When the king had withdrawn himself from Oxford in order to his escape to the Scotch army, and Fairfax had brought his army before the town; in some debate at the council-board, there being some mention of prince Rupert with reference to his dignity in a large degree above all of the nobility, the earl of Southampton, who never used to speak indecently, used some expressions, which, being unfaithfully reported to the prince, his highness interpreted to be disrespectful towards him: whereupon he sent the lord Gerard to expostulate with him. To whom the earl without any apology related the words he had used; which being reported by him again to the prince, though they were not the same which he had been informed, yet he was not so well satisfied with them, but that he sent the same lord to him again, to tell him, "that his highness expected other satisfaction from him, and expected to meet him with his sword in his hand, and desired it might be as soon as he could, lest it might be prevented."

The earl appointed the next morning, at a place well known; and being asked "what weapon he chose," he said, "that he had no horse fit for such a service, nor knew where suddenly to get one; and that he knew himself too weak to close with the prince: and therefore he hoped his highness would excuse him, if he made choice of such weapons as he could best use; and therefore he resolved to fight on foot with a case of pistols only;" which the prince willingly consented to. And without doubt they had met the next morning, the earl having chosen sir George Villiers for his second; but that the lord Gerard's coming to the earl so often, with whom he had no acquaintance, had been so much observed, that some of the lords who had been present at the debate at the board, and heard some replies which had been made, and thence concluded that ill offices had been done, watched them both so narrowly, and caused the town-gates to be shut, [that they] discovered enough, notwithstanding the denial of both parties, to prevent their meeting; and afterwards interposed till a reconciliation was made: and the prince ever afterwards had a good respect for the earl.

After the murder of the king, the earl of Southampton remained in his own house, without the least application to those powers which had made themselves so terrible, and which seemed to resolve to root out the whole party as well as the royal family; and would not receive a civility from any of them: and when Cromwell was near his house in the country, upon the marriage of his son in those parts, and had a purpose to have made a visit to him; upon a private notice thereof, he immediately removed to another house at a greater distance. He sent frequently some trusty person to the king with such presents of money, as he could receive out of the fortune they had left to him, which was scarce enough to support him in that retirement: and after the battle of Worcester, when the rebels had set a price upon the king's head, and denounced the most terrible judgment upon whomsoever, and his posterity, that should presume to give any shelter or assistance to Charles Stuart towards his escape; he sent a faithful servant to all those persons, who

in respect of their fidelity and activity were most like to be trusted upon such an occasion, that they should advertise the king, "that he would most willingly receive him into his house, and provide a ship for his escape." And his majesty received this advertisement from him the day before he was ready to embark in a small vessel prepared for him in Sussex; which his majesty always remembered as a worthy testimony of his affection and courage in so general a consternation. And the earl was used to say, "that after that miraculous escape, how dismal soever the prospect was, he had still a confidence of his majesty's restoration."

His own natural disposition inclined to melancholic; and his retirement from all conversation, in which he might have given some vent to his own thoughts, with the discontinuance of all those bodily exercises and recreations to which he had been accustomed, brought many diseases upon him, which made his life less pleasant to him; so that from the time of the king's return, between the gout and the stone, he underwent great affliction. Yet upon the happy return of his majesty he seemed to recover great vigour of mind, and undertook the charge of high treasurer with much alacrity and industry, as long as he had any hope to get a revenue settled proportionable to the expense of the crown, (towards which his interest and authority and counsel contributed very much,) or to reduce the expense of the court within the limits of the revenue. But when he discerned that the last did and would still make the former impossible, (upon which he made as frequent and lively representations as he thought himself obliged to do,) and when he saw irregularities and excesses to abound, and to overflow all the banks which should restrain them; he grew more dispirited, and weary of that province, which exposed him to the reproaches which others ought to undergo, and which supplied him not with authority to prevent them. And he had then withdrawn from the burden, which he infinitely desired to be eased of, but out of conscience of his duty to the king, who he knew would suffer in it; and that the people who knew his affections very well, and already opened their mouths wide against the license of the court, would believe it worse and incurable if he quitted the station he was in. This, and this only, prevailed with him still to undergo that burden, even when he knew that they who enjoyed the benefit of it were as weary that he should be disquieted with it.

He was a man of great and exemplary virtue and piety, and very regular in his devotions; yet was not generally believed by the bishops to have an affection keen enough for the government of the church, because he was willing and desirous, that somewhat more might have been done to gratify the presbyterians than they thought just. But the truth is; he had a perfect detestation of all the presbyterian principles, nor had ever had any conversation with their persons, having during all those wicked times strictly observed the devotions prescribed by the church of England; in the performance whereof he had always an orthodox chaplain, [one of those] deprived of their estates by that government, which disposed of the church as well as of the state. But it is very true, that upon the observation of the great power and authority which the presbyterians usurped and

were possessed of, even when Cromwell did all he could to divest them of it, and applied all his interest to oppress or suppress them, inasmuch as they did often give a check to and divert many of his designs; he did believe that their numbers and their credit had been much greater than in truth it was. And then some persons, who had credit with him by being thought to have an equal aversion from them, persuaded him to believe, that they would be satisfied with very easy concessions, which would bring no prejudice or inconvenience to the church. And this imagination prevailed with him, and more with others who loved them not, to wish that there might be some indulgence towards them. But that which had the strongest influence upon him, and which made him less apprehensive of the venom of any other sect, was the extreme jealousy he had of the power and malignity of the Roman catholics; whose behaviour from the time of the suppression of the regal power, and more scandalously at and from the time of the murder of the king, had very much irreconciled him towards them: and he did believe, that the king and the duke of York had a better opinion of their fidelity, and less jealousy of their affections, than they deserved; and so thought there could not be too great an union of all other interests to control the exorbitance of that. And upon this argument, with his private friends, he was more passionate than in any other.

He had a marvellous zeal and affection for the royal family; inasmuch as the two sons of the duke of York falling both into distempers, (of which they both shortly after died,) very few days before his death, he was so marvellously affected with it, that many believed the trouble of it, or a presage what might befall the kingdom by it, hastened his death some hours: and in the agony of death, the very morning he died, he sent to know how they did; and seemed to receive some relief, when the messenger returned with the news, that they were both alive and in some degree mended.

The next day after his death, which was about the end of May, the king called the chancellor into his closet; and, the duke of York being only present, told him, "that he could think of no man fit to be treasurer, and therefore resolved, as he had long done, to put that office into commission;" and then asked, "who should be commissioners?" to which he answered, "the business would be much better done by a single officer, if he could think of a fit one; for commissioners never had, never would do, that business well." The duke of York said, "that he believed it would be best done by commission; it had been so managed during all the ill times," (for from the beginning of the troubles there had been no treasurer:) "and he had observed, (and the king found the benefit of it,) that though sir William Compton was an extraordinary person, and better qualified than most men for that charge, yet since his decease, that his majesty had put the office of the ordnance under the government of commissioners, it was in much better order, and the king was better served there than he had ever been; and he believed he would be so likewise in the office of the treasury, if fit persons were chosen for it, who might have nothing else to do." And the king seemed to be of the same mind.

The chancellor replied, "that he was very sorry, that they were both so much delighted with the function of commissioners, which were more suitable to the modelling a commonwealth, than for the support of monarchy: that during the late troubles, whilst the parliament exercised the government, they reduced it as fast as they could to the form of a commonwealth; and then no question the putting the treasury into the hands of commissioners was much more suitable to the rest of the model, than it could be under a single person. Besides, having no revenue of their own, but being to raise one according to their inventions and proportionable to their own occasions, it could never be well collected or ordered by old officers, who were obliged to forms which would not be agreeable to their necessary transactions: so that new ministers were to be made for new employments, who might be obliged punctually to observe their new orders, without any superiority over each other, but a joint obedience to the supreme authority. But when Cromwell assumed the entire government into his own hands, he cancelled all those republican rules and forms, and appointed inferior persons to several functions, and reserved the whole disposition to himself, and was his own high treasurer: and it was well known that he resolved, as soon as he should be able to reduce things to the forms he intended, to cancel all those commissions, and invest single persons in the government of those provinces."

He said, "he would not take upon him to say any thing of the office of the ordnance, where the commissioners were his friends; only he might say, that that kind of administration had not been yet long enough known to have a good judgment made of it: however, that it was of so different a nature from the office of the treasury, that no observation of the one could be applied to the other. The ordnance was conversant only with smiths and carpenters, and other artificers and handicraftsmen, with whom all their transactions were: whereas the treasury had much to do with the nobility and chief gentry of the kingdom; must have often recourse to the king himself for his particular directions, to the privy-council for their assistance and advice, to the judges for their resolutions in matters of difficulty; and if the ministers of it were not of that quality and degree, that they might have free recourse to all those, and find respect from them, his majesty's service would notoriously suffer. And that the white staff itself, in the hands of a person esteemed, did more to the bringing in several branches of the revenue, by the obedience and reverence all officers paid to it, than any orders from commissioners could do: and that how mean an opinion soever some men had of the faculties of the late excellent officer for that administration, his majesty would find by experience, that the vast sums of money, which he had borrowed in these late years, had been in a great measure procured upon the general confidence all men had in the honour and justice of the treasurer; and that the credit of commissioners would never be able to supply such necessities."

The king said, "he was not at all of his opinion, and doubted not his business would be much

"better done by commissioners; and therefore he should speak to the nomination of those, since he was sure he could propose no single person fit for it." To which the chancellor answered, "that he thought it much harder to find a worthy man, who would be persuaded to accept it in the disorder in which his affairs were, than a man who might be very fit for it: and that if that subject who had the greatest fortune in England and the most general reputation would receive it, his majesty would be no loser in conferring it on such a one; and till such a one might be found, he might put it into commission. But," he said, "he perceived well, that he would not approve the old course in the choice of commissioners; who had always been the keeper of the great seal, and the two secretaries of state, and two other of the principal persons of the council, besides the chancellor of the exchequer, who used to be the sole person of the quorum."

[Neither] the king nor duke seemed to like any of those; and the chancellor plainly discerned from the beginning that they were resolved upon the persons, though his opinion was asked: and the king said, "he would choose such persons, whether privy counsellors or not, who might have nothing else to do, and were rough and ill-natured men, not to be moved with civilities or importunities in the payment of money; but [would] apply it all to his present necessities, till some new supplies might be gotten for the payment of those debts, which were first necessary to be paid. That he, the chancellor, had so much business already upon his hands, that he could not attend this other; and the secretaries had enough to do: so he would have none of those." And then he named sir Thomas Clifford, who was newly of the council and controller of the house, and sir William Coventry; and said, "he did not think there should be many;" and the duke then named sir John Duncombe, as a man of whom he had heard well, and every body knew he was intimate with sir William Coventry. The king said, "he thought they three would be enough, and that a greater number would but make the despatch of all business the more slow."

The chancellor said, "he doubted those persons would not have credit and authority enough to go through the necessary affairs of that province; that for his own part, he was not desirous to meddle in it; he had indeed too much business to do: that he had no exception to the three persons named, but that he thought them not known and esteemed enough for that employment; and that it would be very incongruous to bring sir John Duncombe, who was a private country gentleman, and utterly unacquainted with business of that nature, to sit in equal authority with privy counsellors, and in affairs which would be often debated at the council-table, where he could not be present." And he put his majesty [in mind], that "he must put the lord Ashley out of his office of chancellor of the exchequer, if he did not make him commissioner of the treasury, and of the quorum:" and concluded, "that if he did not name the general, and some other person that might give some lustre to the others, the work would not be done as it ought to be; for many

"persons would be sometimes obliged to attend upon the treasury, who would not think those gentlemen enough superior to them, how qualified soever."

The king said, "he could easily provide against the exception to sir John Duncombe, by making him a privy counsellor; and he did not care if he added the general to them." The lord Ashley gave him some trouble, and he said enough to make it manifest that he thought him not fit to be amongst them: yet he knew not how to put him out of his place; but gave direction for preparing the commission for the treasury to the persons named before, and made the lord Ashley only one of the commissioners, and a major part to make a quorum; which would quickly bring the government of the whole business into the hands of those three who were designed for it. And Ashley rather chose to be degraded, than to dispute it.

The king expected, that as soon as the ambassadors should meet at the Hague, a cessation would be the first thing that would be agreed upon: and the French ambassadors did in the first place propose it, and in such a manner, as made it evident that they depended upon it as a thing resolved upon; and their master had with their consent dismissed his own fleet, and theirs was yet in their ports. Nor did the Dutch seem to refuse it; but answered, "that the adjusting all things in order to a cessation would require as much time as would serve to finish the treaty, considering all material points were upon the matter already stated and agreed upon, the king having already chosen the alternative:" and notwithstanding all the earnestness used by the French ambassadors, no other answer could be obtained as to a cessation; which, together with the supercilious behaviour of the commissioners from Holland, made it apparent, that they had no other mind at that time to peace, than as they were compelled to it by France, that was impatient to have it concluded. They would not hear any mention for the redelivery of Poleroone, "which," they said, "the king of France had promised should not be demanded;" and as little for any recompense in money; nor would suffer the merchant-deputies from the English company to go to Amsterdam, to confer with the East India company there for any composition. It quickly appeared, that they had revenge in their hearts for their last year's affront and damage at the Flie; and De Wit had often said, "that before any peace they would leave some such mark of their having been upon the English coast, as the English had left of their having been upon that of Holland."

After the treaty was entered into, about the beginning of June, De Ruyter came with the fleet out of the Wierings, and joining with the rest from the Texel sailed for the coast of England: and having a fair wind, stood for the river of Thames; which put the county of Kent into such an alarm, that all near the sea left their houses and fled into the country: The earl of Winchelsea, who was lord lieutenant of that county, was at that time ambassador at Constantinople, and the deputy lieutenants had all equal authority: so that no man had power to command in that large county in so general a distraction. Hereupon the king sent down lieutenant general Mid-

dleton with commission to draw all the train bands together, and to command all the forces that could be raised : and he immediately went thither, and was very well obeyed, and quickly drew all the train bands of horse and foot to Rochester ; and other troops resorted to him from the neighbour counties, all the people expressing a great alacrity in being commanded by him.

There had been enough discourse all that year of erecting a fort at Sheerness for the defence of the river : and the king had made two journeys thither in the winter, and had given such orders to the commissioners of the ordnance for the overseeing and finishing the fortifications, that every body believed that work done ; it having been the principal defence and provision directed and depended upon, (as hath been said before,) when the resolution had been taken for the standing only upon the defence for this summer. But whatever had been thought or directed, very little had been done. There were a company or two of very good soldiers there under excellent officers ; but the fortifications [were] so weak and unfinished, and all other provisions so entirely wanting, that the Dutch fleet no sooner approached within a distance, but with their cannon they beat all the works flat, and drove all the men from the ground : which as soon as they had done, with their boats they landed men, and seemed resolved to fortify and keep it.

This put the country into a flame, and the news of it exceedingly disturbed the king. He knew the consequence of the place, and how easily it might have been secured, and was the more troubled that it had been neglected : and with what loss soever, it must be presently recovered out of those hands. The general was immediately ordered to march to Chatham, for the security of the navy, with such troops of horse and foot as could be presently drawn together out of the guards and from the neighbour counties ; and the city appeared very forward to send such regiments of their train bands as should be required. When the general came to Chatham, he found Middleton in so good a posture, and so good a body of men, that he had no apprehension of any attempt the Dutch could make at land ; and he writ very cheerful and confident letters to the king and the duke, " that if the enemy should make any attempt, which he believed they durst not do, they would repent it. That he had put a chain over the river, which would hinder them from coming up : and if they should adventure to land any where, he would quickly beat them to their ships ;" as no doubt he had been very well able to have done.

There was indeed no danger of their landing, and they were too wise to think of it : their business was in an element they had more confidence in and more power upon. They had good intelligence how loosely all things were left in the river : and therefore, as soon as the tide came to help them, they stood full [up] the river, without any consideration of the chain, which their ships immediately brake in pieces, and passed without the least pause ; their being either no such device to be made that can obstruct such an enterprise, or that which was made was so weak, that it was of no signification, but to raise an unseasonable confidence in unskilful men, that being disappointed must increase the confusion, as it did.

For all men were so confounded to see the Dutch fleet advance over the chain, which they looked upon as a wall of brass, that they knew not what they were to do.

The general was of a constitution and temper so void of fear, that there could appear no signs of distraction in him : yet it was plain enough that he knew not what orders to give. There were two or three ships of the royal navy negligently, if not treacherously, left in the river, which might have been very easily drawn into safety, and could be of no imaginable use in the place where they then were : into one of those the general put himself, and invited the young gentlemen who were volunteers to accompany him ; which they readily did in great numbers, only with pikes in their hands. But some of his friends whispered to him, " how unadvised that resolution was, and how desperate, without possibility of success, the whole fleet of the enemy approaching as fast as the tide would enable them." And so he was prevailed with to put himself again on shore : which except he had done, both himself and two or three hundred gentlemen of the nobility and prime gentry of the kingdom had inevitably perished ; for all those ships, and some merchantmen laden and ready to put to sea, were presently in a flame ; the Dutch, knowing that they could not carry them off, giving order to burn them, the general standing upon the shore, and not knowing what remedy to apply to all this mischief. The people of Chatham, which is naturally an army of seamen and officers of the navy, who might and ought to have secured all those ships, which they had time enough to have done, were in distraction ; their chief officers having applied all those boats and lighter vessels which should have towed up the ships, to carry away their own goods and household stuff, and gave what they left behind for lost. And without doubt, if the Dutch had prosecuted the present advantage they had, with that circumspection and courage that was necessary, they might have fired the royal navy at Chatham, and taken or destroyed all the ships which lay higher in the river, and so fully revenged themselves for what they had suffered at the Flie : but they thought they had done enough, and so made use of the ebb to carry them back again.

But the noise of this, and the flame of the ships which were burned, made it easily believed in the city of London, that the enemy had done all that they conceived they might have done : they thought that they were landed in many places, and that their fleet was come up as far as Greenwich. Nor was the confusion there greater than it was in the court itself : where they who had most advanced the war, and reproached all them who had been or were thought to be against it, " as men who had no public spirits, and were not solicitous for the honour and glory of the nation ;" and who had never spoken of the Dutch but with scorn and contempt, as a nation rather worthy to be cudgelled than fought with ; were now the most dejected men that can be imagined, railed very bitterly at those who had advised the king to enter into that war, " which had already consumed so many gallant men, and would probably ruin the kingdom," and wished " that a peace, as the only hope, were made upon any terms." In a word, the distraction and con-



sternation was so great in court and city, as if the Dutch had not been only masters of the river, but had really landed an army of one hundred thousand men.

They who remember that conjuncture, and were then present in the galleries and privy lodgings at Whitehall, whither all the world flocked with equal liberty, can easily call to mind many instances of such wild despair and even ridiculous apprehensions, that I am willing to forget, and would not that the least mention of them should remain: and if the king's and duke's personal composure had not restrained men from expressing their fears, there wanted not some who would have advised them to have left the city. And there was a lord, who would be thought one of the greatest soldiers in Europe, to whom the custody of the Tower was committed, who lodging there only one night, declared, "that it was not *"tenable,"* and desired not to be charged with it: and thereupon many, who had carried their money and goods thither, removed them from thence that they might be further from the river. Nor did this unreasonable distemper pass away, when it was known that the Dutch fleet had not only left the river, but had taken away all their men from Sheerness, which was a manifestation very sufficient that they had no design upon the land: but there remained still such a chagrin in the minds of many, as if they would return again; in which they were confirmed, when they heard that they were still upon the coasts, and gave the same alarm now to Essex and Suffolk, as they had done to Kent, not without making a show as if they meant to attempt Harwich and Landguard Point; which drew all the train bands of those counties to the sea-side, and the duke of York went thither to conduct them, if there should be occasion.

In this perplexity the king was not at ease, and the less that every man took upon him to discourse to him of the distemper of the people generally over the kingdom, and to give him counsel what was to be done: and some men had advised him to call the parliament, which at the last session had been prorogued to the 20th of October; and it was now the middle of June. And surely most discerning men thought such a conjuncture so unseasonable for the council of a parliament, that if it had been then sitting, the most wholesome advice that could be given would be to separate them, till that occasion should be over, which could be best provided for by a more contracted council: however, not knowing else what to do disposed the king to incline to that remedy. And it being a current opinion, or rather an unquestioned certainty, that upon a prorogation a parliament cannot be convened before the day, though upon an adjournment it may; they had brought Mr. Prynne privately to the king to satisfy him, "that upon an extraordinary occasion *"he might do it;"* and his judgment, which in all other cases he did enough undervalue, very much confirmed him in what he had a mind to.

In the beginning of the summer, when he had resolved to have no fleet at sea, there were many reasons which induced him to increase his forces at land. And that he might do it without jealousy of the people, he gave commission to three or four persons of the nobility, of great fortunes and good names, to raise regiments of foot, and

to others for troops of horse; which was done at their own charge, and with wonderful expedition: and upon their first musters they all received one month's pay. Of these levies some were sent to repossess Sheerness, and extraordinary care was taken for the better advancement of those fortifications; and others were disposed to other posts upon the coast: but it was in view, that upon the expiration of that month, there must be new pay provided for those regiments and troops. Then the train bands, which had been drawn together, had continued for one month, which was as long as the law required: and now they required, or were said to require, to be relieved or dismissed, or that they might receive pay. There were discontents and emulations upon command; and they who had usually professed, "that they would *"willingly serve the king in the offices of corporals or sergeants, whatever command they *"formerly had,"* now disputed all the punctilios, and would not receive orders from any who had been formerly in inferior offices. And all these waywardnesses were brought to the king, as matters of the highest consequence, who found difficulty enough in determining points of more importance.*

They who for their own private designs desired that the parliament might meet, and cared not in what humour they met, urged the king very importunately, "that he would issue out a proclamation to summon them, as the only expedient to *"give himself ease, and to provide for all that *"was to be done:"* and his majesty was most inclined to it, and in truth resolved it; though knowing that it was contrary to the sense of many, he resolved to debate it at the council. And there he told them, "that they all saw the straits that *"he was in, the insolence of the enemy, and the *"general distemper of the nation, which made it *"manifest that it was necessary for him to have *"an army, that might be ready against any thing *"that might fall out. That he had no money, *"nor knew where to get any; nor could imagine *"any other way to provide against the mischiefs *"which were in view, than by calling the parliament to come together, of which or any other *"expedient he was willing to receive their advice;"* expressing so much of his own sense, that it was plain enough that he thought that remedy the best that could be applied. Three or four of those who sat at the lower end of the board, and who were well enough known to have given the counsel, and to be industrious that it might be followed, enlarged themselves in the debate, "that *"the soldiers could not be kept together without *"money; and they could not advise any other *"way to get money but by the convening the *"parliament, which they were confident might *"justly and regularly be done:"* and they desired, "that they who were of another opinion *"would propose some other way how the king *"might get money."***************

The chancellor discerned that the matter was already concluded, what advice soever should be given; and that the three new commissioners of the treasury, since they could find no way to procure money, had been very importunate with the king to try that expedient, and the more, because they well knew that he was against it, he having not been at all reserved upon several occasions in private discourses, when they were present, to



give many reasons against it: and he knew as well, that they would gladly make any use of any expressions which might fall from [him], when the remembrance might be applied to his prejudice. Yet his natural unwariness in such cases with reference to himself, when he thought his majesty's service concerned, to which he did really believe the present advice would produce much prejudice, prevailed with him to dissuade it.

He said, "he knew well upon what disadvantage he spake, and how unpopular a thing it was to speak against the convening the parliament in those straits, which seemed to be capable of no other remedy: yet since he thought the remedy neither proper to the disease, nor that it could be applied in time, he could not concur with those who advised it. That most men who had any knowledge in the law did confess, that when the parliament stood prorogued to a certain day, the convening them upon a sooner day was very doubtful; and to him, upon all the disquisition he could make, it was very clear that it could not be done: and therefore he desired the judges might be consulted in that point, before any resolution should be taken. That the temper of both houses was well known; and that it could not but be presumed, that when they came together, the first debate they would fall upon would be of the manner of their coming together, and whether they were in a capacity to act: and he doubted there would be very few who would be forward to pass an act in a season, when the validity of it might be questioned by those who had no mind to pay any obedience to it. And then if their meeting were only to confer together upon all occurrences, and they might presume of liberty to say what they had a mind to say, without power to conclude any thing; it was well worth the considering, whether, in so general a distemper such an assembly might not interrupt all other consultations and expedients, and yet propose none, and so increase the confusion. If the necessities were so urgent, that it was absolutely necessary that a parliament should be convened, and that which stood prorogued could not lawfully reassemble till the 20th of October, as he was confident it could not; there was no question to be made, but that the king might lawfully by his proclamation presently dissolve the prorogued parliament, and send out his writs to have a new parliament, which might regularly meet a month before the prorogued parliament could come together." And many of the council were of opinion, that it would most conduce to his majesty's service to dissolve the one, and to call another parliament.

This was an advice they believed no man had the courage to make, and were sorry to find so many of the opinion, which they had rather should have appeared to be single. Many very warmly opposed this expedient, magnified the affections and inclinations of both houses: "and though there appeared some ill humour in them at their last being together, and aversion to give any money for the present; yet in the main their affections were very right for church and state. And that the king was never to hope to see a parliament better constituted for his service, or so many of the members at his disposal: but that

"he must expect that the presbyterians would be chosen in all places, and that they who were most eminent now for opposing all that he desired would be chosen, and all they who were most zealous for his service would be carefully excluded;" which was a fancy that sunk very deep in the minds of the bishops, though their best friends thought them like to find more friends and a stronger support in any, than they would have in that parliament. But the king quickly declared his confidence in the parliament that was prorogued, and his resolution not to dissolve it; which put an end to that debate. And the other was again resumed, "what the king was to do towards the raising money; or how he should be able to maintain his army, if he should defer calling the parliament till the day upon which they were to assemble by the prorogation:" and all men were to restrain their discourse to that point.

The old argument, "that there could be no other way found out," was renewed, and urged with more earnestness and confidence; and that they who were against it might be obliged to offer their advice what other course should be taken: and this was often demanded, in a manner not usual in that place, as a reproach to the persons. His majesty himself with some quickness was pleased to ask the chancellor, "what he did advise." To which he replied, "that if in truth what was proposed was in the nature of it not practicable, or being practised could not attain the effect proposed, it ought to be laid aside, that men might unbiassed apply their thoughts to find out some other expedient. That he thought it very clear that the parliament could not assemble, though the proclamation should issue out that very hour, within less than twenty days; and that if they were met, and believed themselves lawfully qualified to grant a supply of money, all men knew the formality of that transaction would require so much time, that money could not be raised time enough to raise an army, or to maintain that part of it that was raised, to prevent the landing of an enemy that was already upon the coast, and (as many thought or seemed to think) ready every day to make their descent: and yet the sending out a proclamation for reassembling the parliament would inevitably put an end to all other counsels. That for his part he did believe, that the Dutch had already satisfied themselves in the affront they had already given, and could not be in any condition to pursue it, or have men enough on board to make a descent, without the king's having notice of it; and that the Dutch, without a conjunction with the French, had not strength for such an undertaking: and that the French had no such purpose his majesty had all the assurance possible, and that their fleet was gone far from the coast of England. And his majesty had reason to believe, that the present treaty would put an end to this war in a short time, though the power and artifice of De Wit had prevented a cessation.

"However, for the present support of those troops which were necessary to guard the coasts, since money could not be found for their present constant pay, without which free quarter could not be avoided; the only way that appeared to him to be practicable, and to avoid

"the last evil, would be, to write letters to the lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of those counties where the troops were obliged to remain, that they would cause provisions of all kinds to be brought into those quarters, that so the soldiers might not be compelled to straggle abroad to provide their own victual, which would end in the worst kind of free quarter: and that the like letters might be written to the neighbour counties, wherein no soldiers were quartered, to raise money by way of contribution or loan, which should be abated out of the next impositions, that so the troops might be enabled to stay and continue in [their] posts where they were, for defence of the kingdom; in which those other counties had their share in the benefit, and without which they must themselves be exposed to the disorder of the soldiers, and possibly to the invasion of the enemy."

It is very probable, that in the earnestness of this debate, and the frequent interruptions which were given, he might use that expression, (which was afterwards objected against him,) "of raising contribution as had been in the late civil war." Whatever it was he said, it was evident at the time that some men were well pleased with it, as somewhat they meant to make use of hereafter, in which his innocence made him little concerned.

The conclusion was, though many of the lords spake against it, and much the major part thought it not counsellable; that a proclamation should forthwith issue out, to require all the members of parliament to meet upon a day appointed in the beginning of August, to consult upon the great affairs of the kingdom: and this proclamation was presently issued accordingly.

All this time the treaty proceeded at Breda, as fast as the insolent humour of the Dutch would suffer it. The French king declared himself much offended with their proceedings at sea: and his ambassadors spake so loud, that the States gave order to their deputies to bring the treaty to a conclusion; and sent such orders to De Ruyter, that there was no more hostility of any moment; only the fleet remained at sea, that it might appear they were masters of it. It cannot be denied that the French ambassadors, except in what referred to Poleroone, behaved themselves as candidly as could be wished: and it is probable, that the same reason which moved the French to use all possible diligence to bring the treaty to an end, prevailed likewise with the Dutch to use all the delays they could, that it might be prolonged.

Though there was no war declared, it had been long notorious that Flanders would be invaded: and it was as notorious, that there was no provision made there towards a resistance or defence; the marquis of Castelle Roderigo, who came governor thither with a great reputation, not making good the expectation in the sagacity he was famed for, nor offering at any levies of men, or mending fortifications, until the French army was upon the borders. Then he sent into England to press the king to assist him with an army of horse and foot; and it easily appeared the nation would gladly have engaged in that war, not being willing that Flanders should be in the possession of France: but the king was engaged not to give any assistance to the enemies of France until the treaty should be ended, which yet it was not.

However, he suffered the earl of Castlehaven, under pretence of recruiting a regiment in Flanders which he had formerly, to raise a body of one thousand foot, which he quickly transported to Ostend.

The king [of France] was impatient to march, and yet desired the treaty might be first concluded, that both himself and the king of England might be at liberty to enter into such an alliance as they should think proper for their interest: and the Dutch, who had no mind that the expedition should be prosecuted, and as much feared the consequence of such an alliance, though they were not wise enough to consider the right means to prevent it, desired that the treaty might not be concluded till the winter drew nearer. But the French quickly put an end to that their hope by marching into the heart of Flanders, and so giving them new matter for their present consultations; not without intimation, "that if they would not finish the treaty, that king might conclude for what concerned himself:" and this put an end to it. Yet there were some alterations of small importance in some articles of the former treaty, besides that of Poleroone, which the ambassadors would not consent to without further knowledge of the king's pleasure: and so one of them (Mr. Henry Coventry) came to attend his majesty, to give him an account of all particulars, and receive his own final determination.

The king in the first place sent for the East India company, and let them know, "that the Dutch would not consent to the former article for the redelivery of Poleroone, nor give any recompense for it; and that he was resolved not to depart from [them], and so release their right without their consent: and therefore that they should consider what would be for their good." They answered, "that they thought a peace to be so necessary for the kingdom, that they would not that any particular interest of theirs should give any interruption to it:" and they acknowledged, "that if the war continued, they should in many respects be greater losers, than the redelivery of Poleroone would repair; and that they would gladly sacrifice that pretence to the public peace."

Upon which answer the ambassador made his report of all the particulars which were consented to on both sides in the treaty, and what remained yet in suspense; and made answer to all questions which any of the council thought fit to ask. And the king requiring him to deliver his own opinion upon his observation, and "whether he believed, that if his majesty should positively insist upon what they had hitherto refused to consent to, the Dutch would choose to continue the war; and whether the French would join with them in it:" he answered, "that it was very evident that the Dutch did not at present desire the peace, otherwise than to comply with France and for fear of it; and that France was obliged not to abandon them in the point of Poleroone, which the other would never part with, nor give any recompense for, though the French ambassadors had used all the arguments to persuade them to it. But if that were agreed, he was confident they would be compelled to consent to whatsoever was else of moment. And that the French had used some threatening expressions, upon some insolent propositions made by

"the Dane, which they thought proceeded from the instigation of Holland. And that at his coming away, the French ambassadors had used great freedom with him, and advised in what particulars which were yet unagreed they wished his majesty would not consent, and in which they could not serve him, but believed a time would come, in which he would be repaired for those condescensions: in other particulars he should positively insist, at least with some little variation of expression; in which he expressed both his own and the opinion of the other ambassador."

And the whole being in this manner clearly stated, the king required all the lords severally to deliver their judgment what he was to do; and every man did deliver his opinion in more or fewer words. And it may be truly said, that, though one or two adorned their passion with some expressions of indignation against the Dutch for their presumption, and as if he did believe that the parliament would concur with the king in all things which might vindicate his honour from their insolent demands, the advice was upon the matter unanimous, "that the ambassador should immediately return, and conclude the peace upon those conditions which were stated at the board." And he did presently return: and all matters were, within few days after his arrival, adjusted, and put into proper ministerial hands for engrossment, and all forms and circumstances agreed upon for the proclamation of the peace, and the day appointed for the proclaiming thereof; and such forms of passes as should be given on all sides to merchants' ships, (which would be impatient for trade before the days could be expired,) in which all ships of war should be obliged to take notice that the peace was proclaimed.

All this was done before the day of the parliament's convening upon the king's proclamation: so that there being now no use of an army, and reason enough to disband those regiments which had been raised towards it, his majesty thought it not reasonable that they should enter upon the debate of any business, but be continued under the former prorogation to the day appointed; and in this there appeared not one person of a different opinion. And so, upon the day, the king went to the house, and told them, "that since the condition of his affairs was not so full of difficulty as it had been when he sent out his proclamation, and since many were of opinion, that there might be doubts arise upon the regularity of their meeting; he was content to dismiss them till the 20th of October:" and so they separated without any debate.

The public no sooner entered into this repose, than the storm began to arise that destroyed all the prosperity, ruined the fortune, and shipwrecked all the hopes, of the chancellor, who had been the principal instrument in the providing that repose. The parliament, that had been so unseasonably called together from their business and recreations, in a season of the year that they most desired to be vacant, were not pleased to be so soon dismissed: and very great pains were taken by those, who were thought to be able to do him the least harm, because they were known to be his enemies, to persuade the members of parliament, "that it was the chancellor only who had hindered their continuing together, and that he

"had advised the king to dissolve them;" which exceedingly inflamed them.

And sir William Coventry was so far from being reserved in his malice, that the very day that the parliament was dismissed, after he had incensed them against the chancellor, in the presence of six or seven of the members, who were not all of the same mind, he declared, "that if at their next meeting, which would be within little more than two months, they had a mind to remove the chancellor from the court, they should easily bring it to pass:" of all which he had quickly information, and had several other advertisements from persons of honour, "that there was a strong combination entered into against him;" and [they] mentioned some particulars to have been told the king concerning him, which had exceedingly offended his majesty. All which particulars, being without any colour or ground of truth, he believed were inventions (though not from those who informed him) only to amuse him.

Yet he took an opportunity to acquaint the king with it, who, with the same openness he had always used, conferred with him about his present business, but only of the business. He besought his majesty to let him know, "whether he had received any information that he had done or said such and such things," which he made appear to him to be in themselves so incredible and improbable, that it could hardly be in his majesty's power to believe [them]; to which the king answered, "that nobody had told him any such thing." To which the other replied, "that he did really think they had not, though he knew that they had bragged they had done so, and thereby incensed his majesty against him; which they desired should be generally believed."

The truth is; the chancellor was guilty of that himself which he had used to accuse the archbishop Laud of, that he was too proud of a good conscience. He knew his own innocence, and had no kind of apprehension of being publicly charged with any crime. He knew well he had many enemies who had credit with the king, and that they did him all the ill offices they could: and he knew that the lady's power and credit increased, and that she desired nothing more than to remove him from his majesty's confidence; in which he never thought her to blame, since she well knew that he employed all the credit he had to remove her from the court. But he thought himself very secure in the king's justice: and though his kindness was much lessened, he was confident his majesty would protect him from being oppressed, since he knew his integrity; and never suspected that he would consent to his ruin. He was in truth weary of the condition he was in, and had in the last year undergone much mortification; and desired nothing more, than to be divested of all other trusts and employments than what concerned the chancery only, in which he could have no rival, and in the administration whereof he had not heard of any complaint: and this he thought might have satisfied all parties; and had sometimes desired the king, "that he might retire from all other business, than that of the judicatory," for he plainly discerned he was not able to contend with other struggles.

I cannot avoid in this place mentioning an ac-

cident that fell out in this time, and enlarge upon all the circumstances thereof, which might otherwise be passed over, but that it had an immediate influence on the fate of the person who is so near his fall. The king had been very much offended with the duke of Buckingham, who had behaved himself much worse towards him than could be expected from his obligations and discretion, and had been in truth the original cause of all the ill humour which had been in both houses of parliament in the last session; after the end of which he went into the country without taking his leave of the king, and in several places spake with greater license of the court and government, and of the person of the king, than any other person presumed to do; of all which his majesty had intelligence and information, and was at that time without doubt more offended with him than with any man in England, and had really great provocation to jealousy of his fidelity, as well as of his respect and affection. The lord Arlington, as secretary of state, had received several informations of dangerous words spoken by him against the king, and of his correspondencies with persons the most suspected for seditious inclinations, the duke having made himself very popular amongst the levellers, and amongst them who clamoured for liberty of conscience, which pretence he seemed very much to cherish.

The king was very much awakened to be jealous of him, besides his behaviour in the parliament, by some informations he received from his own servants. There was one Braythwaite, a citizen, who had been a great confidant of Cromwell and of the council of state, a man of parts, and looked upon as having a greater interest with the discontented party than any man of the city. Upon the king's return this man fled beyond the seas, and after near a year's stay there came again to London, but remained there as incognito, came not upon the exchange, nor was seen in public, and returned again into Holland; and so made frequent journeys backward and forward for several months, and then came and resided publicly in the city. This being taken notice of by sir Richard Browne, who was major general of the city, upon whose vigilance the king very much and very justly depended, and the man being well known to him, he had long endeavoured to apprehend him, till he understood that he was a servant to the duke of Buckingham, and in great trust with him, as he was; for the duke had committed the whole managery of his estate to him, and upon his recommendation had received many other inferior servants to be employed under him, all of the same leaven with him, and all notorious for their disaffection to the church and state. The major general, being one day to give the king an account of some business, told him likewise of this man, "as one as worthy to be suspected for all disloyal purposes, and as like to bring them to pass, as any man of that condition in England;" and seemed to wonder, "that the duke would entertain such a person in his service."

At that time the duke had by his diligence, and those faculties towards mirth in which he excelled, made himself very acceptable to the king; though many wondered that he could be so, considering what the king himself knew of him: insomuch that his majesty told him what he had been in-

formed of his steward, and how much he suffered in his reputation for entertaining such servants. The duke received the animadversion with all possible submission and acknowledgment of the obligation, and then enlarged upon the commendation of the man, "of his great abilities, and the benefit he received by his service;" and besought his majesty, "that he would vouchsafe to hear him, for he believed he would give an account of the state of the city, and of many particulars which related to his majesty's service, better than most men could do." And the king shortly after supping at the duke's house, he found an opportunity to present Mr. Braythwaite to him, who was a man of a very good aspect, which that people used not to have, and of notable insinuation. He made the king a narration of the whole course of his life, in which he did not endeavour to make himself appear a better man than he had been reported to be; which kind of ingenuity, as men call it, is a wonderful approach towards being believed. He related "by what degrees, and in what method of conviction, he had explicated himself from all those ill principles in which he had been entangled: and that it had been a principal motive to him to embrace the opportunity of serving the duke, that he might totally retire from that company and conversation to which he had been most accustomed. And yet he thought he had so much credit with the chief of them, that they could never enter into any active combination, but he should have notice of it: and assured his majesty that nothing should pass of moment amongst that people, but his majesty should have very seasonable information of it, and that he would always serve him with great fidelity." In fine, the king was well satisfied with his discourse, and often afterwards upon the like opportunities conferred with him, and believed him to be well disposed to do him any service.

During the last session of parliament, in which the duke carried himself so disrespectfully to the king, this man found an opportunity to get access to his majesty, which he was willing to give him; when he said, "that he thought it his duty, and according to his obligation, to give his majesty an account of what he had lately observed, and of his own resolutions." He told him, "that his lord was of late very much altered, and was fallen into the acquaintance and conversation of some men of very mean condition, but of very desperate intentions; with whom he used to meet at unseasonable hours, and in obscure places, where persons of quality did not use to resort; and that he frequently received letters from them: all which made him apprehend that there was a design on foot, which, how unreasonable soever, the duke might be engaged in. And for these and other reasons, and the irregular course of his life, he was resolved to withdraw himself from his service: and that he hoped, into what extravagancies soever the duke should cast himself, his majesty would retain a good opinion of him, who would never swerve from his affection and duty."

The information and testimony, which the lord Arlington brought to the king shortly after this advertisement, made the greater impression; and there were many particulars in the informations

that could not be suspected to be forged. And it appeared that there was a poor fellow, who had a poorer lodging about Tower-hill, and professed skill in horoscopes, to whom the duke often repaired in disguise in the night : and the lord Arlington had caused that fellow to be apprehended, and his pockets and his chamber to be searched ; where were found several letters to the duke of Buckingham, one or two whereof were in his pocket sealed and not sent, and the rest copies, and one original letter from the duke to him, in all which there were many unusual expressions, which were capable of a very ill interpretation, and could not bear a good one. This man and some others were sent close prisoners to the Tower, where the lord Arlington and two other privy counsellors, by the king's order, took their several examinations, and confronted them with those witnesses, who accused them and justified their accusations ; all which were brought to the king.

And then his majesty was pleased to acquaint the chancellor with all that had passed, who to that minute had not the least imagination of any particular relating to it : nor had he any other prejudice to the person of the duke, (for he behaved himself towards him with more than ordinary civility,) than what was necessary for any man to have upon account of the extravagancy of his life ; and which he could not be without, upon what he had often received from the duke himself upon his own knowledge. The king now shewed him all those examinations and depositions which had been taken ; and that letter to the fellow, " which," his majesty said, " he knew to be every word the duke's own hand ;" and the letters to the duke from the fellow, which still gave him the style of prince, and mentioned what great things his stars promised to him, and that he was the darling of the people, who had set their hearts and affections and all their hopes upon his highness, with many other foolish and some fustian expressions. His majesty told him in what places the duke had been since he left London ; " that he " stayed few days in any place ; and that he inclined on such a day, that was to come, to be " in Staffordshire at the house of sir Charles " Wolsely," a gentleman who had been of great eminency in Cromwell's council, and one of those who had been sent by the house of commons to persuade him to accept the crown with the title of king. Upon the whole matter his majesty asked him, " what way he was to proceed against him : " to which he answered, " that he was first to be " apprehended ; and when he should be in custody and examined, his majesty would better " judge which way he was to proceed against " him."

Upon further consideration with the chancellor and lord Arlington and others of the council, the king sent a sergeant at arms, with a warrant under his sign manual, " to apprehend the duke " of Buckingham, and to bring him before one of " the secretaries of state, to answer to such crimes " as should be objected against him ;" or to that purpose. The sergeant made a journey into Northamptonshire, where he was informed the duke [was] : but still, when he came to the house where he was said to be, it was pretended that he was gone from thence some hours before ; by which he found that he had notice of his business.

And therefore he concealed himself, and appointed some men to watch and inform themselves of his motions, it being generally reported that he would be at the house of the earl of Exeter at such a time. And notice was given him, that he was then in a coach with ladies going to that house : upon which he made so good haste, that he was in view of the coach, and saw the duke alight out of the coach, and lead a lady into the house ; upon which the door of the court was shut before he could get to it. He knocked loudly at that and other doors that were all shut ; so that he could not get into the house, though it were some hours before sunset in the month of May. After some hours' attendance, one Mr. Fairfax, who waited upon the duke of Buckingham, came to the door, and without opening it asked him, " what he " would have : " and he answered, " that he had " a message to the duke from the king, and that " he must speak with him ;" to which he replied, " that he was not there, and that he should seek " for him in some other place." The sergeant told him, " that he saw him go into the house ; " and that if he might not be admitted to speak " with him, he would require the sheriff of the " county to give him his assistance : " upon which the gentleman went away, and about half an hour after returned again, and threatened the sergeant so much, after he had opened the door, that the poor man had not the courage to stay longer ; but returned to the court, and gave a full relation in writing to the secretary of the endeavours he had used, and the affronts he had received.

Why all the particular circumstances of this affair are so punctually related will appear anon. The king was so exceedingly offended at this carriage and behaviour of the duke, that he made relation of it to the council-board, and publicly declared, " that he was no longer of that number," and caused his name to be left out in the list of the counsellors, " and that he was no longer a " gentleman of his bedchamber," and put the earl of Rochester to wait in his place. His majesty likewise revoked that commission by which he was constituted lord lieutenant of the east riding in Yorkshire, and granted that commission to the earl of Burlington : so that it was not possible for his majesty to give more lively instances of his displeasure against any man, than he had done against the duke. And at the same time, with the advice of the board, a proclamation issued out for his apprehension, and inhibiting all persons to entertain, receive, or conceal him. Upon which he thought it fit to leave the country, and that he should be less discovered in London, whither he resorted, and had many lodgings in several quarters of the city. And though his majesty had frequent intelligence where he was ; and continued advertisements of the liberty he took in his discourses of his own person, and of some others, of which he was no less sensible ; yet when the sergeant at arms, and others employed for his apprehension, came where he was known to have been but an hour before, he was gone from thence, or so concealed there that he could not be found : and in this manner he continued sleeping all the day, and walking from place to place in the night, for the space of some months.

At last, being advertised of renewed instances of the king's displeasure, and that it every day

increased upon new intelligence that he received of his behaviour, he grew weary of the posture he was in, and employed several persons to move the king on his behalf; for he was informed that the king resolved to proceed against him for his life, and that his estate was begged and given. Upon this one night he sent his secretary, Mr. Clifford, to the chancellor, with whom he had never entered into any dispute, with some compliments and expressions of confidence in his friendship. He professed "great innocence and integrity in all his actions with reference to the king, though he might have been passionate and indiscreet in his words; that there was a conspiracy against his life, and that his estate was granted or promised to persons who had begged it:" and in conclusion he desired "that he would send him his advice what he should do, but rather, that he would permit him to come to him in the evening to his house, that he might confer with him."

The chancellor answered his secretary, who was well known to him, "that he might not confer with him till he rendered himself to the king; that he was confident, having seen testimony enough to convince him, that the duke was not innocent; and that he had much to answer for disrespectful mention of the king, which would require much acknowledgment and submission: but that he did not know that his crimes were of that magnitude as would put his life into danger; and that he was most confident that there was no conspiracy to take that from him, except his faults were of another nature than they yet appeared to be; and which no conspiracy, which he need not fear, could deprive him of. And he did not believe that there had been any attempt to beg his estate: but he was sure there had not been, nor could be, any grant of it to any man, which must have passed by the great seal." He did advise him, and desired him to follow his advice, "that if he did know himself innocent as to unlawful actions and designs, and that his fault consisted only in indiscreet words, as he seemed to confess; he would no longer aggravate his offence by contemning his warrants, which he would not be long able to avoid, but deliver himself into the custody of the lieutenant of the Tower, which he was at liberty by the proclamation to do, and send then a petition to the king, that he might be heard: and that when he had done this, he would be ready and willing to do him all the offices which would consist with his duty."

And the next day he gave his majesty a particular account of the message which he had received, and of the answer which he had returned; which his majesty approved, and shewed him a letter that he had received from the duke that morning, which seemed to have been written after his secretary had returned from the chancellor. The letter contained a large profession of his innocence, and complaint of the power of his enemies, and a very earnest desire "that his majesty would give him leave to speak with him, and then dispose of him as he pleased;" to which his majesty had answered to the person who brought the letter, who, as I remember, was sir Robert Howard, "that the duke need not fear the power of any enemies, but would be sure to have justice, if he would submit to it."

But his majesty in his discourse seemed to be as weary of the prosecution, as the duke was of the concealing himself to avoid it, and to have much apprehension of his interest and power in the parliament; and to be troubled that the principal witness, upon whose testimony he relied, was at [that] time sick of the smallpox, and in danger of death, and that another retracted part of that evidence that he had given. In a word, his majesty appeared less angry than he had been, and willing that an end should be put to the business without any public prosecution. To which the chancellor made no other answer, than "that no advice could be given with preservation of his majesty's dignity, till the duke rendered himself into the hand of justice:" which he was very unwilling to do, and sent again to the chancellor by sir Robert Howard, to press him, "that he might be admitted first to the king's presence, and then sent to the Tower." The other told him, "that if the king were inclined to admit him in that manner, he would dissuade him from it, as a thing dishonourable to him after so long a contest;" and repeated the same to him that he said formerly to Mr. Clifford: nor could he be persuaded by any others (for others did speak to him to the same purpose) to recede a tittle from what he had insisted upon, "that he should put himself in the Tower." Of all which he still gave the king a faithful account of every word that passed: for he knew well that the lord Arlington endeavoured to persuade the king, "that the chancellor favoured the duke, and desired that he should be at liberty;" when at the same time he used all the ways he could to have it insinuated to the duke's friends, "that he knew nothing of the business, but that the whole prosecution was made by the information and advice of the chancellor."

In the end, the duke was persuaded to render himself to the Tower: and from thence he sent a petition to the king, who presently appeared very inclined to give over any further prosecution; which alteration all men wondered at, nor could any man imagine the ground or reason of it. For though the principal witness was dead, as the lord Arlington declared he was, and that so much could not be proved as at the first discovery was reasonably suspected; yet the meanness and villainess of the persons with whom he kept so familiar correspondence, the letters between them which were ready to be produced, the disrespectful and scandalous discourses which he often held concerning the king's person, and many other particulars which had most inflamed the king, and which might fully have been proved, would have manifested so much vanity and presumption in the duke, as must have lessened his credit and reputation with all serious men, and made him worthy of severe censure. But whether the king thought not fit to proceed upon the words and scandalous discourses, which he thought would more disperse and publish the scandals; or whether he did really believe that it would disturb and obstruct all his business in parliament; or what other reason soever prevailed with his majesty, as without doubt some other there were: his majesty was very impatient to be rid of the business, and would have been easily persuaded to have given present order for setting the duke at liberty, and so to silence all further discourse.

But he was persuaded, "that that would most reflect upon his own honour, by making it believed, that there had been in truth a foul conspiracy against the person of the duke, which would give him more credit in the parliament and every where else;" for the king had not yet, with all his indulgence, a better opinion of his affection and fidelity than he had before.

In conclusion; it was resolved, "that the lieutenant of the Tower should bring the duke of Buckingham to the council chamber, his majesty being present; and there the attorney and solicitor general should open the charge that was against him, and read all the examinations which had been taken, and the letters which had passed between them;" all which was done. And the duke denying "that he had ever written to that fellow, though he knew him well, and used to make himself merry with him," the letter was produced (which the king and the lord Arlington, who both knew his hand well, made no doubt to be his hand) and delivered to the duke; who, as soon as he cast his eye upon it, said, "it was not his hand, but he well knew whose it was." And being asked whose hand it was, he said, "it was his sister's, the duchess of Richmond, with whom," he said, "it was known that he had no correspondence." Whereupon the king called for the letter, and, having looked upon it, he said, "he had been mistaken," and confessed "that it was the duchess's hand;" and seemed much out of countenance upon the mistake: though the letter gave still as much cause of suspicion, for it was as strange that she should write to such a fellow in a style very obliging, and being in answer to a letter; so that it seemed very reasonable still to believe, that she might have written it upon his desire and dictating.

The duke denied most of the particulars contained in the examinations: and for the other letters which had been written to him by the fellow who was in the Tower, (whereof one was found in his pocket sealed to be sent to the duke, and the others were copies of others which had been sent; and the witness who was dead had delivered one of them into the duke's own hand, and related at large the kindness he expressed towards the man, and the message he sent to him by him,) he denied that he had ever received those letters; but acknowledged, "that the man came often to him, and pretended skill in horoscopes, but more in distillations, in which the duke delighted and exercised himself, but looked upon the fellow as cracked in his brain, and fit only to be laughed at." When the duke was withdrawn, the king declared, "that he had been deceived in being confident that the letter had been written by the duke, which he now discerned not to be his hand, and he knew as well to have been written by the duchess;" and thereupon seemed to think that there was nothing else worth the examining: and so order was given to set the duke at liberty, who immediately went to his own house, and went not in some days afterwards to the court.

About this time, or in a few days afterwards, a great affliction befell the chancellor in his domestics, which prepared him to bear all the unexpected accidents that suddenly succeeded that

more insupportable misfortune. His wife, the mother of all his children, and his companion in all his banishment, and who had made all his former calamities less grievous by her company and courage, having made a journey to Tunbridge for her health, returned from thence without the benefit she expected, yet without being thought by the physicians to be in any danger; and within less than three days died: which was so sudden, unexpected, and irreparable a loss, that he had not courage to support; which nobody wondered at who knew the mutual satisfaction and comfort they had in each other. And he might possibly have sunk under it, if his enemies had not found out a new kind of consolation to him, which his friends could never have thought of.

Within few days after his wife's death, the king vouchsafed to come to his house to condole with him, and used many gracious expressions to him: yet within less than a fortnight the duke (who was seldom a day without doing him the honour to see him) came to him, and with very much trouble told him, "that such a day, that was past, walking with the king in the park, his majesty asked him how the chancellor did: to which his highness had made answer, that he was the [most] disconsolate person he ever [saw]; and that he had lamented himself to him not only upon the loss of his wife, but out of apprehension that his majesty had of late withdrawn his countenance from him: to which his majesty replied, that he wondered he should think so, but that he would speak more to him of that subject the next day. And that that morning his majesty had held a long discourse with him, in which he told him, that he had received very particular and certain intelligence, that when the parliament should meet again, they were resolved to impeach the chancellor, who was grown very odious to them, not only for his having opposed them in all those things upon which they had set their hearts, but that they had been informed that he had proposed and advised their dissolution; which had enraged them to that degree, that they had taken a resolution as soon as they came together again to send up an impeachment against him; which would be a great dishonour to his majesty, and obstruct all his affairs, nor should he be able to protect him or divert them: and therefore that it would be necessary for his service, and likewise for the preservation of the chancellor, that he should deliver up the seal to him. All which he desired the duke" (who confessed that he had likewise received the same advertisement) "to inform him of: and that the chancellor himself should choose the way and the manner of delivering up the seal, whether he would wait upon the king and give it into his own hand, or whether the king should send a secretary or a privy counsellor for it." When the duke had said all that the king had given him in charge, he declared himself "to be much unsatisfied with the king's resolution; and though he had received the same advertisement, and believed that there was a real combination and conspiracy against him, yet he knew the chancellor's innocence would not be frightened with it."

The chancellor was indeed as much surprised with this relation, as he could have been at the sight of a warrant for his execution. He told the



duke, "that he did not wonder that the king and "his highness had been informed of such a resolution; for that they who had contrived the "conspiracy, and done all they could to make it "prevalent, could best inform his majesty and "his highness of what would probably fall out." And thereupon he informed the duke "of what "had passed at the day of the last prorogation, "and the discourse and promise sir William "Coventry had made to them, if they had a mind "to be rid of the chancellor: but," he said, "that "which only afflicted him was, that the king "should have no better opinion of his innocence "and integrity, than to conclude that such a "combination must ruin him. And he was more "troubled to find, that the king himself had so "terrible an apprehension of their power and "their purposes, as if they might do any thing "they had a mind to do. He did not believe "that he was so odious to the parliament as he "was reported to be; if he were, it was only for "his zeal to his majesty's service, and his insisting upon what his majesty had resolved: but "he was confident that when his enemies had "done all that their malice could suggest against "him, it would appear that the parliament was "not of their mind. He wished that he might "have the honour to speak with the king, before "he returned any answer to his commands." The duke was pleased graciously to reply, "that "it was the advice he intended to give him, that "he should desire it; and that he doubted not "but that he should easily prevail with the king "to come to his house, whither he had used so "frequently to come, and where he had been so "few days before:" and at this time the chancellor was not only not well able to walk; besides that it was against the common rules of decency to go so soon out of his house. When the duke desired the king, that he would vouchsafe to go to Clarendon-house, his majesty very readily consented to it; and said, "he would go "thither the next day." But that and more days passed; and then he told the duke, "that since "he resolved to take the seal, it would not be so "fit for him to go thither; but he would send for "the chancellor to come to his own chamber in "Whitehall, and he would go thither to him."

In the mean time it began to be the discourse of the court: and the duchess, from whom the duke had yet concealed it, came to be informed of it; who presently went to the king with some passion; and the archbishop of Canterbury and the general accompanied her, who all besought the king not to take such a resolution. And many other of the privy-council, with none of whom the chancellor had spoken, taking notice of the rumour, attended the king with the same suit and advice. To all whom his majesty answered, "that what he intended was for his good, and "the only way to preserve him." He held longer discourse to the general, "that he did believe by "what his brother had told him, of the extreme "agony the chancellor was in upon the death of "his wife, that he had himself desired to be dismissed from his office;" and bade the general "go to him, and bid him come the next morning "to his own chamber at Whitehall, and the king "would come thither to him." And the general came to him with great professions of kindness, which he had well deserved from him, gave him

a relation of all that had passed with the king, and concluded, "that what had been done had "been upon mistake; and he doubted not, but "that upon conference with his majesty all things "would be well settled again to his content;" which no doubt he did at that time believe as well as wish.

Upon Monday, the 26th of August, about ten of the clock in the morning, the chancellor went to his chamber in Whitehall, where he had not been many minutes, before the king and duke by themselves came into the room. His majesty looked very graciously upon him, and made him sit down; when the other acknowledged "the "honour his majesty had done him, in admitting "him into his presence before he executed a "resolution he had taken." He said, "that he "had no suit to make to him, nor the least "thought to dispute with him, or to divert him "from the resolution he had taken; but only to "receive his determination from himself, and "most humbly to beseech him to let him know "what fault he had committed, that had drawn "this severity upon him from his majesty." The king told him, "he had not any thing to object "against him; but must always acknowledge, "that he had always served him honestly and "faithfully, and that he did believe that never "king had a better servant, and that he had taken "this resolution for his good and preservation, "as well as for his own convenience and security; "and that he had verily believed that it had been "upon his consent and desire." And thereupon his majesty entered upon a relation of all that had passed between him and the duke, and "that he "really thought his brother had concurred with "him in his opinion, as the only way to preserve "him." In that discourse the duke sometimes positively denied to have said somewhat, and explained other things as not said to the purpose his majesty understood, or that he ever implied that himself though it fit.

The sum of what his majesty said was, "that "he was most assured by information that could "not deceive him, that the parliament was resolved, as soon as they should come together "again, to impeach the chancellor; and then "that his innocence would no more defend and "secure him against their power, than the earl "of Strafford had defended himself against them: "and," he said, "he was as sure, that his taking "the seal from him at this time would so well "please the parliament, that his majesty should "thereby be able to preserve him, and to provide "for the passage of his own business, and the "obtaining all that he desired." He said, "he "was sorry that the business had taken so much "air, and was so publicly spoken of, that he "knew not how to change his purpose;" which he seemed to impute to the passion of the duchess, that had divulged it.

The chancellor told him, "that he had not contributed to the noise, nor had imparted it to his "own children, till they with great trouble informed him, that they heard it from such and "such persons," whom they named, "with some "complaint that it was concealed from them: "nor did he then come in hope to divert him "from the resolution he had taken in the matter "itself." He said, "he had but two things to "trouble him with. The first, that he would by



"no means suffer it to be believed that he himself was willing to deliver up the seal; and that he should not think himself a gentleman, if he were willing to depart and withdraw himself from the office, in a time when he thought his majesty would have need of all honest men, and in which he thought he might be able to do him some service. The second, that he could not acknowledge this deprivation to be done in his favour, or in order to do him good; but on the contrary, that he looked upon it as the greatest ruin he could undergo, by his majesty's own declaring his judgment upon him, which would amount to little less than a confirmation of those many libellous discourses which had been raised, and would upon the matter expose him to the rage and fury of the people, who had been with great artifice and industry persuaded to believe, that he had been the cause and the counsellor of all that they liked not. That he was so far from fearing the justice of the parliament, that he renounced his majesty's protection or interposition towards his preservation: and that though the earl of Strafford had undergone a sentence he did not deserve, yet he could not acknowledge their cases to be parallel. That though that great person had never committed any offence that could amount to treason, yet he had done many things which he could not justify, and which were transgressions against the law: whereas he was not guilty of any action, whereof he did not desire the law might be the judge. And if his majesty himself should discover all that he had said to him in secret, he feared not any censure that should attend it: if any body could charge him with any crime or offence, he would most willingly undergo the punishment that belonged to it.

"But," he said, "he doubted very much, that the throwing off an old servant, who had served the crown in some trust near thirty years, (who had the honour by the command of his blessed father, who had left good evidence of the esteem he had of his fidelity, to wait upon his majesty when he went out of the kingdom, and by the great blessing of God had the honour to return with him again; which no other counsellor alive could say,) on the sudden, without any suggestion of a crime, nay, with a declaration of innocence, would call his majesty's justice and good-nature into question; and men would not know how securely to serve him, when they should see it was in the power of three or four persons who had never done him any notable service, nor were in the opinion of those who knew them best like to do, to dispose him to so ungracious an act."

The king seemed very much troubled and irresolute; then repeated "the great power of the parliament, and the clear information he had of their purposes, which they were resolved to go through with, right or wrong; and that his own condition was such, that he could not dispute with them, but was upon the matter at their mercy."

The chancellor told him, "it was not possible for his majesty to have any probable assurance what the parliament would do. And though he knew he had offended some of the house of commons, in opposing their desires in such

"particulars as his majesty thought were prejudicial to his service; yet he did not doubt but his reputation was much greater in both houses, than either of theirs who were known to be his enemies, and to have this influence upon his majesty, who were all known to be guilty of some transgressions, which they would have been called in question for in parliament, if he had not very industriously, out of the tenderness he had for his majesty's honour and service, prevented it; somewhat whereof was not unknown to his majesty." He concluded "with beseeching him, whatever resolution he took in his particular, not to suffer his spirits to fall, nor himself to be dejected with the apprehension of the formidable power of the parliament, which was more or less or nothing, as he pleased to make it: that it was yet in his own power to govern them; but if they found it was in theirs to govern him, nobody knew what the end would be." And thereupon he made him a short relation of the method that was used in the time of Richard the Second, "when they terrified the king with the power and the purposes of the parliament, till they brought him to consent to that from which he could not redeem himself, and without which they could have done him no harm." And in the warmth of this relation he found a seasonable opportunity to mention the lady with some reflections and cautions, which he might more advisedly have declined.

After two hours' discourse, the king rose without saying any thing, but appeared not well pleased with all that had been said; and the duke of York found he was offended with the last part of it. The garden, that used to be private, had now many in it to observe the countenance of the king when he came out of the room: and when the chancellor returned, the lady, the lord Arlington, and Mr. May, looked together out of her open window with great gaiety and triumph, which all people observed.

Four or five days passed without any further proceedings, or the king's declaring his resolution: and in that time the chancellor's concern was the only argument of the court. Many of the council, and other persons of honour and interest, presumed to speak with the king, and to give a very good testimony of him, of his unquestionable integrity, and of his parts, and credit with the sober part of the nation: and to those his majesty always commended him, with professions of much kindness; but said, "he had made himself odious to the parliament, and so was no more capable to do him service." On the other side, the lady and lord Arlington, and sir William Coventry, exceedingly triumphed, the last of which openly and without reserve declared, "that he had given the king advice to remove him as a man odious to the parliament, and that the king would be ruined if he did it not; that he was so imperious, that he would endure no contradiction;" with many other reproaches to that purpose. But except those three, and Mr. May and Mr. Brouncker, there seemed none of name in the court who wished that the resolution should be pursued.

The duke of York concerned himself wonderfully on the chancellor's behalf, and with as much warmth as any private gentleman could express

on the behalf of his friend. He had great indignation at the behaviour of sir William Coventry and Mr. Brounker, that being his servants they should presume to shew so much malice towards a person they knew he had kindness for. And the former had so much sense of it, that he resolved to quit the relation by which he had got vast wealth, and came to him, and told him, "that since he was commissioner for the treasury, he found he should not be able to attend his service so diligently as he ought to do; and therefore desired his highness's favour in his dismission, and that he would give him leave to commend an honest man to succeed him in his service:" to which his highness shortly answered, "that he might dispose himself as he would, with which he was well content; and that he would choose another secretary for himself without his recommendation." And his highness presently went to the chancellor, and informed him of it, with displeasure enough towards the man, and much satisfaction that he was rid of him; and asked him "whom he would recommend to him for a secretary." He told his highness, "that if he would trust his judgment, he would recommend a person to him, who he believed was not unknown to him, and for whose parts and fidelity he would pass his word, having had good experience of both in his having served him as a secretary for the space of above seven years;" and named Mr. Wren. The duke said, "he knew him well, being a member of the Royal Company, where he often heard him speak very intelligently, and discerned him to be a man of very good parts, and therefore he would very willingly receive him; and the rather, that he knew it would be looked upon as an evidence of his kindness to him, which he would always own and testify to all the world:" and within two days after, he received him into his service with the king's approbation, the gentleman's abilities being very well known, and his person much loved.

In this suspension, the common argument was, "that it was not now the question whether the chancellor was innocent; but whether, when the king had so long resolved to remove him, and had now proceeded so far towards it, he should retract his resolution, and be governed by his brother: it was enough that he was not beloved, and that the court wished him removed." And Mr. Brounker openly declared, "that the resolution had been taken above two months before; and that it would not consist with his majesty's honour to be hectorated out of it by his brother, who was wrought upon by his wife's crying." And this kind of argumentation was every moment inculcated by the lady and her party: insomuch as when the duke made his instances with all the importunity he could use, and put his majesty in mind "of many discourses his majesty had formerly held with him, of the chancellor's honesty and discretion, conjuring him to love and esteem him accordingly, when his highness had not so good an opinion of him;" and, "that now he had found by good experience that he deserved that character, his majesty would withdraw his kindness from him, and rather believe others, who he knew were in his enemies, than his own judg-

ment;" the king gave no other answer, than "that he had proceeded too far to retire; and that he should be looked upon as a child, if he receded from his purpose."

And so being reconfirmed, upon the 30th of August in the year 1667 he sent secretary Morrice, who had no mind to the employment, with a warrant under the sign manual, to require and receive the great seal; which the chancellor immediately delivered to him with all the expressions of duty to the king. And as soon as the secretary had delivered it to the king in his closet, Mr. May went into the closet, and fell upon his knees, and kissed his majesty's hand, telling him "that he was now king, which he had never been before."

The chancellor believed that the storm had been now over; for he had not the least apprehension of the displeasure of the parliament, or of any thing they could say or do against him: yet he resolved to stay at his house till it should meet, (without going thither, which he was informed would be ill taken,) that he might not be thought to be afraid of being questioned; and then to retire into the country, and to live there very privately. And there was a report raised without any ground, that he intended to go to the house of peers, and take his precedence as chancellor, with which the king was much offended: but as soon as he heard of it, he desired the lord chamberlain to assure his majesty, "that he never intended any such thing, nor would ever do any thing that he believed would displease him;" with which he seemed well satisfied.

However, a new tempest was quickly raised against him. Many persons of honour and quality came every day to visit him with many expressions of affection and esteem; and most of the king's servants, except only those few who had declared themselves his enemies, still frequented his house with the same kindness they had always professed: but they were looked upon quickly with a very ill countenance by the other party, and were plainly told, "that the king would take it ill from all his servants who visited the chancellor;" though when some of them asked his majesty: "whether their visiting him, to whom they had been formerly much beholden, would offend his majesty;" he answered, "No, he had not forbid any man to visit him." Yet it appeared more every day, that they were best looked on who forbore going to him, and the other found themselves upon much disadvantage; by which however many were not discouraged.

The chief prosecutors behaved themselves with more insolence than was agreeable to their discretion: and the lord Arlington, who had long before behaved himself with very little courtesy towards all persons whom he believed to be well affected to the chancellor, even towards ambassadors and other foreign ministers, now when any of his friends came to him for the despatch of business in his office, asked them "when they saw the chancellor," and bade them "go to him to put their business into a method." The duke of Buckingham, who had after his enlargement visited the chancellor, and acknowledged the civilities he had received from him, came now again to the court, and was received with extraordinary grace by the king, and restored to all the honours and offices of which he was deprived;

and was informed and assured, "that all the proceedings which had been against him were upon the information and advice of the chancellor:" and whatever he had spoken in council was told him in that manner (and without the true circumstances) that might make most impression on him.

One day whilst that matter was depending, (which is not mentioned before,) the lord Arlington, after he found the king had acquainted the chancellor with the business, and shewed him the information and examinations which had been taken, proposed, there being more or the same witnesses to be further examined, "that the chancellor might be present with the rest who had been formerly employed at their examining:" which the king seeming to consent to, the other desired to be excused, "for that the office he held never used to be subject to those employments;" and in the debate added, "that if the testimony of witnesses made good all that was suggested, and the duke should be brought to a trial, it might probably fall out, that the king might command him to execute the office of high steward, as he had lately done in the trial of the lord Morley; and in that respect it would be very incongruous for him to be present at the examinations." The duke was now informed, without any of the circumstances, that the chancellor had said that he was to be high steward at the trial of the duke.

The duke, who always believed, and could not but upon the matter know, that the lord Arlington (with whom he had enmity) had been very solicitous in his prosecution, had, after his having visited the chancellor, sent a friend, whom he thought he would trust, to him, "to desire him to deal freely with him concerning the lord Arlington, whom he knew to be an enemy to both of them; and that he must have him examined upon that conspiracy, which he hoped he would not take ill:" to which he answered, "that he neither would nor could be examined concerning any thing that had been said or done in council; but that he would, as his friend, and to prevent his exposing himself to any new inconvenience, very freely and faithfully assure him, that he did not believe that there had been any conspiracy against him, nor did know that the lord Arlington had done any thing in the prosecution, but what was according to the obligation and duty of his office; which testimony," he said, "could proceed only from justice, since he well knew that lord did not wish him well." This answer, it seems, or the despair of drawing any other from him to his purpose, disposed him to give entire credit to the other information; and the king took great pains to reconcile him to the lord Arlington, who made many vows to him of his future service, and desired his protection: and hereupon the duke openly professed his resolution of revenge, and frankly entered into the combination with the lord Arlington and sir William Coventry against the chancellor.

But the knowledge of all this did not give him much trouble, (so much confidence he had in his own innocence, and so little esteem of the credit and interest of his enemies,) until he heard that the king himself expressed great displeasure towards him, and declared, "that he had misbehaved

himself towards his majesty, and that he was so imperious that he would endure no contradiction; that he had a faction in the house of commons, that opposed every thing that concerned his majesty's service, if it were not recommended to them by him; and that he had given him very ill advice concerning the parliament, which offended him most:" all which they to whom his majesty said it divulged to others, that they might thereby lessen the chancellor's credit and interest. It is very true, they who had taken all advantages to alienate the king's affections from him, had at first only proposed his removal, "as a person odious to the parliament, and whom they were resolved to impeach, which would put his majesty into a strait, either to renounce or desert an old servant, which would not be for his honour, or, by protecting him, to deprive himself of all those benefits which he expected from the parliament; whereas the removing him would so gratify the houses, that they would deny nothing that his majesty should demand of them;" and his majesty did believe it the only way to preserve him. But when they had prevailed so far, and rendered themselves more necessary to him, they prosecuted what they had begun with more visible animosity, and told him, "that if the parliament suspected that his majesty retained still any kindness towards him, they would not be satisfied with his removal, but apprehend that he would be again received into his favour; and he would in the mean time have so much credit in both houses, especially if he sat in the house of peers," which they undertook to know he intended to do, "that he would be able to obstruct whatsoever his majesty desired: and therefore it was necessary that his majesty should upon all occasions declare, and that it should be believed, that he had so full a prejudice against him, that nobody should have cause to fear, that he would ever again be received into any trust." And this disposed his majesty to discourse to many in that manner that is before set down.

And when the duke of York lamented to his majesty the reports which were generally spread abroad, of the discourses which he made to many persons of the chancellor's misbehaviour towards himself, and his own displeasure against him; the king denied many of the particulars, as that concerning his ill counsel against the parliament, which he denied to have spoken: but said withal, "that if the chancellor had done as he advised him, and delivered up the seal to him as of his own inclination, all would have been quiet. But since he insisted so much upon it, and compelled him to send for it in that manner, he was obliged in the vindication of his honour to give some reasons for what he had done, when other men took upon them so loudly to commend the chancellor, and to justify his innocence, not without some reflection upon his own honour and justice, which he could not but take very ill: but he should not suffer," he said, "for what other men did, and that he would use his two sons as kindly as ever he had done." And it must be always acknowledged, that though great importunity was used to his majesty, to discharge his two sons from his service, as a thing necessary by all the rules of policy, not to suffer

the sons to remain so near his person, when their father lay under so notorious a brand of his displeasure, (in which they believed they had so far prevailed, that they took upon them to promise their places to other men :) but the king positively refused to yield to them, and continued his favour still to them both in the same manner he had done. And though he was long after persuaded to suspend his eldest son from waiting, under which cloud he continued for many months, yet at last he was restored to his place with circumstances of extraordinary favour and grace : nor did his majesty afterwards recede from his goodness towards either of them, notwithstanding all the attempts which were made.

The parliament met upon the 10th of October, when the king in a short speech told them, "that there had been some former miscarriages, which had occasioned some differences between him and them : but that he had now altered his counsels, and made no question but that they should henceforward agree, for he was resolved to give them all satisfaction ; and did not doubt but that they would supply his necessities, and provide for the payment of his debts ;" with an insinuation, "that what had been formerly done amiss had been by the advice of the person whom he had removed from his counsels, and with whom he should not hereafter advise."

When the house of commons came together, one Tomkins, a man of very contemptible parts and of worse manners, (who used to be encouraged by men of design to set some motion on foot, which they thought not fit to appear in themselves till they discerned how it would take,) moved the house, "that they might send a message of thanks to the king for his gracious expressions, and for the many good things which he had done, and particularly for his removing the chancellor ;" which was seconded by two or three, but rejected by the house as a thing unreasonable for them who knew not the motives which had disposed his majesty : and so a committee was appointed to prepare such a message as might be fit for them to send. And the house of lords the same day sent to the king, without consulting with the house of commons, to give his majesty thanks for the speech he had made to them in the morning, which commonly used to be done. The king declared himself very much offended that the proposition in the house of commons for returning thanks to him had not succeeded, and more that it had been opposed by many of his own servants ; and commanded them "to press and renew the motion : that his honour was concerned in it ; and therefore he would expect thanks, and would take it very ill of any of his own servants who refused to concur in it." Hereupon it was again moved : but notwithstanding all the labour that had been used contrary to all custom and privilege of parliament, the question held six hours' debate, very many speaking against the injustice and irregularity of it ; they on the other side urging the king's expectation of it. In the end, the question being put, it was believed the noes to be the greater number : but the division of the house was not urged for many reasons ; and so the vote was sent to the house of lords, who were desired to concur with them.

But it had there a greater contradiction. They

had already returned their thanks to the king ; and now to send again, and to add any particular to it, would be very incongruous and without any precedent : and therefore they would not concur in it. This obstinacy very much displeased the king : and he was persuaded by those who had hitherto prevailed with him, to believe that this contradiction, if he did not master it, would run through all his business that should be brought into that house. Whereupon his majesty reproached many of the lords for presuming to oppose and cross what was so absolutely necessary for his service : and sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, "that he should in his majesty's name command all the bishops' bench to concur in it ; and if they should refuse it, he would make them repent it ;" with many other very severe reprehensions and animadversions. This being done in so extraordinary a manner, the duke of York told his majesty, "how much it was spoken of and wondered at : to which his majesty replied, "that his honour was engaged, and that he would not be satisfied, if thanks were not returned to him by both houses ; and that it should go the worse for the chancellor if his friends opposed it." And he commanded his royal highness that he should not cross it, but was contented to dispense with his attendance, and gave him leave to be absent from the debate ; which liberty many others likewise took : and so when it was again moved, though it was still confidently opposed, it was carried by a major part, many being absent.

And so both houses attended the king and gave him thanks, which his majesty graciously received as a boon he looked for, and said somewhat that implied that he was much displeased with the chancellor ; of which some men thought they were to make the best use they could. And therefore, after the king's answer was reported to the house of peers, as of course whatsoever the king says upon any message is always reported, it was proposed, "that the king's answer might be entered in the Journal Book ;" which was rejected, as not usual, even when the king himself spoke to both houses : nor was what he now said entered in the house of commons. However, when they had consulted together, they found that they had not yet so particular a record of the displeasure against the chancellor, as what he had said upon this message did amount unto ; they moved the house again, "that it might be entered in the book : and it was again rejected. All which would not serve the turn ; but the duke of Buckingham a third time moved it, as a thing the king expected : and thereupon it was entered.

And his majesty now declared to his brother and to many of the lords, "that he had now all he desired, and that there should be no more done to the chancellor." And without doubt the king had not at this time a purpose to give any further countenance to the animosity of his enemies, who thought that what was already done was too easy a composition, and told his majesty, "that, if he were not prosecuted further, he would gain reputation by it : for that the manner in which all votes had been yet carried was rather a vindication than censure of him ; and he would shortly come to the house with more credit to do mischief, and to obstruct whatsoever related to his service. But that such things

" would be found against him, as soon as men  
" were satisfied that his majesty had totally de-  
" serted him, (which yet they were not,) that he  
" would have no more credit to do good or  
" harm." Hereupon there were several cabals  
entered into, who invited and sent for persons of  
all conditions, who had had any business depend-  
ing before the chancellor, or charters passed the  
seal; and examined them whether he had not re-  
ceived money from them, or they were otherwise  
grieved by him, promising that they should re-  
ceive ample reparation.

The duke of Buckingham, and some others  
with him, sent for sir Robert Harlow, who had  
the year before gone to the Barbadoes with the lord  
Willoughby, who had much friendship for him;  
yet after they came thither, they grew unsatisfied  
with each other to that degree, that the lord Wil-  
loughby, who was governor of those islands,  
removed him from the office he had conferred on  
him, and sent him by the next shipping into  
England; where he arrived full of vexation for  
the treatment he had received, and willing to  
embrace any opportunity to be revenged on the  
governor. Him the duke of Buckingham sent  
for, who he knew was privy to all the lord Wil-  
loughby's counsels, and asked him, " what money  
" the lord Willoughby had given the chancellor  
" for that government," (for it was well known  
that the chancellor had been his chief friend in  
procuring that government for him, and in dis-  
countenancing and suppressing those who in  
England or in the islands had complained of  
him,) " and what money he had received from  
" those islands; and that it was probable that he  
" had some influence upon the lord Willoughby  
" towards the disgrace himself had undergone:"  
and added, " that he would do the king a very  
" acceptable service, in discovering any thing of  
" the chancellor's miscarriages, of which his ma-  
" jesty himself knew so much." To which the  
gentleman answered, " that he had no obligation  
" to the chancellor that would restrain him from  
" declaring any thing that might be to his prej-  
" dice; but that he was not able to do it: nor  
" did he believe that he had ever received any  
" money from the lord Willoughby or from the  
" islands." And this kind of artifice and in-  
quisition was used to examine all his actions; and  
they who were known to be any way offended  
with him, or disobliged by him, were most wel-  
come to them.

After many days spent in such close contriv-  
ances and combinations, Mr. Seymour, a young  
man of great confidence and boldness, stood up  
in the house of commons, and spake long and  
with great bitterness against the chancellor, and  
" of his great corruption in many particulars, by  
" which," he said, " he had gotten a vast estate.  
" That he had received great sums of money from  
" Ireland, for making a settlement that every body  
" complained of, and that left that kingdom in as  
" great distraction as ever it had been. That he  
" had gotten great sums of money indirectly and  
" corruptly from the plantations, the governments  
" whereof he had disposed; by preferments in  
" the law and in the church; and for the passing  
" of charters: and that he had received four  
" thousand pounds from the Canary company for  
" the establishing that company, which was so  
" great and general a grievance to the kingdom.

" And, which was above all this, that he had  
" traitorously persuaded, or endeavoured to per-  
" suade, the king to dissolve the parliament, and  
" to govern by a standing army; and that he had  
" said, that four hundred country gentlemen were  
" only fit to give money, and did not understand  
" how an invasion was to be resisted." He men-  
tioned many other odious particulars, " which,"  
he said, " he would prove," and therefore pro-  
posed, " that they would presently send up to the  
" lords to accuse him of high treason, and require  
" that his person might be secured." Some others  
seconded him with very bitter invectives: and as  
many gave another kind of testimony, and many  
reasons which made it improbable that he could  
be guilty of so many heinous crimes; and " that  
" it would be unreasonable that he should be ac-  
" cused of high treason by the house, before such  
" proofs should be presented to them of crimes,  
" that they had reason to believe him guilty." And so after many hours' debate, what they pro-  
posed for the present accusing him was rejected,  
and a committee appointed to consider of all par-  
ticulars which should be presented against him;  
" upon reporting whereof to the house, it would  
" give such further order as should be just."

The confident averment of so many particulars,  
and the so positively naming the particular sums of  
money which he had received, with circumstances  
not likely to be feigned; and especially the men-  
tioning of many things spoken in council,  
" which," they said, " would be proved by privy  
" counsellors;" and other particular advices given  
in private to the king himself, " which," they  
implied, and confidently affirmed in private, " the  
" king himself would acknowledge;" made that  
impression upon many who had no ill opinion of  
the chancellor, and upon others who had always  
thought well of him, and had in truth kindness  
for him, that of both sorts several messages of  
advice were secretly sent to him, " that he would  
" preserve his life by making an escape, and  
" transporting himself into foreign parts; for that  
" it was not probable there could be so extreme  
" and violent a prosecution, if they had not  
" such evidence against him as would compass  
" their ends." To all which he answered, " that  
" he would not give his enemies that advantage as  
" to fly from them: and in the mean time de-  
" sired his friends to retain the good opinion they  
" had always had of him, until they heard some-  
" what proved that would make him unworthy of  
" it; and then he would be well contented  
" they should withdraw it." And it appeared af-  
terwards, that though some of his good friends  
had advised that he should secure himself by  
flight, it proceeded from the advertisements that  
they had received through other hands, which  
came originally from his chiefest enemies, who  
desired that he might appear to be guilty by  
avoiding a trial; and who confidently informed  
many men, " that the impeachment was ready,  
" and had been perused by the king, and that his  
" majesty had with his hand struck out an article  
" which related to the queen's marriage, and an-  
" other that concerned the marriage of the duke;  
" but that there was enough left to do the busi-  
" ness; and that the duke of Buckingham should  
" be made high steward for the trial."

These reports, being spread abroad, wrought  
upon the duke to desire the king, " that he would

"let him know what he did intend; and whether he desired to have the chancellor's life, or that he should be condemned to perpetual imprisonment:" to which his majesty protested, "that he would have neither, but was well satisfied; and that he was resolved to stop all further prosecution against him," which his majesty likewise said to many others. The duke then asked the king, "whether the chancellor had ever given him council to govern by an army, or any thing like it; which," he said, "was so contrary to his humour, and to the professions which he had always made, and the advices he had given him, that if he were guilty of it, he should doubt his sincerity in all other things:" to which his majesty answered, "that he had never given him such counsel in his life; but, on the contrary, his fault was, that he always insisted too much upon the law." Whereupon his royal highness asked him, "whether he would give him leave to say so to others;" and his majesty replied, "with all his heart."

The duke then told it to his secretary Mr. Wren, and to many other persons, and wished them to publish it upon any occasion: upon which it was spread abroad, and Mr. Wren informed many of the members of the house of commons of all that had passed between the king and the duke in that discourse; which so much disheartened the violent prosecutors, that when the committee met that was to present the heads of a charge against him to the house, nobody appeared to give any evidence, so that they adjourned without doing any thing. Hereupon sir Thomas Osborne, a dependant and creature of the duke of Buckingham, and who had told many persons in the country before the parliament met, "that the chancellor would be accused of high treason; and if he were not hanged, he would be hanged himself:" this gentleman went to the king, and informed him what Mr. Wren confidently reported in all places, "which very much dissatisfied that party that desired to do him service; so that they knew not how to behave themselves:" to which his majesty answered, "that Wren was a lying fellow, and that he had never held any such discourse with his brother." This gave them new courage, and they resolved to call Mr. Wren to an account for traducing the king. And his majesty expostulated with the duke for what Mr. Wren had so publicly discoursed: and his highness declared, "that Mr. Wren had pursued his order, his majesty having not only said all that was reported, but had given him leave to divulge it;" to which the king made no other answer, "but that he should be hereafter more careful [of] what he said to him."

All this begat new pauses, and no advance [was] made in many days; so that it was generally believed that there would be no further prosecution: but the old argument, that they were gone too far to retire, had now more force, because many members of both houses were now joined to the party in declaring against the chancellor, who would think themselves to be betrayed and deserted, if no more should be done against him. And hereupon the committee was again revived, that was appointed to prepare heads for a charge, which sat many days, there being little debate upon the matter; for such of the committee, who knew him well, were so well pleased to find him

accused of nothing but what all the world did believe him not guilty of, [that they] thought they could not do him more right, than to suffer all that was offered to pass, since there appeared no person that offered to make proof of any particular that was suggested. But three or four members of the house brought several papers, containing particulars, "which," they said, "would be proved:" all which they reported to the house.

The heads were;

I. "That the chancellor had traitorously, about the month of June last, advised the king to dissolve the parliament, and said there could be no further use of parliaments; that it was a foolish constitution, and not fit to govern by; and that it could not be imagined, that three or four hundred country gentlemen could be either prudent men or statesmen: and that it would be best for the king to raise a standing army, and to govern by that; whereupon it being demanded how that army should be maintained, he answered, by contribution and free quarter, as the last king maintained his army in the war.

II. "That he had, in the hearing of several persons, reported, that the king was a papist in his heart, or popishly affected, or had used words to that effect.

III. "That he had advised the king to grant a charter to the Canary company, for which he had received great sums of money.

IV. "That he had raised great sums of money by the sale of offices which ought not to be sold, and granted injunctions to stop proceedings at law, and dissolved them afterwards for money.

V. "That he had introduced an arbitrary government into his majesty's several plantations, and had caused such as had complained to his majesty and privy-council of it to be imprisoned long for their presumption; and that he had frustrated and rejected a proposition that had been made for the preservation of Nevis and St. Christopher's, and for the reducing the French plantations to his majesty's obedience.

VI. "That he had caused *quo warrantos* to be issued out against most corporations in England, although the charters were newly confirmed by act of parliament, till they paid him good sums of money, and then the *quo warrantos* were discharged.

VII. "That he had received great sums of money for the settlement of Ireland.

VIII. "That he had deluded the king and betrayed the nation in all foreign treaties and negotiations, especially concerning the late war.

IX. "That he had procured his majesty's customs to be farmed at underrates, knowing them to be so; and caused many pretended debts to be paid by his majesty, to the payment whereof his majesty was not in strictness bound; for all which he had received great sums of money.

X. "That he had received bribes from the company of vintners, that they might continue the prices of their wines, and might be freed from the penalties which they were liable to.

XI. "That he had raised in a short time a greater estate than could be lawfully got; and that he had gotten the grant of several of the crown lands contrary to his duty.

XII. "That he had advised and effected the sale of Dunkirk to the French king, for less money than the ammunition, artillery, and stores were worth.

XIII. "That he had caused the king's letters under the great seal to one Dr. Crowther to be altered, and the enrolment thereof to be rased.

XIV. "That he had in an arbitrary way examined and drawn into question divers of his majesty's subjects concerning their lands and properties, and determined thereof at the council-table, and stopped the proceedings at law, and threatened some that pleaded the statute of 17 Car.

XV. "That he was a principal author of that fatal counsel of dividing the fleet in June 1666."

The committee reported another article for his charge, which was, "that he had kept correspondence with Cromwell during the time of the king's being beyond the seas, and had sent over his secretary to him, who was shut up with him for many hours:" but there were many members of the house, who wished it had been true, knew well enough that foolish calumny had been examined at Paris during the time that his majesty resided there, when persons of the highest degree were very desirous to have kindled a jealousy in the king of the chancellor's fidelity; and that the scandal appeared so gross and impossible, that his majesty had then published a full vindication of his innocence; with a further declaration, "that when it should please God to restore him to his own dominions, he should receive such further justice and reparation, as the laws would enable him to procure." And it was well known to divers of the members present, that the persons who were suborned in that conspiracy had acknowledged it since the king's return; and the persons themselves who had suborned them had confessed it, and begged the chancellor's pardon: of all which his majesty had been particularly and fully informed. And that it might be no more ripped up or looked into, they seemed to reject it as being included under the act of indemnity, which they would have left him to have pleaded for the infamy of it, if they had not very well known the grossness of the scandal.

Though the fierceness of the malice that was contracted against him was enough known and taken notice of, yet the heads for the charge, which upon so much deliberation were prepared and offered to the house against him, were of such a nature, that all men present did in their own conscience acquit him: and therefore it was generally believed the prosecutors would rather have acquiesced with what they had done to blast his reputation, than have proceeded further, to bring him to answer for himself. But they had gone too far to retire. And they who had first wrought upon the king, only by persuading him, "that there was so universal a hatred against the chancellor, that the parliament would the first day accuse him of high treason; and that the removing him from his office was the only way to preserve him, except he would in such a conjuncture, and when he had so much need of the parliament, sacrifice all his interest for the protection of the chancellor," (and this was the sole motive that had prevailed with him, as his

majesty not only assured him the last time he spake with him, with many gracious expressions, but at large expressed it to very many persons of honour, who endeavoured to dissuade him from pursuing that counsel, "that it was the only expedient for the chancellor's preservation," with as great a testimony of his integrity and the services he had done him as could be given:) the same men now importuned him, "to prosecute with all his power, and to let those of his servants and others who regarded his commands know, that they could not serve him and the chancellor together; and that he should look upon their adhering to him as the abandoning his majesty's service. That the chancellor had so great a faction in both houses, that no position on his majesty's behalf would have effect; and that he would shortly come to the house of peers, and obstruct all proceedings there."

This prevailed so far, that they resumed their former courage, and pressed "that he might be accused by the house of commons of high treason: upon which the lords would presently commit him to the Tower: and then nobody would have any longer apprehension of his power to do hurt." Hereupon they resolved again to consider the several heads of the charge they had provided, to see if they could find any one upon which they could ground an accusation of high treason. They spent a whole day upon the first head, which they thought contained enough to do their work, it containing the most unpopular and ungracious reproach that any man could lie under; "that he had designed a standing army to be raised, and to govern the kingdom thereby; he advised the king to dissolve the present parliament, to lay aside all thoughts of parliaments for the future, to govern by military power, and to maintain the same by free quarter and contribution."

The chancellor had been bred of the gown; and in the first war, in which the last king had been involved by a powerful rebellion, was known always to have advanced and embraced all overtures towards peace. Since the king's return he laboured nothing more, than that his majesty might enter into a firm peace with all his neighbours, as most necessary for the reducing his own dominions into that temper of subjection and obedience, as they ought to be in. It was notorious to all men, that he had most passionately dissuaded the war with Holland, with much disadvantage to himself; and that no man had taken so much pains as he to bring the present peace to pass, which at that time was grateful to all degrees of men: and, in a word, that he had no manner of interest or credit with the soldiers; but was looked upon by them all, as an enemy to the privileges which they required, of being exempted from the ordinary rules of justice, in which he always opposed them.

But let the improbability of this charge be what it would, there were persons of the house who pretended that it should be fully proved; and so the question was only, "whether upon it they should charge him with an accusation of treason:" and after a debate of eight hours, it was declared by all the lawyers of the house, "that how foul soever the charge seemed to be, yet it contained no high treason;" and in that con-



clusion they at last concurred who were most relied upon to support the accusation. But when the speaker directed the order to be drawn, "that the earl of Clarendon should not be accused of high treason," it was alleged, that the order was only to relate to that first head; some men declaring, "that though that article had missed him, yet there were others which would hit him;" and so the night being come, the farther debate was adjourned to another day.

When the day appointed came, (in which interval all imaginable pains and arts were used, by threats and promises, to allure and terrify as many as could be wrought upon, either to be against the chancellor, or to be absent at the next debate that concerned him,) upon reading the several other heads as they had been presented from the committee, it appeared to all men, that though all that was alleged were proved, the whole would not amount to make him guilty of high treason. And they got no ground by throwing aspersions upon him upon the several arguments, which they did with extraordinary license who were known to be his enemies; for thereby other men of much better reputations, and who had no relation to the chancellor, took occasion to answer and contradict their calumnies, and to give him such a testimony, as made him another man than they would have him understood to be; and their testimony had more credit: so that they declined the pursuit of that license, and intended wholly the discovery of the treason, since no other accusation would serve their turn.

When they had examined all their store, they pitched at last upon that head, "that he had deluded and betrayed his majesty and the nation in all foreign treaties and negotiations relating to the late war:" which when read and considered, it was said, "that in those general expressions there was not enough contained upon which they could accuse him of high treason, except it were added, that being a privy counsellor, he had discovered the king's secret counsels to the enemy." Which was no sooner said, than a young confident man, the lord Vaughan, son to the earl of Carbery, a person of as ill a face as fame, his looks and his manners both extreme bad, asked for the paper that had been presented from the committee, and with his own hand entered into that place those words, "that being a privy counsellor he had discovered the king's secrets to the enemy," which he said he would prove; whilst many others whispered into the ears of those who sat next to them, "that he had discovered all the secret resolutions to the king of France, which," they said, "was the ground of the king's displeasure towards him." [Upon] this confident insinuation from persons who were near the person of his majesty, and known to have much credit with him; and the positive averment by a member, "that the disclosing the king's secrets to the enemy," which nobody could deny to be treason, "would be positively and fully proved against him," and the rather because no man believed it to be true; it was voted, "that they should impeach him of high treason in the usual manner to the house of peers." Whereupon Mr. Seymour, who had appeared very violent against him, was sent up to the lords; and at the bar he accused Edward earl of Clarendon of high treason and other crimes

and misdemeanours, and desired "that he might be sequestered from that house, and his person secured."

And as soon as he was withdrawn, some of the lords moved, "that he might be sent for:" and now the warmth that had been so long within the walls of the house of commons appeared in the house of peers. Many of the lords, who were not thought much inclined to the person of the chancellor, represented, "the consequence of such a proceeding would reflect to the prejudice of every one of the peers. If upon a general accusation from the house of commons of high treason, without mentioning any particular, they should be obliged to commit any peer; any member that house should be offended with, how unjustly soever, might be removed from the body: which would be a greater disadvantage than the members of the house of commons were liable to." And therefore they advised, "that they should for answer let the house of commons know, that they would not commit the earl of Clarendon until some particular charge was exhibited against him."

On the other side, it was urged with much passion, "that they ought to comply with the house of commons in satisfying their requests, according to former precedents:" and the case of the earl of Strafford, and some other cases in that parliament, were cited; which gave those who were of another mind opportunity to inveigh against that time, and the accused precedents thereof, which had produced so many and great mischiefs to the kingdom. They put them in mind, "that they had committed eleven bishops at one time for high treason, only that they might be removed from the house, whilst a bill passed against their having votes any more in that house, which was no sooner passed than they were set at liberty; which had brought great scandal and great reproach upon the honour and justice of the parliament: and that both those bills, for the attainder of the earl of Strafford and for the excluding the bishops out of the house of peers, stand at present repealed by the wisdom and authority of this parliament." In a word, after many hours' debate with much passion, either side adhering obstinately to their opinion, no resolution was taken; but the house adjourned, without so much as putting the question, to the next day.

From the time of the parliament's coming together, and after the king's displeasure was generally taken notice of, many of the chancellor's friends advised him to withdraw, and transport himself into foreign parts; and some very near the king, and who were witnesses of the very great displeasure his majesty every day expressed towards him, were of the same opinion: but he positively refused so to do, and resolved to trust to his innocence, which he was sure must appear.

The debate continued still between the two houses, which would entertain no other business: the house of commons in frequent conferences demanding the commitment of the chancellor; and the major part of the house of peers, notwithstanding all the indirect prosecution and interposition from the court, remaining as resolved not to commit him. In this unhappy conjuncture, the duke of York, who expressed great affection and concernment for the chancellor, fell sick of the smallpox; which proved of great disadvan-



tage to him. For not only many of the peers who were before restrained by their respect to him, and supported by his countenance in the debates, either changed their minds, or absented themselves from the house; but the general, who had always professed great friendship to the chancellor, who had deserved very well from him, and had endeavoured to dissuade the king from withdrawing his favour from him with all possible importunity, was now changed by the unruly humour of his wife, and the frequent instances of the king; and made it his business to solicit and dispose the members of both houses, with many of whom he had great credit, "no longer to adhere to the chancellor, since the king resolved to ruin him, and would look upon all who were his friends as enemies to his majesty." Notwithstanding all which, the major part by much of the house of peers continued still firm against his commitment: with which the king was so offended, that there were secret consultations of sending a guard of soldiers, by the general's authority, to take the chancellor out of his house, and to send him to the Tower; whither directions were already sent what lodging he should have, and caution given to the lieutenant of the Tower, who was thought to have too much respect for the chancellor, "that he should not treat him with more civility than he did other prisoners."

He had many friends of the council and near the king, who advertised him of those and all other intrigues, and thereupon renewed their importunity that he would make his escape; and some of them undertook to know, and without question did believe, "that his withdrawing would be grateful to the king," who every day grew more incensed against him, for the obstinacy his friends in both houses expressed on his behalf. They urged "the ill condition he must in a short time be reduced to, wherein his innocence would not secure him; for it was evident that his enemies had no purpose or thought of bringing him to a trial, but to keep him always in prison, which they would in the end one way or other bring to pass: whereas he might now easily transport himself, and avoid all the other inconveniences." And they undertook to know, "that if he were gone, there would be no further proceeding against him."

There could not be a more terrifying or prevalent argument used towards his withdrawing, than that of a prison; the thought and apprehension whereof was more grievous to him than of death itself, which he was confident would quickly be the effect of the other. However, he very resolutely refused to follow their advice; and urged to them, "the advantage he should give his enemies, and the dishonour he should bring upon himself, by flying, in having his integrity condemned, if he had not the confidence to defend it." He said, "he could now appear, wherever he should be required, with an honest countenance, and the courage of an innocent man: but if he should be apprehended in a disguise running away, which he could not but expect by the vigilance of his enemies, (since he could not make any journey by land, being at that time very weak and infirm,) he should be very much out of countenance, and should be exposed to public scorn and contempt. And if he should make his escape into foreign parts, it would not be reasonable to expect or imagine that his ene-

mies, who had so far aliened the king's affection from him, and in spite of his innocence prevailed thus far, would want power to prosecute the advantage they should get by his flight, which would be interpreted as a confession of his guilt; and thereupon they would procure such proceedings in the parliament, as might ruin both his fortune and his fame."

His friends, how unsatisfied soever with his resolution, acquiesced for the present, after having first prevailed with him to write himself to the king; which he did, though without any hope that it would make any impression upon him. He could not comprehend or imagine from what fountain, except the power of the great lady with the conjunction of his known enemies, which had been long without that effect, that fierceness of his majesty's displeasure could proceed. He had, before this storm fell upon him, been informed by a person of honour who knew the truth of it, "that some persons had persuaded the king, that the chancellor had a principal hand in the marriage of the duke of Richmond, with which his majesty was offended in the highest degree: and the lord Berkley had reported it with all confidence." Whereupon the chancellor had expostulated with the lord Berkley, whom he knew to be his secret enemy, though no man made more outward professions to him: but he denied he had reported any such thing. And then he took notice to the king himself of the discourse, and desired to know, "whether any such story had been represented to his majesty, since there was not the least shadow of truth in it:" to which the king answered with some dryness, "that no such thing had been told to him." Yet now he was assured, "that that business stuck most with his majesty, and that from that suggestion his enemies had gotten credit to do him the worst offices; and his majesty complained much of the insolence with which he used to treat him in the agitation and debate of business, if he differed from him in opinion." Upon these reasons he writ this letter in his own hand to the king, which was delivered to him by the lord keeper, who was willing to perform that office. The letter was in these words.

"May it please your majesty,

"I am so broken under the daily insupportable instances of your majesty's terrible displeasure, that I know not what to do, hardly what to wish. The crimes which are objected against me, how passionately soever pursued, and with circumstances very unusual, do not in the least degree fright me. God knows I am innocent in every particular as I ought to be; and I hope your majesty knows enough of me to believe that I had never a violent appetite for money, that could corrupt me. But, alas! your majesty's declared anger and indignation deprives me of the comfort and support even of my own innocence, and exposes me to the rage and fury of those who have some excuse for being my enemies; whom I have sometimes displeased, when (and only then) your majesty believed them not to be your friends. I hope they may be changed; I am sure I am not, but have the same duty, passion, and affection for you, that I had when you thought it most unquestionable, and which was and is as great as ever man had for any mortal creature. I should die

"in peace, (and truly I do heartily wish that God Almighty would free you from further trouble, by taking me to himself,) if I could know or guess at the ground of your displeasure, which I am sure must proceed from your believing, that I have said or done somewhat I have neither said nor done. If it be for any thing my lord Berkley hath reported, which I know he hath said to many, though being charged with it by me he did as positively disclaim it; I am as innocent in that whole affair, and gave no more advice or counsel or countenance in it, than the child that is now born: which your majesty seemed once to believe, when I took notice to you of the report, and when you considered how totally I was a stranger to the persons mentioned, to either of whom I never spake word, or received message from either in my life. And this I protest to your majesty is true, as I have hope in heaven: and that I have never wilfully offended your majesty in my life, and do upon my knees beg your pardon for any over-bold or saucy expressions I have ever used to you; which, being a natural disease in old servants who have received too much countenance, I am sure hath always proceeded from the zeal and warmth of the most sincere affection and duty.

"I hope your majesty believes, that the sharp chastisement I have received from the best-natured and most bountiful master in the world, and whose kindness alone made my condition these many years supportable, hath enough mortified me as to this world; and that I have not the presumption or the madness to imagine or desire ever to be admitted to any employment or trust again. But I do most humbly beseech your majesty, by the memory of your father, who recommended me to you with some testimony, and by your own gracious reflection upon some one service I may have performed in my life, that hath been acceptable to you; that you will by your royal power and interposition put a stop to this severe prosecution against me, and that my concernment may give no longer interruption to the great affairs of the kingdom; but that I may spend the small remainder of my life, which cannot hold long, in some parts beyond the seas, never to return; where I will pray for your majesty, and never suffer the least diminution in the duty and obedience of,

"May it please your majesty,

"Your majesty's

"Most humble and most

"Obedient subject and servant,

"From my house

"CLARENDON."

"this 16th of November."

The king was in his cabinet when the letter was delivered to him; which as soon as he had read, he burned in a candle that was on the table, and only said, "that there was somewhat in it that he did not understand, but that he wondered that the chancellor did not withdraw himself;" of which the keeper presently advertised him, with his earnest advice that he would be gone.

The king's discourse was according to the persons with whom he conferred. To those who were engaged in the violent prosecution he spake with great bitterness of him, repeating many particular passages, in which he had shewed much

passion because his majesty did not concur with him in what he advised. To those who he knew were his friends he mentioned him without any bitterness, and with some testimony of his having served him long and usefully, and as if he had pity and compassion for him: yet "that he wondered that he did not absent himself, since it could not but be very manifest to him and to all his friends, that it was not in his majesty's power to protect him against the prejudice that was against him in both houses; which," he said, "could not but be increased by the obstruction his particular concernment gave to all public affairs in this conjuncture; in which," he said, "he was sure he would prevail at last." All these advertisements could not prevail over the chancellor, for the reasons mentioned before; though he was very much afflicted at the division between the two houses, the evil consequence whereof he well understood, and could have been well content that the lords would have consented to his imprisonment.

The bishop of Hereford, who had been very much obliged to the chancellor, and throughout this whole affair had behaved himself with very signal ingratitude to him, and thereby got much credit in the court, went to the bishop of Winchester, who was known to be a fast and unshaken friend to the chancellor; and made him a long discourse of what the king had said to him, and desired him "that he would go with him to his house;" which he presently did, and, leaving him in a room, went himself to the chancellor, and told him what had passed from the bishop of Hereford, "who was in the next room to speak with him, but would not in direct words to him acknowledge that he spake by the king's order or approbation; but that he had confessed so much to him with many circumstances, and that the lord Arlington and Mr. Coventry had been present." The chancellor had no mind to see or speak with the bishop, who had carried himself so unworthily towards him, and might probably misreport any thing he should say: but he was overruled by the other bishop, and so they went both into the next room to him.

The bishop of Hereford in some disorder, as a man conscious to himself of some want of sincerity towards him, desired "that he would believe that he would not at that time have come to him, with whom he knew he was in some umbrage, if it were not with a desire to do him service, and if he had not a full authority for whatsoever he said to him." Then he enlarged himself in discourse more involved and perplexed, without any mention of the king, or the authority he had for what he should say; the care to avoid which was evidently the cause of the want of clearness in all he said. But the bishop of Winchester supplied it by relating all that he had said to him: with which though he was not pleased, because the king and others were named, yet he did not contradict it; but said, "he did not say that he was sent by the king or spake by his direction, only that he could not be so mad as to interpose in such an affair without full authority to make good all that he should promise." The sum of all was, "that if the chancellor would withdraw himself into any parts beyond the seas, to prevent the mischiefs that must befall the kingdom by the division and difference between the two houses; he

"would undertake upon his salvation," which was the expression he used more than once, "that he should not be interrupted in his journey; and that after he should be gone, he should not be in any degree prosecuted, or suffer in his honour or fortune by his absence."

The chancellor told him, "that he well understood what he must suffer by withdrawing himself, and so declining the trial, in which his innocence would secure him, and in the mean time preserve him from being terrified with the threats and malice of his enemies: however, he would expose himself to that disadvantage, if he received his majesty's commands to that purpose, or if he had but a clear evidence that his majesty did wish it, as a thing that he thought might advance his service. But without that assurance, which he might receive many ways which could not be taken notice of, he could not with his honour or discretion give his implacable enemies that advantage against him, when his friends should be able to allege nothing in his defence."

The bishop replied, "that he was not allowed to say that his majesty required or wished it, but that he could not be so mad as to undertake what he had promised, without sufficient warrant;" and repeated again what he had formerly said. To which the other answered, "that the vigilance and power of his enemies was well known: and that though the king might in truth wish that he were safe on the other side of the sea, and give no direction to interrupt or trouble him in his journey; yet that it was liable to many accidents in respect of his weakness and infirmity," which was so great at that time, that he could not walk without being supported by one or two; so that he could not be disguised to any body that had ever known him. Besides that the pain he was already in, and the season of the year, made him apprehend, that the gout might so seize upon him within two or three days, that he might not be able to move: and so the malice of those who wished his destruction might very probably find an opportunity, without or against the king's consent, to apprehend and cast him into prison, as a fugitive from the hand of justice. For the prevention of all which, which no man could blame him for apprehending, he proposed, "that he might have a pass from the king, which he would not produce but in such an exigent: and would use all the providence he could, to proceed with that secrecy that his departure should not be taken notice of; but if it were, he must not be without such a protection, to preserve him from the present indignities to which he must be liable, though possibly it would not protect him from the displeasure of the parliament." The bishop thought this proposition to be reasonable, and seemed confident that he should procure the pass: and so that conference ended.

The next day the bishop sent word, "that the king could not grant the pass, because if it should be known, by what accident soever, it would much incense the parliament: but that he might as securely go as if he had a pass;" which moved no further with him, than his former undertaking had done. Nor could the importunity of his children, or the advice of his friends, persuade him to depart from his resolution.

About the time of the chancellor's disgrace, monsieur Ruvigny arrived at London as envoy extraordinary from the French king, and came the next day after the seal was taken from him. He was a person well known in the court, and particularly to the chancellor, with whom he had been formerly assigned to treat upon affairs of moment, being of the religion and very nearly allied to the late earl of Southampton. And as these considerations were the chief motives that he was made choice of for the present employment, so the chief part of his instructions was to apply himself to the chancellor, through whose hands it was known that the whole treaty that was now happily concluded, and all the preliminaries with France, had entirely passed. When he found that the conduct of affairs was quite changed, and that the chancellor came not to the court, he knew not what to do, but immediately despatched an express to France for further instructions. He desired to speak with the chancellor; which he refused, and likewise to receive the letters which he had brought for him and offered to send to him, all which he desired might be delivered to the king. When the proceedings in parliament went so high, Ruvigny, who had at all hours admission to the king, and intimate conversation with the lord Arlington, and so easily discovered the extreme prejudice and malice that was contracted against the chancellor, sent him frequent advertisements of what was necessary for him to know, and with all possible earnestness advised him, when the divisions grew so high in the houses, "that he would withdraw and retire into France, where," he assured him, "he would find himself very welcome." All which prevailed no more with him than the rest. And so another week passed after the bishop's proposition, with the same passion in the houses: and endeavours were used to incense the people, as if the lords obstructed the proceeding of justice against the chancellor by refusing to commit him; and Mr. Seymour told the lord Ashley, "that the people would pull down the chancellor's house first, and then those of all the lords who adhered to him."

By this time the duke of York recovered so fast, that the king, being assured by the physicians that there would be no danger of infection, went on Saturday morning, the 29th of November, to visit him: and being alone together, his majesty bade him "advise the chancellor to be gone," and blamed him that he had not given credit to what the bishop of Hereford had said to him. The king had no sooner left the duke, but his highness sent for the bishop of Winchester, and bade him tell the chancellor from him, "that it was absolutely necessary for him speedily to be gone, and that he had the king's word for all that had been undertaken by the bishop of Hereford."

As soon as the chancellor received this advice and command, he resolved with great reluctance to obey, and to be gone that very night: and having, by the friendship of sir John Wolstenholme, caused the farmers' boat to wait for him at Erith, as soon as it was dark he took coach at his house Saturday night, the 29th of November 1667, with two servants only. And being accompanied with his two sons and two or three other friends on horseback as far as Erith, he found the boat

ready; and so embarked about eleven of the clock that night, the wind indifferently good: but before midnight it changed, and carried him back almost as far as he had advanced. And in this perplexity he remained three days and nights before he arrived at Calais, which was not a port chosen by him, all places out of England being indifferent, and France not being in his inclination, because of the reproach and calumny that was cast upon him: but since it was the first that offered itself, and it was not seasonable to affect another, he was very glad to disembark there, and to find himself safe on shore.

All these particulars, of which many may seem too trivial to be remembered, have been thought necessary to be related, it being a principal part of his vindication for going away, and not insisting upon his innocence; which at that time made a greater impression upon many worthy persons to his disadvantage, than any particular that was contained in the charge that had been offered to the house. And therefore though he forbore, when all the promises were broken which had been made to him, and his enemies' malice and insolence increased by his absence, to publish or in the least degree to communicate the true ground and reasons of absenting himself, to avoid any inconvenience that in so captious a season might thereby have befallen the king's service; yet it cannot be thought unreasonable to preserve this memorial of all the circumstances, as well as the substantial reasons, which disposed him to make that flight, for the clear information of those, who in a fit season may understand his innocence without any inconvenience to his majesty, of whose goodness and honour and justice it may be hoped, that his majesty himself will give his own testimony, both of this particular of his withdrawing, and a vindication of his innocence from all the other reproaches with which it was aspersed.

I will not omit one other particular, for the manifestation of the inequality that was between the nature of the chancellor and of his enemies, and upon what disadvantage he was to contend with them. Before the meeting of the parliament, when it was well known that the combination was entered into by the lord Arlington and sir William Coventry against the chancellor, several members of the house informed him of what they did and what they said, and told him, "that there was but one way to prevent the prejudice intended towards him, which was by falling first upon them; which they would cause to be done, if he would assist them with such information as it could not but be in his power to do." That they were both very odious generally: the one for his insolent carriage towards all men, and for the manner of his getting in to that office by dispossessing an old faithful servant, who was forced to part with it for a very good recompense of ten thousand pounds in money and other leases and grants, which was paid and made by the king to introduce a secretary of very mean parts, and without industry to improve them, and one who was generally suspected to be a papist, or without any religion at all; it being generally taken notice of, that he was rarely seen in a church, and never known to receive the communion. The other was known by his corrupt behaviour, and selling all the offices in

"the fleet and navy for incredible sums of money, and thereby introducing men, who had been most employed and trusted by Cromwell, into the several offices; whilst loyal and faithful seamen who had always adhered to the king, and many of them continued in his service abroad and till his return into England, could not be admitted into any employment: the ill consequence of which to the king's service was very notorious, by the daily manifest stealing and embezzling the stores of ammunition, cordage, sails, and other tackling, which were commonly sold again to the king at great prices. And when the persons guilty of this were taken notice of and apprehended, they talked loudly of the sums they had paid for their offices, which obliged them to those frauds: and that it might not be more notorious, they were, by sir William Coventry's great power and interest, never proceeded against, or removed from their offices and employments."

They told him, "that he never said or did any thing in the most secret council, where they two were always present, and where there were frequent occasions of mentioning the proceedings of both houses, and the behaviour of several members in both, but those gentlemen declared the same, and all that he said or did, to those who would be most offended and incensed by it, and who were like in some conjuncture to be able to do him most mischief: and by those ill arts they had irreconciled many persons to him. And that if he would now, without its being possible to be taken notice of, give them such information and light into the proceedings of those gentlemen, they would undertake to divert the storm that threatened him, and cause it to fall upon the others." And this was with much earnestness pressed to him, not only before the meeting of the parliament, and when he was fully informed of the ill arts and ungentlemanly practice those two persons were engaged in to do him hurt, but after the house of commons was incensed against him; with a full assurance, "that they were much inclined to have accused the other two, if the least occasion was given for it."

But the chancellor would not be prevailed with, saying, "that [no] provocation or example should dispose him to do any thing that would not become him: that they were both privy counsellors, and trusted by the king in his most weighty affairs; and if he discerned any thing amiss in them, he could inform the king of it. But the aspersing or accusing them any where else was not his part to do, nor could it be done by any without some reflection upon the king and duke, who would be much offended at it: and therefore he advised them in no degree to make any such attempt on his behalf; but to leave him to the protection of his own innocence and of God's good pleasure, and those gentlemen to their own fate, which at some time would humble them." And it is known to many persons, and possibly to the king himself, for whose service only that office was performed, that one or both those persons had before that time been impeached, if the chancellor's sole industry and interest had not diverted and prevented it.

When the chancellor found it necessary, for

the reasons aforesaid, to withdraw himself, he thought it as necessary to leave some address to the house of peers, and to make as good an excuse as he could for his absence without asking their leave; which should be delivered to them by some member of their body, (there being many of them ready to perform that civil office for him,) when his absence should be known, or some evidence that he was safely arrived on the other side of the sea. And that time being come, (for the packet boat was ready to depart when the chancellor landed at Calais,) the earl of Denbigh said, "he had an address to the house from the earl of Clarendon, which he desired might be read;" which contained these words.

*"To the right honourable the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled; the humble petition and address of Edward earl of Clarendon.*

"May it please your lordships,

"I cannot express the insupportable trouble and grief of mind I sustain, under the apprehension of being misrepresented to your lordships; and when I hear how much of your lordships' time hath been spent upon my poor concern, (though it be of no less than of my life and fortune,) and of the differences in opinion which have already or may probably arise between your lordships and the honourable house of commons; whereby the great and weighty affairs of the kingdom may be obstructed in a time of so general a dissatisfaction. "I am very unfortunate to find myself to suffer so much under two very disadvantageous reflections, which are in no degree applicable to me: the first, from the greatness of my estate and fortune, collected and made in so few years; which, if it be proportionable to what is reported, may very reasonably cause my integrity to be suspected. The second, that I have been the sole manager and chief minister in all the transactions of state since the king's return into England to August last; and therefore that all miscarriages and misfortunes ought to be imputed to me, and to my counsels.

"Concerning my estate, your lordships will not believe, that after malice and envy hath been so inquisitive, and is so sharp-sighted, I will offer any thing to your lordships but what is exactly true: and I do assure your lordships in the first place, that, excepting from the king's bounty, I have never received or taken one penny, but what was generally understood to be the just and lawful perquisites of my office by the constant practice of the best times, which I did in my own judgment conceive to be that of my lord Coventry and my lord Ellesmere, the practice of which I constantly observed; although the office in both their times was lawfully worth double to what it was to me, and I believe now is.

"That all the courtesies and favours, which I have been able to obtain from the king for other persons in church or state or in Westminster-hall, have never been worth me five pound: so that your lordships may be confident I am as innocent from corruption, as from any disloyal thought; which, after near thirty years' service of the crown in some difficulties and distresses,

"I did never suspect would have been objected to me in my age.

"That I am at present indebted about three or four and twenty thousand pounds, for which I pay interest; the particulars whereof I shall be ready to offer to your lordships, and for which I have assigned lands and leases to be sold, though at present nobody will buy or sell with me. That I am so far from having money, that from the time the seal was taken from me I have lived upon the coining some small parcels of plate, which have sustained me and my family, all my rents being withheld from me.

"That my estate, my debts being paid, will not yield me two thousand pounds per annum, for the support of myself, and providing for two young children, who have nothing: and that all I have is not worth what the king in his bounty hath bestowed upon me, his majesty having out of his royal bounty, within few months after his coming into England, at one time bestowed upon me twenty thousand pounds in ready money, without the least motion or imagination of mine; and, shortly after, another sum of money, amounting to six thousand pounds or thereabouts, out of Ireland, which ought to have amounted to a much greater proportion, and of which I never heard word, till notice was given me by the earl of Orrery that there was such a sum of money for me. His majesty likewise assigned me, after the first year of his return, an annual supply towards my support, which did but defray my expenses, the certain profits of my office not amounting to above two thousand pounds a year or thereabouts, and the perquisites not very considerable and very uncertain: so that the said several sums of money, and some parcels of land his majesty bestowed upon me, are worth more than all I have amounts to. So far I am from advancing my estate by any indirect means. And though this bounty of his majesty hath very far exceeded my merit or my expectation; yet some others have been as fortunate at least in the same bounty, who had as small pretences to it, and have no great reason to envy my good fortune.

"Concerning the other imputation, of the credit and power of being chief minister, and so causing all to be done that I had a mind to; I have no more to say, than that I had the good fortune to serve a master of a very great judgment and understanding, and to be always joined with persons of great ability and experience, without whose advice and concurrence never any thing hath been done. Before his majesty's coming into England, he was constantly attended by the then marquis of Ormond, the late lord Colepepper, and Mr. Secretary Nicholas; who were equally trusted with myself, and without whose joint advice and concurrence, when they were all present, (as some of them always were,) I never gave any counsel.

"As soon as it pleased God to bring his majesty into England, he established his privy-council, and shortly out of them a number of honourable persons of great reputation, who for the most part are still alive, as a committee for foreign affairs, and consideration of such things as in the nature of them required much secrecy; and with these persons he vouchsafed

"to join me. And I am confident this committee never transacted any thing of moment, his majesty being always present, without presenting the same first to the council-board: and I must appeal to them concerning my carriage, and whether we were not all of one mind in all matters of importance. For more than two years I never knew any difference in the councils, or that there were any complaints in the kingdom; which I wholly impute to his majesty's great wisdom, and the entire concurrence of his council, without the vanity of assuming any thing to myself: and therefore I hope I shall not be singly charged with any thing that hath since fallen out amiss. But from the time that Mr. Secretary Nicholas was removed from his place, there were great alterations; and whosoever knows any thing of the court or councils, knows well how much my credit since that time hath been diminished, though his majesty graciously vouchsafed still to hear my advice in most of his affairs. Nor hath there been, from that time to this, above one or two persons brought to the council, or preferred to any considerable office in the court, who have been of my intimate acquaintance, or suspected to have any kindness for me; and many of them notoriously known to have been very long my enemies, and of different judgment and principles from me both in church and state, and who have taken all opportunities to lessen my credit to the king, and with all other persons, by misrepresenting and misreporting all that I said or did, and persuading men that I had done them some prejudice with his majesty, or crossed them in some of their pretences; though his majesty's goodness and justice was such, that it made little impression upon him.

"In my humble opinion, the great misfortunes of the kingdom have proceeded from the war, to which it is notoriously known that I was always averse; and may without vanity say, I did not only foresee, but did declare the mischiefs we should run into, by entering into a war before any alliance made with the neighbour princes. And that it may not be imputed to his majesty's want of care, or the negligence of his counsellors, that no such alliances were entered into; I must take the boldness to say, that his majesty left nothing unattempted in order thereunto: and knowing very well, that France resolved to begin a war upon Spain, as soon as his catholic majesty should depart this world, (which being much sooner expected by them, they had two winters before been at great charge in providing plentiful magazines of all provisions upon the frontiers, that they might be ready for the war,) his majesty used all possible means to prepare and dispose the Spaniard to that apprehension, offering his friendship to that degree, as might be for the security and benefit of both crowns. But Spain flattering itself with an opinion that France would not break with them, at least, that they would not give them any cause by administering matter of jealousy to them, never made any real approach towards a friendship with his majesty; but both by their ambassador here, and to his majesty's ambassador at Madrid, always insisted, as preliminaries, upon the giving up of Dunkirk, Tangier, and Jamaica.

"Though France had an ambassador here, to whom a project for a treaty was offered, and the lord Hollis, his majesty's ambassador at Paris, used all endeavours to promote and prosecute the said treaty: yet it was quickly discerned, that the principal design of France was to draw his majesty into such a nearer alliance as might advance their designs; without which they had no mind to enter into the treaty proposed. And this was the state of affairs when the war was entered into with the Dutch, from which time neither crown much considered their making an alliance with England.

"As I did from my soul abhor the entering into this war, so I never presumed to give any advice or counsel for the way of managing it, but by opposing many propositions which seemed to the late lord treasurer and myself to be unreasonable; as the payment of the seamen by tickets, and many other particulars which added to the expense. My enemies took all occasions to inveigh against me: and making friendship with others out of the council of more licentious principles, and who knew well enough how much I disliked and complained of the liberty they took to themselves of reviling all councils and counsellors, and turning all things serious and sacred into ridicule; they took all ways imaginable to render me ingrateful to all sorts of men, (whom I shall be compelled to name in my own defence,) persuading those who miscarried in any of their designs, that it was the chancellor's doing; whereof I never knew any thing. However, they could not withdraw the king's favour from me, who was still pleased to use my service with others; nor was there ever any thing done but upon the joint advice of at least the major part of those who were consulted with. And as his majesty commanded my service in the late treaties, so I never gave the least advice in private, nor writ one letter to any person in either of those negotiations, but upon the advice of the council, and after it was read in council, or at least by the king himself and some others: and if I prepared any instructions or memorials, it was by the king's command, and the request of the secretaries, who desired my assistance. Nor was it any wish of my own, that any ambassadors should give me an account of the transactions, but to the secretaries, with whom I was always ready to advise; nor am I conscious to myself of having ever given advice that hath proved mischievous or inconvenient to his majesty. And I have been so far from being the sole manager of affairs, that I have not in the whole last year been above twice with his majesty in any room alone, and very seldom in the two or three years preceding. And since the parliament at Oxford, it hath been very visible that my credit hath been very little, and that very few things have been hearkened to which have been proposed by me, but contradicted *eo nomine*, because proposed by me.

"I most humbly beseech your lordships to remember the office and trust I had for seven years; in which, in discharge of my duty, I was obliged to stop and obstruct many men's pretences, and to refuse to set the seal to many pardons and other grants, which would have been profitable to those who procured them,

"and many whereof, upon my representation to his majesty, were for ever stopped; which naturally have raised many enemies to me. And my frequent concurring with the late lord treasurer, with whom I had the honour to have a long and a fast friendship to his death, in representing several excesses and exorbitances, (the yearly issues so far exceeding the revenue,) provoked many persons concerned, of great power and credit, to do me all the ill offices they could. And yet I may faithfully say, that I never meddled with any part of the revenue or the administration of it, but when I was desired by the late lord treasurer to give him my assistance and advice, (having had the honour formerly to serve the crown as chancellor of the exchequer,) which was for the most part in his majesty's presence: nor have I ever been in the least degree concerned in point of profit in the letting any part of his majesty's revenue, nor have ever treated or debated it but in his majesty's presence: in which, my opinion concurred always with the major part of the counsellors who were present. All which, upon examination, will be made manifest to your lordships, how much soever my integrity is blasted by the malice of those, who I am confident do not believe themselves. Nor have I in my life, upon all the treaties or otherwise, received the value of one shilling from all the king's and princes in the world, (except the books of the Louvre print sent me by the chancellor of France by that king's direction,) but from my own master; to whose entire service, and to the good and welfare of my country, no man's heart was ever more devoted.

"This being my present condition, I do most humbly beseech your lordships to retain a favourable opinion of me, and to believe me to be innocent from those foul aspersions, until the contrary shall be proved; which I am sure can never be by any man worthy to be believed. And since the distemper of the time, and the difference between the two houses in the present debate, with the power and malice of my enemies, who give out, that I shall prevail with his majesty to prorogue or dissolve this parliament in displeasure, and threaten to expose me to the rage and fury of the people, may make me looked upon as the cause which obstructs the king's service, and the unity and peace of the kingdom; I must humbly beseech your lordships, that I may not forfeit your lordships' favour and protection, by withdrawing myself from so powerful a persecution; in hopes I may be able, by such withdrawing, hereafter to appear, and make my defence; when his majesty's justice, to which I shall always submit, may not be obstructed nor controlled by the power and malice of those who have sworn my destruction."

The chancellor knew very well, that there were members enough in both houses who would be very glad to take any advantage of his words and expressions: and therefore as he weighed them the best he could himself in the short time from which he took his resolution to be gone; so he consulted with as many friends as that time would allow, to the end that their jealousy and wariness might better watch, that no expression might be

liable to a sinister interpretation, than his own passion and indisposition could provide. And as they all thought it necessary that he should leave somewhat behind him, that might offer an excuse for his absence; so they did not conceive, that the words before mentioned could give any offence to equal judges. But the least variety or change of wind moved those waters to wonderful distempers and tempests.

This address was no sooner read, by which they perceived he was gone, but they who had contributed most to the absenting himself, and were privy to all the promises which had invited him to it, seemed much troubled that he had escaped their justice; and moved, "that orders might be forthwith sent to stop the ports, that so he might be apprehended;" when they well knew that he was landed at Calais. Others took exceptions at some expressions, "which," they said, "reflected upon the king's honour and justice:" others moved, "that it might be entered in their Journal Book, to the end that they might further consider of it when they should think fit;" and this was ordered.

The houses till this time had continued obstinate in their several resolutions; the commons every day pressing, "that he might be committed upon their general accusation of treason," (for though they had amongst themselves and from their committee offered those particulars which are mentioned before, yet they presented none to the house of peers;) and the lords as positively refusing to commit him, till some charge should be presented against him that amounted to treason. But now all that debate was at an end by his being out of their reach, so that they pursued that point no further; which, being matter of privilege, should have been determined as necessarily as before, for the prevention of the like disputes hereafter. But the commons wisely declined that contention, well knowing that their party in the house, that was very passionate for the commitment of the chancellor, would be as much against the general order as any of the rest had been: and the lords satisfied themselves with sending a message to the house of commons, "that they found by the address which they had received that morning, and which they likewise imparted to them, that the earl of Clarendon had withdrawn himself; and so there was no further occasion of debate upon that point."

The address was no sooner read in that house, but they who had industriously promoted the former [resolution] were inflamed, as if this very instrument would contribute enough to any thing that was wanting; and they severally arraigned it, and inveighed against the person who had sent it with all imaginable bitterness and insolence: whilst others, who could not in the hearing it read observe that malignity that it was accused of, sat still and silent, as if they suspected that somewhat had escaped their observations and discovery, that so much transported other men; or because they were well pleased that a person, against whom there was so much malice and fury professed, was got out of their reach. In conclusion, after long debate it was concluded, "that the paper contained much untruth and scandal and sedition in it, and that it should be publicly burned by the hand of the hangman;" which vote they presently sent to the lords for their con-



currence, who, though they had not observed any such guilt in it before, would maintain no further contests with them, and so concurred in the sentence: and the poor paper was accordingly with solemnity executed by the appointed officer, which made the more people inquisitive into the contents of it; and having gotten copies of it, they took upon them to censure the thing and the person with much more clemency and compassion, and thought he had done well to decline such angry judges.

When the chancellor found himself at Calais, he was unresolved how to dispose of himself, only that he would not go to Paris, against which he was able to make many objections: and in this irresolution he knew not how to send any directions to his children in England, to what place they should send his servants and such other accommodations as he should want; and therefore stayed there till he might be better informed, and know somewhat of the temper of the parliament. In the mean time he writ letters to the earl of St. Alban's at Paris, from whose very late professions he had reason to expect civility, and that was all he did expect; never imagining that he should receive any grace from the queen, or that it was fit for him to cast himself at her feet, whilst he was in his majesty's displeasure. Only he desired to know, "whether there would be any objection against his coming to Roan," and desiring, "if there were no objection against it, that a coach might be hired to meet him on such a day at Abbeville." The lieutenant governor of Calais had, upon his first arrival there, given advertisement to the court of it: and by the same post that he received a very dry letter from the earl of St. Alban's, in which he said, "he thought that court would approve of his coming to Roan;" he received likewise a letter of great civility from the count de Louvois, secretary of state, in which he congratulated his safe arrival in France, and told him, "that his majesty was well pleased with it, and with his purpose of coming to Roan, where he should find himself very welcome." At the same time letters were sent to the lieutenant governor of Calais, Boulogne, and Montrevil, "to treat him as a person of whom the king had esteem, and to give him such an escort as might make his journey secure;" of all which he received advertisement, and, "that a coach would be ready at Abbeville to wait for him at the day he had appointed."

And now he thought he might well take his resolution; and thereupon gave direction, "that such of his family, whose attendance he could not be well without, might with all expedition be with him at Roan; and such monies might be likewise returned thither for him, as were necessary," for he had not brought with him supply enough for long time. And so he provided to leave Calais, that he might be warm in his winter-quarters as soon as might be, which both the season of the year, it being now within few days of Christmas, and his expectation of a speedy defluxion of the gout, made very requisite. When he came to Boulogne, he found orders from the marshal D'Aumont to his lieutenant for a guard to Montrevil, the Spanish garrisons making frequent incursions into those quarters: and at Montrevil the duke D'Elbœuf visited him, and invited him to supper, which the chan-

cellor was so much tired with his journey that he accepted not; but was not suffered to refuse his coach the next day to Abbeville, where he found a coach from Paris ready to carry him to Roan.

It was Christmas-eve when he came to Dieppe, and it was a long journey the next day to Roan; which made him send to the governor, to desire that the ports might be open much sooner than their hour, which was granted: so that he came to a very ill inn, well known at Tostes, near the middle way to Roan, about noon. And when he was within view of that place, a gentleman, passing by in a good gallop with a couple of servants, asked, "whether the chancellor of England was in that coach;" and being answered, "that he was," he alighted at the coach-side, and gave him a letter from the king, which contained only credit to what that gentleman, monsieur le Fonde, his servant in ordinary, should say to him from his majesty. The gentleman, after some expressions of his majesty's grace and good opinion, told him, "that the king had lately received advertisement from his envoy in England, that the parliament there was so much incensed against him, the chancellor, that if he should be suffered to stay in France, it would be so prejudicial to the affairs of his Christian majesty, (to whom he was confident the chancellor wished well,) that it might make a breach between the two crowns; and therefore he desired him to make what speed he could out of his dominions; and that he might want no accommodation for his journey, that gentleman was to accompany him, till he saw him out of France."

He was marvellously struck with this encounter, which he looked not for, nor could resolve what to do, being at liberty to make his journey which way he would so he rested not, which was the only thing he desired: so he desired the gentleman (for all this conversation was in the highway) "to come into the coach, and to accompany him to Roan, where they would confer further." The gentleman, though he was a very civil person, seemed to think that it would be better to return to Dieppe, and so to Calais, as the shortest way out of France: but he had no commission to urge that, and so condescended to go that night to Roan; with a declaration, "that it was necessary for him to be the next day very early in the coach, which way soever he intended to make his journey."

It was late in the night before they reached Roan: and the coach was overthrown three times in the gentleman's sight, who chose to ride his horse; so that the chancellor was really hurt and bruised, and scarce able to set his foot to the ground. And therefore he told the gentleman plainly, "that he could not make any journey the next day: but that he would presently write to Paris to a friend, who should inform the king of the ill condition he was in, and desire some time of rest; and that as soon as he had finished his letter, he would send an express with it, who should make all possible haste in going and coming." Monsieur le Fonde assured him, "the matter was so fully resolved, that no writing would procure any time to stay in France; and therefore desired him to hasten his journey, which way soever he intended it." But when he saw there was no remedy, he likewise writ to the court, and the chancellor to the earl of St.



Alban's, from whom he thought he should receive offices of humanity, and to another friend, upon whose affection he more depended: and with those letters the express was despatched.

They who had prevailed so far against him in England were not yet satisfied, but contrived those ways to disquiet him as much in France, by telling monsieur Ruigny, (who was too easily disposed to believe them,) "that the parliament was so much offended with the chancellor, that it would never consent that the king should enter into a close and firm alliance with France," which it was his business to solicit, "whilst he should be permitted to stay within that kingdom:" when in truth all the malice against him was contained within the breasts of few men, who by incensing the king, and infusing many false and groundless relations into him, drew such a numerous party to contribute to their ends.

When he was now gone, they observed to the king, "what a great faction there was in both houses that adhered to the chancellor," who were called Clarendonians; and when any opposition was made to any thing that was proposed, as frequently there was, "it was always done by the Clarendonians:" whose condition they thought was not desperate enough, except they proceeded further than was yet done. They laboured with all their power, that he might be attainted of high treason by act of parliament, and that both his sons might be removed from the court: both which, notwithstanding all their importunity, his majesty positively refused to consent to. Then they told him, "that the chancellor only waited the season that the parliament should be confirmed in ill humour, to which they were inclined; and then he would return and sit in the house to disturb all their counsels, and obstruct all his service: and therefore they proposed, since he had fled from the hand of justice, that there could be no more prosecution for his guilt," (which was untrue, for they might as well have proceeded and proved the crimes objected against him if they could,) "a bill of banishment," which they had prepared, "might be brought in against him;" which his majesty consented to, notwithstanding all that the duke of York urged to the contrary upon the king's promise to him, and which had only betrayed the chancellor to making his escape. But the king alleged, "that the condescension was necessary for his good, and to compound with those who would else press that which would be more mischievous to him."

Whereupon a bill for his banishment was preferred, only upon his having declined the proceeding of justice by his flight, without so much as endeavouring to prove one of the crimes they had charged upon him: and this bill was passed by the two houses, and confirmed by the king; of whom they had yet so much jealousy, that they left it not in his power to pardon him without the consent of the two houses of parliament. And this act was to be absolute, "except by a day appointed," (which was so short, that it was hardly possible for him to comply with it, except he could have rode post,) "he should appear before one of the secretaries of state, or deliver himself to the lieutenant of the Tower, who was to

"detain him in custody till he had acquainted the parliament with it: in the mean time no person was to presume to hold any correspondence with him, or to write to him, except his own children or his menial servants, who were obliged to shew the letters which they sent or received to one of the secretaries of state."

The express that had been sent to Paris returned with reiterated orders to monsieur le Fonde to hasten the chancellor's journey, and not to suffer him to remain there; who executed the commands he had received with great punctuality and importunity. The earl of St. Alban's did not vouchsafe to return any answer to his letter, or to interpose on his behalf, that he might rest till he might securely enter upon his journey: only abbot Mountague writ very obligingly to him, and offered all the offices could be in his power to perform, and excused the rigour of the court's proceedings, as the effect of such reason of state, as would not permit any alteration whilst they had that apprehension of the parliament; and therefore advised him "to comply with their wishes, and make no longer stay in Roan, which would not be permitted." But the general indisposition of his body, the fatigue of his journey, and the bruises he had received by the falls and overturnings of the coach, made him not able to rise out of his bed; and the physicians, who had taken much blood from him, exceedingly dissuaded it. All which, how visible soever, prevailed not with his French conductor to lessen his importunity that he would go, though it was evident he could not easily stand; of which no doubt he gave true and faithful advertisement to the court, though the jealousy of being not thought active enough in his trust made his behaviour much less civil, than is agreeable to the custom of that nation.

However, the chancellor, hardened by the inhumanity of his treatment, writ such a letter in Latin to monsieur de Lionne, by whose hand all the ungentle orders to monsieur le Fonde had been transmitted, as expressed the condition he was in, and his disability to comply with his majesty's commands, until he could recover more strength; not without complaint of the little civility he had received in France. And he writ likewise to the abbot Mountague, "to use his credit with monsieur de Tellier," upon whose humanity he more depended, "to interpose with his Christian majesty, that he might not be pressed beyond what his health would bear." And since at that time he resolved to make his journey to Avignon, that he might be out of the dominions of France, he desired, "that he might have liberty to rest some days at Orleans, until his servants who were upon the sea, and brought with them many things which he wanted, might come to him; and that he might afterwards, in so long a journey in the worst season of the year, have liberty to take such repose as his health would require; in which he could not affect unnecessary delay, for the great charge and expense it must be accompanied with."

The answer he received from monsieur de Lionne was the renewing the king's commands for his speedy departure, "as a thing absolutely necessary to his affairs, and which must not be disputed." But that which affected him the more tenderly, was the sight of a billet which

abbot Mountague sent to him, that he had received from monsieur de Tellier, in which he said, "that he had, according to his desire, moved his Christian majesty concerning the chancellor of England; and that his majesty was much displeased that he made not more haste to comply with what was most necessary for his affairs, and that it must be no longer delayed; and that if he chose to pass to Avignon, he might rest one day in ten, which was all his majesty would allow."

This unexpected determination, without the least ceremony or circumstance of remorse, signified by a person who he was well assured was well inclined to have returned a more grateful answer, in the instant suppressed all hopes of finding any humanity in France, and raised a resolution in him to get out of those dominions with all the expedition that was possible: which his French conductor urged with new and importunate instance; insomuch as though there was sure information, that the ship, in which the chancellor's servants and goods were embarked, was arrived at the mouth of the river, and only kept by the cross wind from coming up to the town; he would by no means consent to the stay of one day in expectation of it, or that his servants might come to him by land, as he had sent to them to do.

At this very time arrived an express, a servant of his, sent by his children, with a particular account of all the transactions in parliament, and of the bill of banishment; of nothing of which he had before heard, and upon which the duke of York, who looked upon himself as ill used by that prosecution, was of opinion, "that the chancellor should make all possible haste, and appear by the day appointed, and undergo the trial, in which he knew his innocence would justify him." This advice, with a little indignation at the discourtesy of the court of France, diverted him from any further thought of Avignon. And though he did not imagine that his strength would be sufficient to perform the journey by the day assigned, (for the gout had already seized upon both his feet,) nor did the arguments for his return satisfy him; and the breach of all the promises which had been made was no sign that they meant speedily to bring him to trial, towards which they had not yet made any preparation: yet he resolved to make all possible haste to Calais, that it might be in his power to proceed according to such directions as he might reasonably expect to receive there from his friends from England, and from whence he might quickly remove into the Spanish dominions; though the climate of Flanders, well known to him, terrified him in respect of the season and his approaching gout. And with this resolution he despatched the express again for England; and left order with a merchant at Roan, "to receive his goods when the ship should arrive, and detain both them and his servants till he should send further orders from Calais;" and at the same time he writ to a friend in Flanders, to speak to the marquis of Carracena, with whom he had formerly held a fair correspondence, "to send him a pass to go through that country to what place he should think fit." And having thus provided for his journey, he departed from Roan, after he had remained there about twenty days.

In how ill a condition of health soever he was to travel, when the days were at shortest, he resolved to make no stay till he should reach Calais, to the end, that if he met with no advice there to the contrary, he might be at London by the day limited by the proclamation, which was the first of February that style: and it was the last of January the French style when he arrived at Calais, so broken with the fatigue of the journey and the defluxion of the gout, that he could not move but as he was carried, and was so put into a bed; and the next morning the physicians found him in a fever, and thought it necessary to open a vein, which they presently did. But the pains in all his limbs so increased, that he was not able to turn in his bed; nor for many nights closed his eyes. Many letters he found there from England, but was not in a condition to read them, nor in truth could speak and discourse with any body. Monsieur le Fonde, out of pure compassion, suffered him to remain some days without his vexation, until he received fresh orders from Paris, "that the chancellor might not, in what case soever, be suffered to remain in Calais;" and then he renewed his importunity, "that he would the next day leave the town, and either by sea or land, if he thought it not fit to pass for England, put himself into the Spanish dominions, which he might do in few hours."

He was so confounded with the barbarity, that he had no mind to give him any answer; nor could he suddenly find words, their conversation being in Latin, to express the passion he was in. At last he told him, "that he must bring orders from God Almighty as well as from the king, before he could obey: that he saw the condition he was in, and conferred every day with his physicians, by which he could not but know, that he could neither help himself, nor endure the being carried out of that chamber, if the house were in a flame; and therefore that he did not use him like a gentleman, in adding his unreasonable importunities to the vexation he suffered by pain and sickness. That he might be very confident, his treatment had not been so obliging to make him stay one hour in France, after he should be able to go out of it: but he would not willingly endanger himself by sea to fall into the hands of his enemies. That he knew" (for he had shewed him his letter) "that he had written into Flanders for a pass, which was not yet come: as soon as it did, if he could procure a litter and endure the motion of it, he would remove to St. Omer's or Newport, which were the nearest places under the Spanish government."

To all which he replied with no excess of courtesy, "that he must and would obey his orders as he had done; and that he had no power to judge of his disability to remove, or of the pain he underwent." And there is no doubt the gentleman, who was well bred, and in his nature very civil, was not pleased with his province, and much troubled that he could not avoid the delivery of the orders he received: and the conjuncture of their affairs was such, with reference to the designs then on foot, that every post brought reiterated commands for the chancellor's remove; which grew every day more impossible, by the access of new pain to the weakness he was in for want of sleep without any kind of sustenance.

Notwithstanding which, within few days after this last encounter, upon fresh letters from monsieur de Lionne, the gentleman came again to him, told him what orders he had received, and again proposed, "that he would either make use of a boat to Newport or Ostend, or a brancard to St. Omer's; either of which he would cause to be provided against the next morning, for the king's service was exceedingly concerned in the expedition." And when he saw the other was not moved with what he said, nor gave him any answer, he told him plainly, "that the king would be obeyed in his own dominions; and if he would not choose to do that which the king had required, he must go to the governor, who had authority and power to compel him, which he durst not but do." Upon which, with the supply of spirit that choler administered to him, he told him, "that though the king was a very great and powerful prince, he was not yet so omnipotent, as to make a dying man strong enough to undertake a journey. That he was at the king's mercy, and would endure what he should exact from him as well as he was able: it was in his majesty's power to send him a prisoner into England, or to cause him to be carried dead or alive into the Spanish territories; but he would not be *felo de se*, by willingly attempting to do what he and all who saw him knew was not possible for him to perform." And in this passion he added some words of reproach to le Fonde, which were more due to monsieur de Lionne, who in truth had not behaved himself with any civility: whereupon he withdrew in the like disorder, and for some days forbore so much as to see him, in which he had never before failed a day.

And the chancellor, who really did believe that some force and violence would be used towards him, presently sent to desire the chief magistrates of the town and the lieutenant governor to come to him; and then told them all the treatment he had received from monsieur le Fonde, and appealed to them, "whether they thought him in a condition to perform any journey." And the physicians being likewise present, he required them to sign such a certificate and testimony of his sickness as they thought their duty, which they readily performed; very fully declaring under their hands, "that he could not be removed out of the chamber in which he lay, without manifest danger of his life." And the lieutenant governor and the president of justice seemed much scandalized at what had been so much pressed, of which they had taken notice many days: and the one of them wrote to the count of Charron, governor of the town and then at court, and the other to monsieur de Lionne, what they thought fit; and the certificate of the physicians was enclosed to the abbot Mountague, with a full relation of what had passed. And it was never doubted, but that monsieur le Fonde himself made a very faithful relation of the impossibility that the chancellor could comply with what was required, in the state of sickness and pain that he was in at present.

By this time the French court discovered, that they were prevented of entering into that strait alliance they hoped with England, (and for obtaining whereof they had gratified the proud and malicious humours of the duke of Buckingham and

lord Arlington in the treatment of the chancellor,) by the triple league, which they had used all those compliances to prevent: so that by the next post after the receipt of the certificate from the physicians, monsieur de Lionne writ a very civil letter to the chancellor, in which he protested, "that he had the same respect for him which he had always professed to have in his greatest fortune, and that it was never in the purpose of his Christian majesty to endanger his health by making any journey that he could not well endure; and therefore that it was left entirely to himself to remove from Calais when he thought fit, and to go to what place he would." And monsieur le Fonde came now again to visit him with another countenance, by which a man could not but discern, that he was much better pleased with the commission he had received last, than with the former; and told him, "that he was now to receive no orders but from himself, which he would gladly obey."

This gave him some little ease in the agony he was in, for his pains increased to an intolerable degree, insomuch that he could not rise out of his bed in six weeks. And it was the more welcome to him, because at the same time he received an account from his friend in Flanders, "that the marquis of Castille Roderigo, with as much regret as a civil man could express, protested, that the fear he had of offending the parliament at that time would not permit him to grant a pass: but if he would come to Newport, he should find the governor there well prepared and disposed to shew him all possible respect, and to accommodate him in his passage throughout the country, where it would not be convenient for him to make any stay: and that he looked upon it as a great misfortune to himself, that he might not wait upon him in his passage." This made it easy for him to discern, that his enemies would not give him any rest in any place where their malice could reach him: and since they were so terrible that the marquis of Castille Roderigo durst not grant him a pass, he thought it would be no hard matter for them to cause some affront to be put on him when he should be without any pass; though he had not the least suspicion of the marquis's failing in point of honour or courtesy.

At the same time he received advice from his friends in England, "that the storm from France was over, and that he might be permitted to stay in any part thereof; and for the present they wished that he would repair to the waters of Bourbon for his health, and then choose such a place to reside in, as upon inquiry he should judge most proper." But he was not yet so far reconciled to that court, though he liked the climate well, as to depend upon its protection: and therefore he resumed his former purpose of going to Avignon, and, if he could recover strength for the journey before the season should be expired for drinking the waters of Bourbon to pass that way. And to that purpose he sent to the court "for a pass to Avignon, with liberty to stay some days at Roan," where his goods and his monies were, (for his servants had come from thence to him to Calais,) "and to use the waters of Bourbon in his way:" all which was readily granted.

It was the third of April, before he recovered

strength enough to endure a coach : and then, having bought a large and easy coach of the president of Calais, he hired horses there. And so he begun his journey for Roan, being still so lame and weak that he could not go without being supported : and the first day had a very ill omen by the negligence of the coachman, who passing upon the sands between Calais and Boulogne, when the sea was flowing, drove so unadvisedly, (which he might have avoided, as the horsemen and another coach did,) that the sea came over the boot of the coach, to the middle of all those who sat in it ; and a minute's pause more had inevitably overthrown the coach, (the weight whereof only then prevented it,) and they had been all covered with the sea. And two days after, by the change of the coachman for a worse, he was overthrown in a place almost as bad, into a deep and dirty water, from whence he was with difficulty and some hurt drawn out. Both which wonderful deliverances were comfortable instances that God would protect him, of which he had within few days a fresh and extraordinary evidence.

When he came to Roan, he received all those orders he had desired from the court. And a letter from abbot Mountague assured him, "that he need no more apprehend any discommodity from orders of the court, but might be confident of the contrary, and of all respect that could be shewed him from thence : that he might stay at Roan as long as his indisposition required ; and when he had made use of the waters of Bourbon, he might retire to any place he would choose to reside in." Monsieur le Fonde had orders, "after he had accompanied the chancellor two or three days' journey towards Bourbon, except he desired his company longer, to return to the court." Only monsieur de Lionne desired, "that he would not in his journey come nearer Paris than the direct way required him to do, because the emperor's agent at London, the baron of Isola, had confidently averred, that the king had one day gone incognito from the Bois de Vincennes to meet the chancellor, and had a long private conference with him."

When he had stayed as long at Roan as was necessary for the taking a little physic and recovering a little strength, the season required his making haste to Bourbon : and so on the 23d of April he began his journey from thence ; and that he might comply with the directions of monsieur de Lionne, he chose to go by the way of Eureux, and to lodge there that night. And because he was unable to go up a pair of stairs, he sent a servant before, as he had always done, to choose an inn where there was some ground-lodging, which often was attended with discommodity enough, and now (besides being forced to go through the city into the suburbs) was like to cost him very dear.

There happened to be at that time quartered there a foot company of English seamen, who had been raised and were entertained to serve the French in attending upon their artillery, some of them being gunners ; and none of them had the language, but were attended by a Dutch conductor, who spake ill English, for their interpreter. Their behaviour there was so rude and barbarous, in being always drunk, and quarrelling and fighting with the townsmen who would not give them

any thing they demanded, that the city had sent to the court their complaints, and expected orders that night for their remove. They quickly heard of the chancellor's being come to the town ; and calling their company together declared, "that there were many months' pay due to them in England, and that they would make him pay it before he got out of the town."

He was scarce gotten into his ill ground-lodging, when many of them flocked about the house : upon which the gates of the inn were shut, they making a great noise, and swearing they would speak with the chancellor ; and, being about the number of fifty, they threatened to break open the gate or pull down the house. The mutiny was notorious to all the street ; but they had no courage to appear against them : the magistrates were sent to ; but there was a difference between them upon the point of jurisdiction, this uproar being in the suburbs. In short, they broke open the door of the inn : and when they were entered into the court, they quickly found which was the chancellor's chamber. And the door being barricadoed with such things as were in the room, they first discharged their pistols into the window, with which they hurt some of the servants, and monsieur le Fonde, who with his sword kept them from entering in at the window with great courage, until he was shot with a brace of bullets in the head, with which he fell : and then another of the servants being hurt, they entered in at the window, and opened the door for the rest of their company, which quickly filled the chamber.

The chancellor was in his gown, sitting upon the bed, being not able to stand ; upon whom they all came with their swords drawn : and one of them gave him a blow with a great broadsword upon the head, which if it had fallen upon the edge must have cleft his head ; but it turned in his hand, and so struck him with the flat, with which he fell backward on the bed. They gave him many ill words, called him "traitor," and swore, "before he should get out of their hands he should lay down all their arrears of pay." They differed amongst themselves what they should do with him, some crying, "that they would kill him," others, "that they would carry him into England ;" some had their hands in his pockets, and pillaged him of his money and some other things of value ; others broke up his trunks and plundered his goods. When himself recovered out of the trance in which he was stunned by the blow, they took him by the hand who spake of carrying him into England, and told him, "it was the wisest thing they could do to carry him thither, where they would be well rewarded ;" another swore, "that they should be better rewarded for killing him there." And in this confusion, the room being full, and all speaking together, the fellow who had given him the blow, whose name was Howard, a very lusty strong man, took him by the hand, and swore, "they should hurt one another if they killed him there ; and therefore they would take him into the court, and despatch him where there was more room." And thereupon others laid their hands upon him and pulled him to the ground, and then dragged him into the court, being in the same instant ready to run their swords into him together : when in the moment their ensign, and some of the magistrates

with a guard, came into the court, the gate being broken; and so he was rescued out of their bloody hands, and carried back into his chamber.

Howard and many of the other, some whereof had been hurt with swords as they entered at the window, were taken and carried to prison, and the rest dispersed, vowing revenge when they should get the rest of their company together: and it cannot be expressed with how much fear the magistrates, and the poor guard that attended them, apprehended their coming upon them together again.

The chancellor himself had the hurt before mentioned in his head, which was a contusion, and already swollen to a great bigness; monsieur le Fonde was shot into the head with a brace of bullets, and bled much, but seemed not to think himself in danger; two of the chancellor's servants were hurt with swords, and lost much blood: so that they all desired to be in some secure place, that physicians and surgeons might visit them. And by this time many persons of quality of the town, both men and women, filled the little chamber; bitterly inveighing against the villany of the attempt, but renewing the dispute of their jurisdiction. And the provost, who out of the city was the greater officer, would provide an accommodation for them in his own house in the city, and appoint a guard for them; which the magistrates of the city would not consent to, nor he to the expedient proposed by them. And this dispute with animosity and very ill words continued in the chamber till twelve of the clock at night, the hurt persons being in the mean time without any remedy or ease: so that the magistrates, though they were not so dangerous, were as troublesome as the seamen, against whom they were not yet secure upon a second attempt.

In the end, monsieur le Fonde was forced to raise his voice louder than was agreeable to the state he was in, to threaten to complain of them to the king, for their neglect before and after the mischief was done: by which they were much moved, and presently sent to the governor of the duke of Bouillon's castle, (which is a good and noble house in the town,) "that he would receive the chancellor and monsieur le Fonde, "with such servants as were necessary for their attendance;" which he did with great courtesy, and gave them such accommodation as in an unfurnished house could on the sudden be expected. And so physicians and surgeons visited their wounds, and applied such present remedies as were necessary, till upon some repose they might make a better judgment.

The same night there were expresses despatched to the court to give advertisement of the outrage, and to Roan to inform the intendant in whose province it was committed: and he the next day with a good guard of horse arrived at Eureux. After he had visited the chancellor, with the just sense of the insolence he had undergone, and of the indignity that the king and his government had sustained; he proceeded in the court of justice to examine the whole proceedings, and much blamed the magistrates on all sides for their negligence and remissness. Upon the whole examination there appeared no cause to believe, that there was any formed design in which any others had concurred than they who appeared in the execution, who defended themselves by being drunk, which

did not appear in any other thing than in the barbarity of the action. Yet it was confessed, that upon their first arrival at Dieppe, and whilst they were quartered there, the chancellor then passing by between Roan and Calais, they had a resolution to have robbed or killed him, if they had not been prevented by his getting the gates opened, and so going away before the usual hour.

The surgeons found monsieur le Fonde's wound to be more dangerous than they had apprehended, and that at least one of the bullets remained still in the wound, and doubted that it might have hurt the skull, in which case trepanning would be necessary; which made him resolve, though he was feverish, presently to have a brancard made, and to be put into it in his bed, and so with expedition to be carried to Paris, where he was sure to find better operators, besides the benefit and convenience of his own house and family. And so the third day after his misadventure, and after he had given his testimony to the intendant, he was in that manner, and attended by a surgeon, conveyed to Paris; and, by the blessing of God, recovered without the remedy that had been proposed.

The chancellor, after he had [been] bled once or twice, found himself only in pain with the blow, without any other symptoms which frequently attend great contusions; and therefore he positively rejected the proposition of trepanning, which had been likewise earnestly urged by the surgeons: and upon application of such plasters and ointments as were prescribed, he found both the pain and swelling lessen by degrees, though the memory of the blow lasted long; so that he thought himself fit enough for his journey, and was impatient to be out of that unlucky town; and his servants, having only flesh-hurts, could endure the coach as well as he. The intendant, who knew his desire, and was willing to defer his judgment till he was gone from thence, was very well content that he should proceed in his journey, and sent his sons with his own troop to convey him two or three leagues out of the town; and appointed the provost with his troop of horse to attend him to his lodging that night, and farther if he desired it. And the next day he condemned Howard and two others, an Englishman, a Scotchman, and an Irishman, (for the company consisted of the three nations,) to be broken upon the wheel; which was executed accordingly. And shortly after his arrival at Bourbon, monsieur de Lionne writ a very civil letter to the chancellor, "of the trouble the king sustained for the affront "and danger he had undergone; and that his "majesty was very ill satisfied, that so few as "three had been sacrificed to justice for so barbarous a crime."

When he had stayed as long at Bourbon in the use of the waters, as the physicians prescribed, (in which time he found a good recovery of his strength, save that the weakness of his feet still continued in an uneasy degree;) and [had] received great civilities during his abode there from all the French of quality, men and women, who came thither for the same remedies, and with whom the town then abounded; he prosecuted his journey to Avignon: and having stayed a week at Lyons, without any new ill accident he arrived about the middle of June there, by the pleasant passage of the Rhone.

Though he desired to make his journey as privately as he could, and had no more servants in his train than was necessary to the state of health he was in; yet he was known in most places by the presence of English, or by some other accident. And some friends at Paris had given such advertisement to Avignon, that when he arrived there, he had no sooner entered into a private lodging, which he procured the next day, but the vice-legate came to visit him in great state and with much civility, offering all the commodities of that place, if he would reside there. The archbishop, a very reverend and learned prelate, a Genoese, as the vice-legate likewise was, performed the same ceremony to him; and afterwards the consuls and magistrates of the city in a body, (who made a speech to him in Latin, as all the rest treated him in that language,) and all the principal officers of the court: so that he could not receive more civility and respect in any place; which, together with the cheapness and convenience of living, and the pleasantness of the country about it, might have inclined him to reside there. Yet the ill savour of the streets by the multitude of dyers and of the silk manufactures, and the worse smell of the Jews, made him doubt that it could be no pleasant place to make an abode in during the heat of summer: and therefore receiving new confirmation by letters from Paris, "that he was entirely at liberty to reside where he would in France," he resolved to take a view of some places before he would conclude where to fix; and the fame of Montpellier, that was within two little days' journey, invited him thither. And so after a week's stay at Avignon, and after having returned all the visits he had received, he went from thence, and came to Montpellier in the beginning of July.

It was his very good fortune, that an English lady of eminent virtue and merit, the lady viscountess Mordaunt, who had in the beginning of the winter before, in as great weakness of body as nature can subsist with, transported herself thither, remained still at Montpellier; where she had miraculously, by the benefit of that air, recovered a comfortable degree of health: and the news of her being still there was a great motive to his journey from Avignon thither. The chancellor had no mind to be taken notice of; but some relations which that lady made to his advantage, and the great esteem that city had of her, made his reception there more formal and ceremonious than he desired.

The marquis de Castro, governor of the city and castle, visited him, and welcomed him to the town, though he had not so much as a pass to come thither. The premier president, and all the other courts, and the consul and other magistrates of the city, visited him in their several bodies, and entertained him in Latin. It is true, that some days after, the intendant of the province (who was not then in the town) came thither; and he had received orders from the court, as soon as it was known that the chancellor was in Montpellier, "that he should be looked upon and treated as a person of whom the most Christian king had a good esteem:" and so, as soon as he came to the town, he visited him with much ceremony, and told him, "that he had received a particular command from the king to do him all the services he could in that city, and in the province

"of Languedoc." And it must be confessed, that during his residence in Montpellier, which was not above one or two months less than three years, he did receive as much civility and formal courtesy from all persons of all conditions in that place, or who occasionally resorted thither, as could have been performed towards him, if he had been sent thither as a public person. And when the duke of Vernueil (who was governor of the province, and used to convene the States thither every year) came to Montpellier, as he did three times in those three years, he always visited the chancellor, and shewed a very great respect to him: which was as great a countenance as he could receive.

Yet he did always acknowledge, that he owed all the civilities which he received at his first coming thither, and which were upon the matter the first civilities he had received in France, purely to the friendship of the lady Mordaunt, and to the great credit she had there: and for which, and the consolation he received from her during the time of her stay there, he had ever a great respect for her and her husband; who, coming likewise thither, when he received information from England of a design to assassinate him by some Irish, manifested a noble affection for him, and stayed some months longer than he intended to have done, that he might see the issue of that design. Of which he had a just sense, and transmitted the information of it to his children, to the end that they and his friends might, upon all opportunities, acknowledge it to them both.

And in truth the great respect the place had for him was notorious, in that when any English came thither, and forbore to pay any respect to the chancellor; as only one gentleman did, sir Richard Temple, who publicly declared, "that he would not visit him," and dissuaded others from doing it, as a matter the parliament would punish them for, and shewed much vanity and insolence in his discourses concerning him: he found so little countenance from any person of condition, though he called himself "the premier president of the parliament of England," and such a general aversion towards him; that as they who came with him, and his other friends, deserted him and paid their civilities to the chancellor, so himself grew so ridiculous, that he left the town sooner than he intended, and left the reputation behind him of a very vain, humorous, and sordid person.

And having thus accompanied the chancellor through all his ill treatments and misadventures to Montpellier, where he resolved to stay, it will be to no purpose further to continue this relation; otherwise than as himself afterwards communicated his private thoughts and reflections to his friends.

When he found himself at this ease, and with those convenient accommodations, that he might reasonably believe he should be no more exposed to the troubles and distresses which he had passed through; he began to think of composing his mind to his fortune, and of regulating and governing his own thoughts and affections towards such a tranquillity, as the sickness of mind and body, and the continued sharp fatigue in the six or seven precedent months, had not suffered to enter into any formed deliberation. And it pleased

God in a short time, after some recollections, and upon his entire confidence in him, to restore him to that serenity of mind, and resignation of himself to the disposal and good pleasure of God, that they who conversed most with him could not discover the least murmur or impatience in him, or any unevenness in his conversations. He resolved to improve his understanding of the French language, not towards speaking it, the defect of which he found many conveniences in, but for the reading any books; and to learn the Italian: towards both which he made a competent progress, and had opportunity to buy or borrow any good books he desired to peruse.

But in the first place he thought he was indebted to his own reputation, and [obliged] for the information of his children and other friends, to vindicate himself from those aspersions and reproaches which the malice of his enemies had cast upon him in the parliament; which, though never reduced into any formal or legal charge, nor offered to be proved by any one witness, were yet maliciously scattered abroad and divulged to take away his credit. And the performance of this work, that was so necessarily incumbent to him, was the more difficult, by his constant and uninterrupted fidelity and zeal for the king's service, and his resolution to say nothing on his own behalf and for his own vindication, that might in the least degree reflect upon his majesty; which consideration had before kept him from charging those who persecuted him, with such indirect and naughty proceedings as might have put an end to their power. Nor did he think fit in that conjuncture, when his majesty had not yet met with that complaisance and submission from the parliament since the chancellor's remove, as had been promised to him as the effect of that counsel, to publish, that his coming away (which was the greatest blot upon his reputation) was with the king's privity, and at least with his approbation. However, he was resolved to commit into the custody of his children, who he knew could never commit a fault against his majesty, such a plain, particular defence of his innocence upon every one of the reproaches he had been charged with, that themselves might infallibly know his uprightness and integrity in all his ministry, which they observed and knew too much of to suspect; and might likewise manifestly convince other men, who were willing to be undeceived: but the manner of doing it, in respect of the former consideration, he left to their discretion. And having prepared this, and caused it to be fairly transcribed, before the lord and lady Mordaunt returned for England; he committed it to their care, who delivered it safely to the hands of his sons.

They were themselves upon that disadvantage under the reproach of their relation, that the eldest of them was removed from his attendance upon the queen for many months, without the allegation of any crime; and the other was retained only by the goodness of the king, against the greatest importunity that could be applied: and therefore it concerned them to be very wary in giving any offence, of which their adversaries might take any advantage. Besides, they observed that they, whose credit and interest had done all the mischief to their father, were now fallen out amongst themselves with equal animosity, and had all carried themselves so ill with reference to

the public, and so loosely and licentiously in order to a good name, that their being enemies brought little prejudice to any man's reputation; and many of those, who had been made instruments to deprave the chancellor, were not scrupulous in declaring how they had been cozened, and how unjustly he had been traduced and accused: so that they made no other use of the answer and vindication they had received, than to be thereby enabled to make a perfect relation of some particular matters of fact which were variously reported, and could not be understood by any but those who had been conversant in the transactions.

It will be therefore necessary in this place, since there hath been before so methodical an account of all that the committee brought into the house of commons against him, and never after mentioned when they had once accused him, to insert such a short answer and defence to all that was alleged, out of that vindication which he sent from Montpelier, that nothing may remain in the possible thoughts of any worthy and uncorrupted man that may reflect upon his sincerity, or leave any taint upon his memory; the preservation of which from being sullied by the misfortunes which befell him, is the only end of this discourse, never to be communicated or perused by any but his nearest relations; who, by the blessing of God, can never but retain that affection and duty to the crown and for the royal family, that by the laws of God and man is due to it and them, and without which they can never expect God's blessing in this or the world to come. And in this I shall observe the order I used before in the mention of the several allegations, omitting upon any particular the repetition of what hath been at large already said in this discourse, which shall be referred to for answer.

To the first then, "That he had designed a standing army, and to govern the kingdom thereby; advised the king to dissolve the present parliament, and to lay aside all thoughts of future parliaments; to govern by military power, and to maintain the same by free quarter and contribution," (which, if true, whether it was treason or no, must worthily have made him odious to all honest men.)

The answer which he then made, and which was dated at Montpelier upon the 24th of July 1668, within few days after his arrival there and resolution to stay there, was in these words. He said, as nothing could be more surprising to him, nor he thought to any man else, than to find himself, after near thirty years' service of the crown in the highest trust; after having passed all the time of his majesty's exile with him beyond the seas and in his service, and in which the indefatigable pains he took was notorious to many nations; and after he had the honour and happiness to return again with his majesty into England, and to receive from him so many eminent marks of his favour, and to serve him near eight years after his return in the place of the greatest trust, without ever having discovered that his majesty was offended with him, or in truth that he had ever the least ill success from any counsel he had ever given him; or that any persons of honour and reputation, or interest in the nation, had ever made the least complaint against him, or had any thought that the miscarriages (for mis-



carriages were enough spoken of) had proceeded from him, or from any advice of his: he said, that as after all this he could not but be exceedingly surprised to find himself on a sudden, when he had not the least imagination of it, bereft of the king's favour, and fallen so far from his kindness, even within three or four days after his majesty had vouchsafed to condole with him in his house for the death of his wife, that he resolved to take the great seal from him; so it was no small comfort to him to see and know, that very few men of honour and reputation approved or liked what was done; but that the same was contrived, pursued, and brought to pass by men and women of no credit in the nation; by men, who had never served his majesty or his blessed father eminently or usefully, but most of them of trust and credit under Cromwell, or never of credit to do the king the least service; and who were only angry with him for not being pleased with their vicious and debauched lives, or for opposing and dissuading their loose and unreasonable counsels, which they were every day audaciously administering in matters of the highest moment, with great license and presumption.

But above all, he said, it was of the highest consolation to him, when it was publicly and industriously declared, "that the king was firmly resolved to destroy him, and would take it very well from all men who would contribute thereto, by bringing in any charge or accusation against him;" when the most notorious enemies he had were the only persons trusted in employment, men who had most eminently deserved and maliciously traduced the king, and had been to that time looked upon as such by his majesty; and when all, who were believed to have any kindness for the chancellor, were discountenanced and ill looked upon; when men of all conditions and degrees were daily solicited and importuned, by promises and threats, to declare themselves against him, at least if they would not be wrought over to do any thing against their conscience, that they would absent themselves from those debates: that all this malice and conspiracy, with so long deliberation and consultation, should not be able at last to produce and exhibit any other charge and accusation against him, but such a one as most men who knew him, or who had any trust or employment in the public affairs, were well able to vindicate him from the guilt of, and even his enemies themselves did not believe. The particulars whereof, he said, as far as he could take notice of them, they having not been to that day reduced into any form, so much as in the house of commons itself, he would then examine: and if he should appear too tedious in the examination and disquisition of them, and to say more than was necessary in his own defence, and to mention many particular persons in another manner than is usual upon occasions of this kind; he desired it might be remembered and considered, that this was not written as a formal answer to an impeachment, nor like to be published in his lifetime, a judgment of banishment being passed against him (without the least proof made or offered for the making good any one article of treason or misdemeanour) by act of parliament; but that it was a debt due to his children and posterity, that they might know (how much soever they were involved or might be in the effects of

the sharp malice against him) how far he was from any guilt of those odious crimes which had been so odiously laid to his charge.

And that being his end, he might be excused if he did so far enlarge upon all particulars, that it might be manifest unto them how far he had been from treading in those paths, or having been accessory to those counsels, which had been the source from whence all those bitter waters had flowed, that had corrupted the taste even almost of the whole nation. And in order to that so necessary discourse and vindication of his integrity and honour, he could only take notice of the printed paper of those heads for a charge, that had been reported from the committee to the house; all correspondence and communication being so strictly inhibited to all kind of men to hold any kind of commerce with him, except his children and menial servants, who only had liberty to write unto him of his own domestic affairs; and the letters which they should write or receive were to be first communicated to one of the secretaries of state.

To the charge of the first article itself he said; it was no great vanity to believe, that there was not one person in England of any quality to whom he was in any degree known, who believed him guilty of that charge: and that he wanted not a cloud of witnesses (besides the testimony that he hoped his majesty himself would vouchsafe to give him in that particular) who, from all that they had heard him say in council and in conversation, could vindicate him from having that odious opinion. Having had the honour, by the special command of his late majesty of blessed memory, to attend the prince, his now majesty, into the parts beyond the seas, and to be always with him and in his service those many years of his exile, and till his happy return; he had always endeavoured to imprint in his majesty's mind an affection, esteem, and reverence for the laws of the land; "without the trampling of which under foot," he told him, "that himself could not have been oppressed; and that by the vindication and support of them, he could only hope and expect honour and security to the crown." Upon that foundation and declared judgment, he said, he came into the service of the king his father, by opposing all irregular and illegal proceedings in parliament; and that he had never swerved from that rule in any advice and counsel he had given to him or to his son.

From the time of his majesty's happy return from beyond the seas, he had taken nothing so much to heart, as the establishment of the due administration of justice throughout the kingdom according to the known laws of the land, as the best expedient he could think of for the composing the general distempers of the nation, and uniting the hearts of the people in a true obedience unto, and reverence for, his majesty's person and government. And with what success he had served his majesty in that province, (which he had been pleased principally to commit to his care and trust,) he did appeal to the whole nation; and whether the oldest man could remember, that in the best times justice was ever more equally administered, and with less complaint and murmur; which had been frequently acknowledged from all the parts of the kingdom, and had been often taken notice of by the king himself with great ap-



probation, and confessed by most of the nobility upon several occasions. He said, he had often declared in parliament the king's affection and reverence for the laws, and his resolution neither to swerve from them himself, nor to suffer any body else to do so: and upon the public occasions of swearing the judges in any courts, he had always enjoined them "to be very strict and precise in the administration of justice according to law, with all equality, and without respect of persons, which the king expected from them; and that as his majesty resolved never to interpose by message or letter for the advancement or favour of any man's right or title, so he would take it very ill, if any subject (how great soever) should be able to pervert them." And he did believe there had never passed so many years together in any age, in which the crown had not in the least degree interposed in any cause or title depending in Westminster-hall, to incline the court to this or that side; or in which the crown itself hath had so many causes judged against it in several courts: at least in which former practice and usage on the behalf of the crown hath been less followed. And nothing is more known, than that from the time of the king's blessed return into England, even to the preparation of that charge against him, he had been reproached with nothing so much as his too much adhering to the law, and subjecting all persons to it: and this reproach had not been cast upon him so bitterly and so maliciously by any, and in places where they thought it might produce most prejudice to him, as by those who now contrived that charge, and who had been always great enemies to the law.

All this, and much more of the same kind, he said, was manifest to all the world: and therefore he needed not more to labour in that vindication. Yet he could not but observe, that there was not in all the king's forces, nor was when his forces were much greater than they were at that present, one officer recommended by him: and most of them were such who professed publicly a great animosity against him, having been, by the malice of some men, very unreasonably persuaded that the chancellor was their enemy; that he desired that they might be disbanded, or at least so obliged to the rules of the law, that they should be every day cast into prison. And they had indeed found, that in some insolencies which the soldiers had committed contrary to the law, and some pretences which they made to privileges against arrests, and the like, he had always opposed their desires with more warmth than other men had done; as believing it might be the cause of notable disorders, and more alienate the affection of the people from the soldiers: so that it could not be thought probable, that he should contribute his advice for the raising a standing army, and that the kingdom should be governed thereby; when there were very few men so like to be destroyed by that army as himself, who was so industriously rendered to be odious to it.

To the other part of that first article, "that he did advise the king to dissolve the present parliament, and to lay aside all thoughts of parliaments for the future," &c. which it was said two privy counsellors were ready to prove; he made a relation of all that had passed in that con-

sternation when the Dutch fleet came into the river as far as Chatham, and when the debate was in council upon the reconvening the parliament in August, when it stood prorogued till October, which the chancellor affirmed could not legally be done; all which is more at large related in this discourse<sup>b</sup> of the time when those transactions passed, and so need not to be repeated in this place.

The second article was, "That he had, in the hearing of many of his majesty's subjects, falsely and maliciously said, that the king was in his heart a papist, popishly affected, or words to that effect."

He said, that he had occasion too often, throughout the whole charge, to acknowledge and magnify the great goodness of God Almighty, that, since he thought not fit (for his greater humiliation, and it may be to correct the pride of a good conscience) to preserve him entirely from those aspersions of infamy, and those *flagella lingue*, those strokes of the tongue, which always leave some mark or scar in the reputation they desire to wound; he had yet infused into the hearts of his enemies, who had suggested and contrived this persecution against him, to lay such crimes to his charge as his nature is known most to abhor, and which cannot only not be believed, but must be contradicted, and a vindication of him from that guilt must be made, by all men who know him to any degree, or who have been much in his company. And as justice would have required it, so the usual form in cases of this nature doth exact, that in so general a charge they should have named one single person of those many, in whose hearing he had laid that odious imputation upon the king: and every man will presume, that one such person would have been named, if he could have been found.

There was no man then alive, he said, who had had the honour to be so many years about or near the person of the king as he had been: no man, who knew more of the temptation his majesty had undergone, and the assaults he had sustained, in the matter of religion, during the whole time of his exile; when almost a total despair possessed the spirits of most men of his own religion, that he would recover his regality; and the hopes and promises and assurances were so pregnant of very many of all conditions, that he would suddenly recover it if he would change it. No man knew so well, with what Christian courage his majesty had repelled those assaults, or with what pious contempt and indignation he resisted and rejected those temptations. Nor had any man, he thought, held so many discourses with his majesty concerning religion as he had done; and sooner and more clearly discerned the reproaches he would undergo from that innate candour in his princely nature, which disposed him to receive any addresses, or to hear any discourses, which those of several factions in religion with great presumption have used to present to him: whilst his majesty hath, with equal temper and singular benignity, heard all; and, pitying their errors, dismissed them with evidence, that their arguments were too weak to make impression upon his judgment. Which though they knew well, yet either party, out of the vanity of their hearts, used all the en-

<sup>b</sup> See above, page 1225, &c.

deavours they could to get it believed, that the king was propitious to them and their party. And the papists, being most presumptuous in particular, and in their dark walks in several counties making it a special argument to their proselytes, and those they endeavoured to make so, that the king favoured them, and was of their religion in his heart, (of which, and the great prejudice it brought upon his majesty, he frequently received advertisements from many persons of honour, and of warm affections to the government;) of which he had always informed the king, who was exceedingly offended at their folly and presumption, and wished "that some of them might be apprehended, and prosecuted with the utmost rigour; and that some such prosecution might be made against all the Roman catholics, and that they might be convicted;" which he always gave in charge to the judges accordingly. And upon that and the like occasions he had a just and necessary opportunity to enlarge, in the presence of many persons of honour and interest in the kingdom, upon the sincerity of the king's religion, and his constant exercise of it when he suffered by it; giving such instances of many particulars as were pertinent to the discourse: of which endeavours of his, and of some fruit thereof, he doubted not but that many of as considerable persons as are in England would be ready to give him their testimony. And, he said, he might without vanity say, that he had more than an ordinary part in the framing and promoting that act of parliament, that hath made those seditious discourses, "of the king's being a papist in his heart, or popishly affected," so very penal as it is: and therefore there would be need of an undoubted and uncontrollable evidence, that he had so soon run into that crime himself. Which was all he would for the present say upon that second article.

The third article was, "That he had received great sums of money for passing the Canary patent, and other illegal patents; and granted several injunctions to stop proceedings at law against them, and other illegal patents formerly granted."

To which he said, that he had presumed in his humble address to the house of peers to assure their lordships, "that he had never received one penny over and above the just perquisites of his office, according to the precedents and practice of the best times, which he conceived to be those of the lord Coventry and the lord Ellesmere; and which he had made his rule in all that he had received, excepting only what he had from the immediate bounty of the king." And as he had always done all that was in his power to prevent and stop all illegal patents, so he did believe that there would be more patents then found in the office, which had been stopped by him, than by any of his predecessors in so short a time. He never granted any injunctions in the cases mentioned in the charge, nor in any case, where, by the course of the court and the rules of justice, it was not warranted. And for the Canary patent, and the original, and all the proceedings thereupon, so much is said in the body of this discourse, according to the time it was transacted in, that there needs no repetition of it in this place.

The fourth article was, "That he had advised and procured divers of his majesty's subjects to be imprisoned against law in remote islands, garrisons, and other places; thereby to prevent them from the benefit of the law, and to introduce precedents for imprisoning of other of his majesty's subjects in like manner."

To which he said, he knew not what answer to make to that article, it being so general, and no particular person being named: but, he said, it was generally known, that he had never taken it upon him to commit any man to prison, but such who, by the course of the chancery, for matters of contempt are justly and necessarily to be committed. It was probable that he had been present at the council-board, when many persons had been ordered to be committed, and whose commitment hath by the wisdom of that board been thought just and necessary; and therefore he was not to answer apart for any thing done by them. Only he might say, that he was frequently of opinion that the commitments were very necessary: and it was notoriously known, that by such commitments some rebellions or insurrections had been prevented; and that other persons, who were afterwards attainted and executed for high treason, had upon their examinations and at their death confessed, that their purpose had been to rise in arms at such and such times, if their friends upon whom they had principally relied had not been then committed to prison. And, he said, he did well remember, that it was thought fit that most of the persons who stand attainted for the murder of the late king, his majesty's royal father, should be removed out of the Tower, and dispersed into several islands and garrisons: and if any other persons had been likewise sent thither, he presumed it was upon such reasons, as upon a due examination thereof would make it appear to be very just.

The fifth article was, "That he had corruptly sold several offices contrary to law."

This he positively denied.

The sixth was, "That he had procured his majesty's customs to be farmed at underrates, knowing the same; and great pretended debts to be paid by his majesty, to the payment whereof his majesty was not in strictness bound; and that he had received great sums of money for procuring the same."

To this he said, he had never had any thing to do in the disposing his majesty's customs or any other part of his revenue, except for some short time after his majesty's first arrival in England; when he, amongst others of the lords of the council, was a commissioner for the treasury: during which time there was no farm let of any of the revenue, and the customs were put into the hand of commissioners, to the end that a computation might be made as near as was possible of the full value of them, before that it should be put into a farm, which every man conceived would be fit to be done as soon as might be. The white staff was shortly after given to the earl of Southampton, (to whom his majesty had designed it before he returned,) and the chancellorship of the exchequer to the lord Ashley, the lord chancellor having

\* See above, p. 1134. &c.

resigned it into his majesty's hands, which he had been possessed of for many years in the time of the late king, and retained it till after his majesty's return: and from the time that those two officers of the revenue were made, which determined the former commission, he never intermeddled in the customs, or in any other branch of the revenue; except when the king commanded him to be present in some consultations which he had with the lord treasurer, and when there were other lords of the council present. That excellent person, the lord treasurer, always resorted to the king for his direction, in all matters of the least difficulty which occurred to him in the administration of his office; and frequently did desire to confer with the chancellor (with whom he was known to have held a long and a fast friendship) upon many particulars of his office, believing that he was not altogether ignorant in that administration, with which he had been formerly so well acquainted. And that he conceived might be the reason, why he did oftentimes procure him to be joined with him in references from the king, upon matters wholly relating to his own office. But the chancellor did never then suffer any particular application to be made to him in those cases, nor had ever secret conferences with any persons who were concerned in those pretensions.

What was meant "by his having procured his majesty's customs to be farmed at underrates, "knowing the same; and great pretended debts "to be paid by his majesty, to the payment "whereof his majesty was not in strictness "bound;" he said, he could not imagine, except it did relate to the payment of a debt due from his late majesty to some of the farmers. In which though he had no more to do, than in giving information and his particular advice to his majesty, in the presence of the lord treasurer, the chancellor of the exchequer, and other of the lords, and so was not himself responsible for what his majesty did thereupon; yet he thought himself obliged upon this particular, which so much concerned the honour and justice of the late king and of his present majesty, to enlarge, and relate all he knew of what their majesties did, and what induced his present majesty to do his part in it.

He said, it was notoriously known, that before the late troubles, and in the very first entrance into them, his majesty was necessitated to borrow very great sums of money from his then farmers of his customs, and to oblige them to stand personally bound for many other great sums of money, which other men lent to his majesty upon their security. That thereupon, and for the repayment of those sums which the farmers had advanced, and for securing them from any damage for those monies which others had lent upon their obligations, his late majesty, with the advice of the then lord treasurer and the chancellor of the exchequer, had granted a further lease of his customs to those farmers for three or four years to come, after the expiration of their former lease; with a covenant on his majesty's part, to pay the just interest for all such monies as were advanced by them, or for which they stood bound; and likewise that they should, out of their growing rent, deduct such sums of money by the year, as they had lent or been bound for, according to such proportions yearly as was agreed upon. That it was as well known, that shortly after the begin-

ning of the parliament in 1640, and before the commencement of the second lease, the house of commons did not only force the said farmers to pay a very great sum of money for their presumption in receiving customs and impositions upon merchandise in the former years, when they pretended such payments were not due; but took also from them their new lease granted to them by the king, and so left them without any capacity of reimbursing themselves of the money they had lent, and likewise at the mercy of their creditors to whom they stood bound; many of whom quickly began to exercise that severity towards them, that many of the poor gentlemen had their estates extended upon judgments and recognisances, and their persons taken in execution and committed to prison; where some of them who had been known to have great estates, as sir Paul Pindar and others, were forced to end their lives.

There were very few circumstances in the late king's misfortunes, which gave him more trouble, or so much afflicted him as the sense he had of the horrid and unjust sufferings those poor gentlemen underwent for him, and their affection for his service; which he often publicly mentioned, and as often declared, "that he held himself "obliged to make them full reparation as soon as "God should enable him." And he frequently spake to the chancellor, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, of that affair; of the good opinion he had of the men, and of the great services they had done for his majesty; and commanded him expressly, when it should fall within his power, he should do them all the right he could. And of this he had often informed his majesty during the time he was abroad, and after his return, without any other motive than his father's command and his own honour, having himself never had any degree of friendship with any of the persons concerned, and a very ordinary acquaintance with some of them. Upon his majesty's happy return, those gentlemen who were alive of the old farmers, who were sir John Jacob, sir Job Harby, sir Nicholas Cripe, and sir John Harrison, applied themselves to the king, having lain several years and at that time remaining in execution in several prisons, and having had their estates sold, upon the prosecution of those creditors to whom they were bound for money lent to his majesty.

As soon as measures were taken for collecting the revenue, those four gentlemen named before, and two others who had served his majesty very well, were appointed his commissioners for the collecting the customs and duties upon trade; in which collection they continued a year or thereabouts; during which time many of their creditors, who had generously forbore to prosecute them whilst they were in prison and undone, begun now to commence their actions against them, presuming they were then or would shortly be able to satisfy them. Whereupon the king commanded the lord treasurer and the chancellor, with some other lords, to send for those creditors, and to declare to them, "that his majesty would in "a short time enable his farmers to pay their just "debts, which he well knew were contracted for "his service; and that he would take it very well "from them, if they would for the present give no "obstruction to his service, by the prosecution of "those persons at law, whose time was solely

"taken up in the necessary service of his majesty." Whereupon they willingly desisted from that prosecution; and many of them finding now, that by his majesty's favour they were like to recover their debts they before thought to be desperate, they frankly remitted the whole or part of the interest, that in strictness of law was still due to them.

His majesty shortly after, finding it best for his profit to determine the collection by commission, and to let the whole to farm, gave direction to the lord treasurer to confer and treat with any fit persons who desired to contract for the same. Many overtures were made by several persons, and some applied themselves directly to his majesty. Upon which, and after a competent time in considering all that had been proposed, the king appointed a day, when he would be attended by the lord treasurer and other of the lords, and when all the pretenders should likewise be present, and he would then and there declare his own judgment; having first declared to the commissioners, whereof four were the old farmers to whom so much money was due, "that whosoever should take the farm, they should be obliged to pay them their just debt at such times, and by such proportions, as their service could bear. But as to the letting the farm itself, he would neither consider the debt he owed them, nor the sufferings they had undergone, but only the rent they should offer; which if as much as any body else would give, he would prefer their persons before others; but if any other fit men would offer more than they thought fit to give, they should be his farmers: and therefore wished them well to consider what they would propose to him."

After two days spent by his majesty with the several pretenders apart, and finding that the propositions made to him by the old farmers, with whom the other two were to be joined who had served with them as commissioners, were at least as much if not more for his profit than any that had been made by any of the rest; he did declare, that the farm should be let to those who had been his commissioners: which at that time was understood to be so far from being a good bargain, that the two commissioners, who were not concerned in the great debt, utterly refused to meddle with the farm at so great a rent; the other four publicly declaring at the same time, "that they would not give the rent but in contemplation of their debt, which they thought they should sooner and better receive, when it should be assigned upon their own collections, than when it should be charged upon new farmers." But they were suitors to his majesty, "that he would oblige the other two (sir John Wolstenholme and sir John Shaw) to be joint farmers with them;" which his majesty did, by making a gracious promise to them, "that if they should be losers, he would repair them:" and thereupon directions were given to Mr. Attorney General to prepare a grant accordingly. And, he said, he did not know that there was one dissenting voice from what his majesty inclined to do upon the whole matter, the same appearing to every man to be most just and reasonable.

The farm being thus settled, the old farmers were directed "to bring their accounts to the lord treasurer and chancellor of the exchequer, by

"which it should manifestly appear how much the king was justly and truly indebted to them, and how the debts were incurred; that so upon a just computation such satisfaction might be made to them, as was consistent with the present state of his majesty's affairs and occasions." Many months, if not a whole year, were spent in the examination of those accounts before the auditors: who, besides the exceptions they took for want of some formalities in the proof of some money paid, which after twenty years of license (in which all their books and papers had been taken, their houses plundered, and their persons imprisoned; and in which so many persons employed by the king to receive and by them to pay money were dead) could hardly be made with the usual exactness; made likewise several certificates of particular cases, which required further directions. And the lord treasurer would never take upon himself to give those directions, only declaring to them, as he had frequently done, "that in regard his majesty was not strictly bound in justice to pay that debt due from his father, but that his present majesty's generous and royal disposition had prevailed with him to pay that just debt, whereby they might be preserved from ruin, in which," he said, "he had fully concurred with his majesty; but that he would never advise him, on the contrary he would always dissuade his majesty from paying or allowing any interest, though paid by them, which would swell the debt to such a proportion, that his majesty could never undertake the payment of it." Which determination, how great soever their loss appeared to be, seemed to be so just, at least so necessary for the king, that they wholly referred it to his majesty; hoping that it might prevail with many of their creditors not to exact it from them, though the sale of their whole estates had made satisfaction to others for the whole interest, as well as for the principal.

When the auditors' certificate was ready, and all the doubts and questions that did arise thereupon were clearly stated, his majesty vouchsafed again to be present with the other lords, who had from the beginning assisted in the examination of that business: and then the lord treasurer declared to his majesty, what he had before said to the persons concerned, "[that] though he willingly approved his majesty's goodness in taking upon himself that great debt, yet that he would by no means give his advice or consent that he should pay or allow any interest for it."

Upon the whole matter, and upon all the doubts stated to his majesty, and after the rejection of several of the sums of money which were demanded by them, and for the payment whereof such direct proof is not made as is required by the course of the exchequer, (though, he said, he thought most persons who were present were in their private consciences well satisfied, that those sums had been in truth paid to his majesty's use, as had been alleged;) there appeared to his majesty to be justly due to them the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, principal-money, for almost twenty years, and for which they had paid the interest for many years out of their own estates. And his majesty thought it very just; and, with many gracious expressions of his purpose and resolution further to repair them as he should be able, gave order to the lord treasurer, "that the said

"debt of two hundred thousand pounds should be paid to them in five years, that is, by forty thousand pounds for every year, out of the rent of the farm; and that all instruments necessary for their satisfaction and security should be presently given to them, whereby they might be able to comply with their creditors, and avoid their importunity," wherewith his majesty begun to be troubled as much as themselves.

He did confess himself to have been present at those agitations, and to have contributed his humble advice and opinion to his majesty that he should pay this debt; which he thought himself obliged to do, as well as a faithful counsellor to his present majesty, as in discharge of his duty and obligation to his father. And, he said, he had very good reason to believe, that if that two hundred thousand pounds be paid according to his majesty's direction, and of which the heirs and executors of those farmers who are dead, as well as the four present farmers, have their equal proportions; the said persons have not at this day half the estates they had in the year 1640, when they entered into those engagements for his majesty. Nor was there any one person present at the agitation of this affair, who seemed in the least degree to differ in the opinion, or to dissuade his majesty from giving that satisfaction for that debt.

He said, he did likewise very willingly confess, that he had in the manner aforesaid, and being called to advise, given his opinion for the payment of many other considerable debts incurred by his late majesty, and for which many persons of honour, who adhered to him during that war, were personally bound for him, and whose estates had been extended and their persons imprisoned for the same; many of whom were in execution and in prison for the same when his majesty returned, and others were then sued in Westminster-hall, in his majesty's own courts. His late majesty having granted under his great seal of England, to several persons intrusted for the rest, many of his forests, parks, and other lands, for their security and indemnity who were or should stand bound for him, for money that was then borrowed for and applied to the necessary support of himself and his army, and to no other purpose; and in that grant he had been particularly trusted, as well by the desire of the persons particularly concerned, as by his majesty's command to be solicitous for their satisfaction. And he did not deny, that he was very glad, when he was able to procure satisfaction for those persons who were so bound and so secured; nor more troubled, than that he could do no more, than that there remained still so many unsatisfied, and almost undone, for those debts so contracted; of which number he believed there were still too many.

But having made those clear confessions of what was truth, and what he did do in those transactions, he said, he must as positively deny, that ever he procured or advised the letting his majesty's customs, or any other part of his revenue, at underrates: on the contrary, that he used all the ways he could to advance the rents, without respect of persons; and that he was never present at the letting any farm that any men would have given more for, than they did to whom it was let, what offers soever were made afterwards, when his majesty himself had made a

contract, and when a grant was issued accordingly under the great seal of England. And he did as positively deny, that ever he received or expected the least sum of money, or money-worth, for any lease made by his majesty of his customs, or any other part of his revenue; or for the payment of any one debt made by his majesty, to which he was or was not bound: he having, he said, never had any other motive for the performance of those offices, but the pure and entire consideration of his majesty's honour, justice, and profit, and his own inclination to gratify worthy persons, who in justice ought to be or might with justice be gratified and obliged, and who had commonly been such persons to whom he had had no kind of obligation.

The seventh article was, "That he had received great sums of money from the company of vintners, or some of them or their agents, for enhancing the prices of wines, and for freeing them from the payment of legal penalties which they had incurred."

He said, if he had been in the least degree guilty of that charge, it would very easily have been proved; and the vintners would very gladly have helped them in it, being persons who never thought themselves beholden to him, and so not obliged to conceal any of his corruptions. They well knew, that he could never be prevailed with to consent to the enhancing the prices of their wines, and that he never had received from them the least sum of money, or other gratuity from them, in his life. He said, he did remember, that at a time when his majesty had refused to grant all their other petitions, the company of vintners did complain, "that there were so many informations against them prosecuted by informers in the exchequer, that they must give over their trades, and be likewise undone, if they should be severely pursued for what was past;" and therefore they besought his majesty in council, "that he would pardon what was past; and that for the future they would trespass no more." Whereupon his majesty thought it worthy of his mercy to shelter them for the present from that prosecution; and thereupon commanded his attorney general "to call the informers before him, and to appoint the vintners to pay them such reasonable rewards for their pains as he thought fit; and thereupon he should enter a *noli prosequi*;" but his majesty charged them "for the future not to run into the same danger." And as this grace from his majesty was not upon his promotion, but purely from his own bounty and goodness, from which nobody dissuaded him; so he never received the least profit from the same.

The eighth is, "That he had in a short time gained to himself a far greater estate than can be imagined to be lawfully gained in so short a time; and contrary to his oath he had procured several grants under the great seal from his majesty, to himself and to his relations, of several of his majesty's lands, hereditaments, and leases, to the disprofit of his majesty."

To this he said, that he wished with all his heart that the truth of that article (which he presumed had drawn on all the rest) were clearly known to all the world: and that they, who in truth do believe that he hath so great an estate,

were well informed what it is; and they would then clearly discern that he needed not be ashamed of having gotten such an estate, nor that he needed to have any recourse to any ill arts or means for the obtaining thereof. They would know, that he had been so far from "procuring several grants" under the great seal of England from his majesty, to himself and his relations, of several of "his majesty's lands, hereditaments, and leases, to the disprofit of his majesty;" that he never moved his majesty in his life for any one grant to himself or any of his relations. If his majesty's royal bounty had disposed him to confer somewhat of benefit and advantage upon an old servant, who had waited upon his father and himself near thirty years in some trust and employment; he said, he hoped it should not be imputed as a crime in him to receive his favours. He was far from believing or imagining, that the poor services he had ever done, or could do, were in any degree proportionable to his majesty's bounty: yet since his majesty's goodness had thought him fit for it, he hoped many others would think so too; at least as fit as some men, who had received greater marks and proportions of it than he had done, and who, though they might serve much better, had not served so long.

He said, he forbore to enlarge upon that charge, because he conceived that it was now evident to many, who had been wrought upon by those who did not believe it themselves, to think his estate to be very great, that the information they received was without ground: and whoever considers, that the first year after the king's return yielded justly more profit to the great seal than he ever received in all the years following, and some particular acts of bounty conferred on him by his majesty, without the least suit from him, and unthought of by him, will believe that his fault was greater in having no better an estate, than that what he hath hath been gotten by corruption. He said, he hath none of his majesty's lands, but what he had bought, for as much as any body would pay for it, of those who had the same granted to them by his majesty's bounty, and that grant confirmed to them by act of parliament. And he presumed that it could not have fallen from his majesty's memory, and was sure was well known to some persons of honour yet alive, that when his majesty was graciously pleased, upon his first coming over, to offer him some land that had never yielded any thing to the crown, he absolutely refused to receive it, because it was generally thought to be of great value; and therefore he would not expose himself to the envy which naturally attends those donations, having in truth never had an immoderate appetite to make haste to be rich; and had as much apprehended the being accused of witchcraft or burglary, as of bribery and corruption.

In a word; he did declare, that his debts being discharged, for which he paid interest, all his estate was not worth, being sold, the money that he had received from his majesty's own royal bounty, and far from being suitable to the quality he yet held, and which was never obtained by his own ambition, as many persons of honour could testify.

The ninth article was, "That he had introduced  
"an arbitrary government in his majesty's  
"foreign plantations; and had caused such  
"as complained thereof before his majesty

"and his council, to be long imprisoned for  
"so doing."

To this he said, that though he could not possibly comprehend the full meaning of that article, yet because he had heard of many discourses made of the authority that he assumed to himself over the plantations, and the great advantage and benefit that he had drawn to himself from thence, he was very willing to take that occasion to relate all that he knew, and all that he had done, with reference to any of his majesty's plantations; declaring in the first place, that at his majesty's return, and before, he had used all the endeavours he could to prepare and dispose the king to a great esteem of his plantations, and to encourage the improvement of them by all the ways that could reasonably be proposed to him. And he had been confirmed in that opinion and desire, as soon as he had a view of the entries in the custom-house; by which he found what a great revenue accrued to the king from those plantations, inasmuch as the receipts from thence had upon the matter repaired the decrease and diminution of the customs, which the late troubles had brought upon other parts of trade, from what it had formerly yielded.

The first consideration that offered itself before the king that related to the plantations, was concerning the Barbadoes; which having been most discoursed of since, and, as he had heard, with some reflections upon him of partiality and injustice, he said, he would in the first place set down all he knew in that affair, and how he came to meddle in it.

Before the beginning of the late troubles, the king had granted the island of the Barbadoes to the earl of Carlisle and his heirs for ever, upon a supposition that it had been first discovered, possessed, and planted at his charge: and the said earl sent a governor and people thither, and enjoyed it to his death; and by his will settled it for the payment of his debts, which were very great. The troubles falling out in a short time after, little or no profit had been drawn from thence towards the satisfaction of those debts; and the executors and trustees totally neglected the taking care of it, or prosecuting the plantation. But in and after the war many citizens, merchants, and gentlemen, who were willing or forced to withdraw themselves from England, transported themselves thither, and planted without asking any body's leave, and without being opposed or contradicted by any body.

About the year 1647, or thereabouts, the late earl of Carlisle, son and heir of the former earl, to whom the inheritance of that island belonged, treated with the late lord Willoughby of Parham, how that island might be so husbanded, that the plantation might be advanced, and profit made by it; which would at last redound to himself, when the debt should be paid. The late king was then in the hands of the army: and with his majesty's approbation and consent, it was agreed between the said earl and the said lord, "that a  
"lease should be made by the earl of Carlisle to  
"the lord Willoughby, of all the profits which  
"should arise out of that plantation, for the term  
"of twenty-one years or thereabouts; a moiety  
"of the whole profits to be received by the lord  
"Willoughby himself for his own use, in recompense for his pains and charge. And he was

"likewise to receive a commission from the said earl, to be governor of that and the rest of the Caribbee islands," (all which were comprehended in the charter granted by the king to the earl of Carlisle;) "and that a commission should be likewise procured from the king or the prince of Wales, by which the lord Willoughby was to be constituted governor of the said islands."

About that time the fleet in the Downs returned to their obedience to the king, withdrawing themselves to the coast of Holland to offer their service to the prince of Wales, his majesty that now is; the lord Willoughby then likewise coming over to him, to serve him in any condition his highness would employ him in. That summer being passed without any good success, the lord Willoughby then informed the prince of what had passed between the earl of Carlisle and him with the king his father's consent; which his highness had likewise received from his majesty himself, with much recommendation of the lord Willoughby. He said, he was then attending upon the prince in Holland, as one of the king's council assigned by his majesty for that service. Upon the understanding this whole case, the prince, upon the unanimous advice of the council, thought fit to grant such a commission of governor of the Barbadoes and the other islands, as he desired: and he had the more reason to desire it, (notwithstanding the earl of Carlisle's grant and commission,) because the principal planters upon the Barbadoes had been officers in the king's army, or of manifest affections to him, and always looked upon as of his party.

With this commission the lord Willoughby had, at his great charge and expense, transported himself to the Barbadoes, and was there received as governor; and made a contract with the planters, "that so much should be paid upon the hundred to the earl of Carlisle," to whom the propriety of the whole belonged. But before this agreement could be well executed, or any profit drawn from thence, the island was reduced to the obedience of the parliament and of Cromwell, and a governor appointed by them; the lord Willoughby being sent into England, where he remained till the king's return, and had given unquestionable evidence of his affection to the king's service, for which he had often been committed to prison before and after Cromwell's death.

As soon as the king returned, the lord Willoughby (who had then eight or nine years to come of his lease formerly granted to him by the earl of Carlisle, who was then likewise living, and ready to do any other act to the lord Willoughby's advantage) resolved to return himself to the Barbadoes, and desired the king to renew his commission to him for the government; which his majesty was very willing to do, as to a person he esteemed very much, and who had spent very much of his own fortune, as was notoriously known, in that service. But the Barbadoes and all those other islands were now become of another consideration and value, than they had been of before the troubles: the Barbadoes itself was (by that confluence and resort thither as was mentioned before) so fully planted, that there was no room for new comers, and they had sent very many of their people to the other islands to plant; many citizens of London had raised very great estates there, and every year received a very great

revenue from thence; [and] the king's customs from that one island came to a very great sum of money yearly.

All these men, [who] had entered upon that plantation as a waste place, and had with great charge brought it to that perfection, and with great trouble, begun now to apprehend, that they must depend upon the good-will of the earl of Carlisle and lord Willoughby for the enjoyment of their estates there, which they had hitherto looked upon as their own. All these men joined together in an appeal to the king, and humbly prayed "his protection, and that they might not be oppressed by those two lords." They pleaded, "that they were the king's subjects; that they had repaired thither as to a desolate place, and had by their industry obtained a livelihood there, when they could not with a good conscience stay in England. That if they should be now left to those lords to ransom themselves and compound for their estates, they must leave the country; and the plantation would be destroyed, which yielded his majesty so good a revenue. That they could defend themselves by law against the earl of Carlisle's title, if his majesty did not countenance it by a new grant of the government to the lord Willoughby: and therefore they were suitors to his majesty, that he would [not] destroy them by that countenance."

At the same time, the creditors of the late earl of Carlisle (whose debts were to be satisfied by the profits of that plantation, by the will and settlement of the said earl) petitioned the king, "that they might be in the first place provided for: their principal-money due to them at the death of the earl amounted to no less than fifty thousand pounds, of which they had never yet received one penny; and therefore that the profits which should arise ought in the first place to be applied to them, there having been many families utterly ruined for want of their monies so due to them." The king appointed to hear all their several pretences at the council-board, where they all attended with their council: and after his majesty had spent three or four days himself in hearing the several allegations, and finding new pretences and difficulties every day to arise, (which shall be mentioned anon,) the king appointed several of the lords of the council "to consider of the whole matter, and to confer with the several parties, and, if it were possible, to make an end between them by their own consent; otherwise to report the several titles to his majesty, with such expedients as in their judgments they thought most like to produce a general satisfaction, without endangering the plantation," the preservation whereof his majesty took to heart. The chancellor was one of that committee, and took very much pains in reading the charters, grants, and leases, and many other papers and despatches which concerned that affair; and conferred with several of the persons interested; to the end that he might the better discern what could be done, having never understood or heard any thing of the matter, or that concerned that plantation, otherwise than what he hath before set down upon the despatch of the lord Willoughby in Holland; nor had he the [least] inclination or bias to any party. Upon the hearing all the allegations before the lords,



the several pretences and titles appeared to them to be these; which they afterwards reported to the king.

The lord Willoughby demanded nothing from the king, but his commission to be governor for the remainder of the years which had been granted to him by the earl of Carlisle; to the end that he might receive one moiety of those profits which should arise to the earl, and which had been assigned to him with the consent and approbation of the late king, and of his majesty that now is; upon which he had undertaken that voyage, and spent so much of his estate.

The earl of Carlisle, whilst this contention was depending, died, and by his will devised his interest in the Barbadoes to the earl of Kinnoul, who likewise petitioned the king for the preservation of his right: but neither he, nor the person under whom he claimed, had any pretence till all the debts should be satisfied; nor did the earl of Kinnoul demand any thing till then, but believed the profit would arise yearly to so much, that the debts would quickly be satisfied, and then the whole was to come to him.

There was another title that preceded the earl of Carlisle's, which was that of the earl of Marlborough, who alleged, and proved it to be true, "that the Barbadoes and those adjacent islands were first granted by the king to his grandfather the earl of Marlborough, who was then lord high treasurer of England, before the earl of Carlisle had any pretence thereunto; and that the lord treasurer had afterwards consented that the same should be granted to the earl of Carlisle, upon a full contract, that he should first receive for ever the sum of three hundred pounds by the year out of the first profits of the plantations; which sum of three hundred pounds had never been yet paid: and therefore the earl of Marlborough desired, as heir to his grandfather, to have satisfaction for the arrears, and that the growing rent might be secured to him."

The creditors were of two kinds: the first, and who had first petitioned the king, as was said before, had an assignment made to them by the executors and trustees of the earl of Carlisle upon his will, and who at his death owed them the full sum of fifty thousand pounds or thereabouts. The other creditors consisted of several tradesmen and artificers, to whom the said earl was indebted for wares and goods which they had delivered for his use; and of several servants for their arrears of wages: and all those had, during the late troubles, exhibited their bill in chancery against the executors and overseers of the late earl, and had obtained a decree in that court for their satisfaction out of the profits of those plantations, (which decree stood confirmed by the late act of judicial proceedings;) and, as he remembered, their debts amounted to thirty thousand pounds or thereabout. None of the creditors in general, of one or the other sort, had ever received one shilling from the time that the earl had first assigned it.

The planters insisted positively, "that the charter granted to the earl of Carlisle by the king was void in point of law:" for which their council alleged many reasons. And having spent much time upon that argumentation, they concluded with two humble propositions to the king.

1. "That his majesty would give them leave to

"prosecute in his name in the exchequer, and at their own charge, to repeal that grant to the earl of Carlisle; by which they should be freed from the arbitrary power and oppression which would be exercised upon them under the colour of that charter, and his majesty might receive a great benefit to himself, by taking the sovereignty into his own hands, to which it belonged. And in that case they offered in their own names, and for the rest of the planters who were in the island, to consent to an imposition of so much in the hundred, which they confidently averred would amount in the year to ten thousand pounds at the least; out of which his majesty's governor might be well supported, and his majesty dispose of the overplus as he should think fit." 2. "If his majesty would not suffer the charter to be repealed, that he would leave those who claimed under the earl of Carlisle's patent to their remedy at law, and leave the planters to their own defence; which they hoped in justice could not be denied to them, since they alone had been at the charge to settle the plantation, which brought every year so great a revenue to the crown, when the earl had not been at the least expense thereupon: and if his majesty should [not] assist their pretences with his royal authority, they must all quit the plantation."

These being the several pretences of the several persons, and nothing being to be done by agreement between themselves, their interests being so distinct and inconsistent with each other; his majesty thought fit, in the first place, to refer the consideration of the validity and legality of the patent to his council at law; who, upon full deliberation and after the hearing of all parties, returned their opinion, "that their patent was void, and that his majesty might take the same into his own power." This report was no sooner made to his majesty, but that he very graciously declared, "that he would not receive from hence any benefit or advantage to himself, until all their pretences had received satisfaction; and that he would make no further use of avoiding the said charter, than to dispose the profits of the plantation to those, who in justice had any pretence in law or equity to receive the same: and therefore that the lord Willoughby should proceed in his voyage to the Barbadoes, and should receive according to his bargain a moiety of the profits; and that the other part should be disposed of for the satisfaction of the debts and other incumbrances." In order to which, his majesty appointed the same committee of the lords to meet again, and to adjust the several proportions.

When they met again, they had all the persons concerned with them, or ready to be called in upon any occasion; and they all appeared very glad that the king had taken the care and protection of the plantation upon himself, which was all the security the planters had or could desire. And the lords' first care was, to make some computation that might be depended upon, as the yearly revenue that would arise upon the imposition within the island. But the planters would not be drawn to any particular agreement in that point, not so much as to consent to what should be imposed upon every hundred; but on the contrary declared, "that too much had been under-



"taken in that kind by one of their own number, Mr. Kendall, in his discourse before the king in the council," and declared, "that the plantation could not bear the imposition he had mentioned. That whatsoever was to be done of that nature was to be transacted by an assembly in the island: and that all that they could promise for themselves was, that they would use their utmost endeavours with their friends in the island, that when the lord Willoughby should arrive there and call an assembly, they should consent to as great an imposition as the plantation would bear: by which," they said, "a good revenue would arise to the king for the purposes aforesaid."

The creditors had great reason to be glad of the resolution his majesty had taken: for though it would be a long time before they could be fully satisfied out of a moiety of the profits, though it should arise to the highest computation, yet in time they should receive all, and should every year receive some; which would lessen their debt, and relieve those who were in the highest necessities, of which there was a great number. Whereas they had hitherto in so many years received not one penny: and it was evident, that without his majesty's authority they never should, since the planters were resolved never to consent to any imposition, nor submit to any authority that should be exercised under the earl of Carlisle's patent, without a due course of law; the way to obtain which would be very difficult to find out. And they understood well enough, that, without his majesty's grace and bounty to them, the repeal or avoiding the earl of Carlisle's patent would put a quick end to all their pretences.

The greatest difficulty that did arise was from the earl of Kinnoul, to whom the last earl of Carlisle had devised these islands by his will: and he had a great mind to go thither himself, and take possession of his right; and his council had persuaded him, "that the king's charter granted to the first earl of Carlisle was good and valid in law, and that they believed they could defend and maintain it in any court of justice." Then his own estate in Scotland was so totally lost by the iniquity of the time, and his father's having so frankly declared himself for the king, when very few of that nation lost any thing for their loyalty, that he had very little left to support himself; and therefore was willing to retire into any place abroad, where he might find but a bare subsistence. But when he considered again, that he could have no pretence to any thing till after the creditors were fully satisfied, and how long it was like to be before they could be satisfied, there remaining still due to the creditors of both kinds no less than fourscore thousand pounds, principal-money; he did not believe that his insisting upon the patent would be worth the charge and hazard he must inevitably be put to: and therefore, upon further deliberation with his friends, he willingly referred himself and all his interest to the king's gracious determination, as all the rest of the pretenders and interested persons had done.

The case being thus fully stated to the lords, and every man's interest and pretence clearly appearing before them, they considered seriously amongst themselves what they might reasonably propose to the several persons, in order to their

agreement amongst themselves; or, that proving ineffectual, what advice they might reasonably give his majesty. They were unanimously of opinion, "not to advise his majesty to cause the patent to be called in question: for though they doubted not, upon the opinion of his learned council, that the same would be judged void and illegal; yet they did not think it a seasonable time, when the nation was so active and industrious in foreign plantations, that they should see a charter or patent questioned and avoided, after it hath been so many years allowed and countenanced, and under which it had so long flourished, and was almost grown to perfection. And that since his majesty had declared, that, notwithstanding any right of his own, all possible care should be taken for the satisfaction of the creditors, as well as for the preservation and support of the plantation; it would be equally equitable and honourable in his majesty, not to leave the earl of Kinnoul the only person unconsidered, and bereaved of all his pretence. But that they would humbly move his majesty, that he would graciously vouchsafe to assign some present maintenance to the said earl, which his unhappy condition required, out of the revenue that should be there settled, and until the debts should be paid; and that after that time such an augmentation might be made to him, as his majesty in his royal bounty should think fit: in consideration whereof, the earl should procure the patent to be brought in and surrendered;" which he promised should be done accordingly, as soon as the settlement should be made of that proportion which should be assigned to him.

"That the lord Willoughby should enjoy the benefit of his former contract with the earl of Carlisle, and approved by his majesty, during the remainder of those years which are not yet expired; that he should make what haste he could thither, and call an assembly, to the end that such an imposition might be agreed upon to be paid to his majesty as should be reasonable, in consideration of the great benefit they had already and should still enjoy, in being continued and secured in their several plantations, in which as yet they were as it were but tenants at will, having no other pretence of right but the possession: and therefore, that those merchants and planters who had petitioned the king should, according to their obligation and promise made by them to his majesty, use all their credit with those in the island, that the imposition might arise to such a proportion, that the revenue might answer the ends proposed; and that one moiety of that revenue should be enjoyed by the lord Willoughby for his term.

"That the annuity of three hundred pounds by the year should be paid to the earl of Marlborough, according to the original contract mentioned before; and that the assignment, that his majesty would likewise be pleased to make to the earl of Kinnoul, should be first paid: and then that the remainder of that moiety should be received to the use of the creditors. And that when the lord Willoughby's term should be expired, his majesty should be desired, after the reservation of so much as he should think fit for the support of his governor,

"that all the remainder might be continued to wards the creditors, until their just debts should be paid."

These particulars appearing reasonable to the lords, all persons concerned were called, and the same communicated to them, who appeared all well contented: and thereupon the lords resolved to present the same to his majesty, which they did accordingly at the board; and his majesty with a full approbation and advice of the whole council ratified the same. Whereupon that order was made by the king in council, which comprehends all the particulars mentioned before; which was delivered to the lord Willoughby, with his majesty's express command, "that he should see it punctually and precisely executed;" and the like order was delivered by the clerk of the council to every other person mentioned, who desired the same: to which order he did for the more certainty refer himself, being in no degree confident (having then no other help than his memory) that all was set down with that exactness as it ought to be. And, he said, as he had throughout the whole affair taken very great pains to reduce it to that agreement, which at that time seemed to be satisfactory to all the persons concerned, so he had not the least temptation of particular benefit to himself; and he did still believe it to be very just, reasonable, and agreeable to his majesty's justice and goodness, all circumstances being considered. And though it may be, in strictness of law, and by the avoiding the grant made to the earl of Carlisle, his majesty might have possessed himself of the whole island, without any tender consideration of the planters or the creditors; he said, he was not ashamed that he had never given his majesty that or the like counsel, in that or any other matter of the like nature; and if he had, he was confident his majesty would have abhorred it, and not have thought the better of him for giving it.

The other part of that article, "That he had caused such as complained of the arbitrary government in the plantations before the king and council, to be long imprisoned for so doing," did refer, he supposed, to the commitment of one Farmer; who, being sent over a prisoner by the lord Willoughby in a ship that came from thence, made his appearance at Oxford, his majesty being then there in the sickness time, which, he said, was the first moment that he had ever heard of the man or the matter. And at the same time one of the secretaries of state received a letter from the lord Willoughby, which was sent by the same ship, in which his lordship had sent a direct, full charge of mutiny, sedition, and treason against the said Farmer; and by his letter informed the secretary of all his behaviour and carriage, with all the circumstances thereof; and "that he had, by his seditious practices, prevailed so far upon a disaffected party in that island, that the lord Willoughby found himself obliged in the instant to send him on board the ship, without which he did apprehend a general revolt in the island from his majesty's obedience:" and he did therefore desire, "that Farmer might not be suffered to return thither before the island should be reduced to a better temper." The man was called in before the king and council, and the charge that the lord Willoughby had sent read to him, the greatest part whereof he could not deny;

and in his discourse upon it he behaved himself so peremptorily and insolently before the king, that his majesty thought it very necessary to commit him; nor did any one counsellor then present appear to think otherwise.

And he did confess, that the discharging him from his imprisonment was some time afterwards moved, and that he was always against his discharge; being of opinion that it would be impossible for the lord Willoughby, or any other governor in any of the plantations, to preserve his majesty's right and to support the government, if he should be so far discountenanced, that a man, being sent over by him as a prisoner under so particular and heinous a charge, should be upon his appearance here set at liberty. But his opinion was, "that he should be sent back a prisoner thither, that he might be tried by the law and justice of the island, and receive condign punishment for his offence:" and, he said, he could not deny but that he was still of the same opinion; and, if it were an error, it proceeded from the weakness of his understanding, which was not in his power to reform.

He said, what he had here set down was all that occurred to his memory with reference to the island of the Barbadoes, which being not particularly mentioned in the article, but comprehended under the general expression of his majesty's foreign plantations, and secretly and maliciously insinuated in private discourses, he took himself to be obliged to give some answer to what, how generally soever, had been charged. And he hoped it would not be imputed as a crime to him, if he had taken more pains than other men in that important service of his majesty concerning his foreign plantations, which he did not think had been enough taken to heart: and if his desire and readiness to take any pains, or give any assistance to the advancement of that service, had induced many persons to apply themselves to him on those occasions, he hoped it should not be charged upon him as over-activity, or ambition to engross more business into his hands than he was entitled to; for which he had this excuse to make for himself, that he found the pains he took to be acceptable to his majesty. And he was so far from having any particular design of advantage to himself, that he did profess and declare, that from all or any of his majesty's plantations he never had the least reward, or least present made to him; except that the now lord Willoughby once told him, "that his brother had sent over some pieces of the speckled wood which grows in Surinam, with direction, that if he liked it, he might have what he would of it;" whereupon he had some pieces of it, which he thought might have been applied to the making of cabinets or the adorning of wainscot, (but as they were very small, so the middle of every piece was wind-shaken and rotten, that they could not be applied to any considerable use;) and except some blocks of walnut-tree which the governor of Virginia sent to him, and of which he made some table boards and frames for chairs; the workmanship whereof cost much more than the wood was worth. And these two particulars contained all the rewards and presents or profit, that ever he received from all his majesty's plantations, or any body to his use.

The tenth article was, "That he did reject and frustrate a proposal and undertaking ap-

“proved by his majesty, for the preservation of Nevis and St. Christopher’s, and  
 “reducing the French plantations to his  
 “majesty’s obedience, after the commissions  
 “were drawn for that purpose; which was  
 “the occasion of such great losses and damages in those parts.”

To which he answered, that he never did reject or frustrate any such proposal or undertaking, never taking upon him in the least degree to make a judgment of enterprises of that nature; nor was ever any such proposition made to him. But he did very well remember, that his majesty himself did once deliver to the council a paper, which he said one of his servants (Mr. Marsh) had presented to him, containing some propositions for ships and men to be sent by his majesty for the recovery of St. Christopher’s, which had been newly taken by the French. Upon the reading which paper and propositions, the same were referred to the consideration of the general, one of the secretaries of state, and to the vice-chamberlain, who were to confer with Mr. Marsh, and such others as joined with him. And they were at the same time appointed to consider of another proposition delivered in writing by the now lord Willoughby, and some merchants of London who were planters in the Barbadoes, for the supplying and better securing that island, and the rest of those Caribbee islands; and for the reducing and recovering any of them which were or might be taken by the enemy. Upon the latter of which somewhat was afterwards done: and if the other concerning Nevis and St. Christopher’s was rejected, of which, he said, he knew nothing, he presumed it was, because it either appeared unpracticable, or not consistent with his majesty’s other affairs.

The eleventh article was, “That he advised and  
 “effected the sale of Dunkirk to the French  
 “king, being part of his majesty’s dominions,  
 “together with the ammunition, artillery,  
 “and all sorts of stores there; and for no  
 “greater value than the said ammunition,  
 “artillery, and stores were worth.”

This whole transaction of the sale of Dunkirk, with all the circumstances, is so fully related in this discourse, in the place and at the time when this affair was transacted, that any repetition here is to no purpose: and whosoever turns back and reads it will clearly see, that he had no hand in the counsel; though he is far from condemning it, or believing that it was not necessary, as his majesty’s affairs at that time stood. To which may be added, that the treatment he received after his coming into France was an unquestionable evidence, that that king did never take himself to be beholden to him for that or any other service; as in truth he never was.

The twelfth article was, “That he did unduly  
 “cause his majesty’s letters patents under  
 “the great seal of England to one Dr. Crowther to be altered, and the enrolment  
 “thereof to be unduly razed.”

To which he said, that when he heard of this charge, he could not comprehend what the meaning thereof was, being most assured that he had never “caused any alteration to be made in any  
 “of his majesty’s letters patents under the great

“seal, or the enrolment thereof to be razed.” But upon inquiry he was informed, that Dr. Crowther, who was chaplain to his royal highness the duke of York, and had attended upon his person during the whole time that his highness was beyond the seas, upon his majesty’s return into England, had obtained from the king his royal presentation to the parsonage of Treddington in the county of Worcester; which presentation, according to course, passed under the great seal of England. That when he brought his action against the intruder, who refused to give him possession, and the record was carried down to the assizes in the country; when the doctor’s council [were] to open his title, and thereupon to produce the king’s presentation, they found, upon perusal thereof, that either by misinformation or negligence of the clerk, instead of the county of Worcester, where the rectory was, the county of Warwick was inserted: upon which mistake the doctor was necessitated to be nonsuited. And thereupon he forthwith made a journey to London to advise with his council, and the most experienced clerks, how to recover the misfortune that had befallen him, and that his majesty’s right might not be destroyed by such an oversight in the clerk. And it seems he was by them advised, as the usual way in cases of that nature, to petition the king, “that in his majesty’s presence the presentation might be mended, and Worcester inserted instead of Warwick, and that thereupon  
 “the great seal might be again affixed to it;” all which was done accordingly, as in such cases is usual.

The thirteenth article was, “That he had in an  
 “arbitrary way examined and drawn into  
 “question divers of his majesty’s subjects  
 “concerning their lands, tenements, goods  
 “and chattels, and properties; determined  
 “thereof at the council-table, and stopped  
 “proceedings at law, and threatened some  
 “that pleaded the statute of 17 Car.”

To this he said, he must here again lament his own misfortunes, that he was exposed to public reproach under a general odious charge, without inserting any one particular to which he might make his defence. He had therefore no more to say, but that he was very innocent as to any crime laid to his charge in that article: and that he had been so far from “examining and drawing into  
 “question any of his majesty’s subjects concerning their lands, tenements, goods and chattels,  
 “and properties, and determining the same at  
 “the council-table, and stopping proceedings at  
 “law;” that he did not know or believe, that any one case of that nature had been ever determined there, at least when he had been present. That he had always discountenanced such addresses, and procured all petitions of that kind to be rejected as often as they have been tendered: and, he said, he took himself obliged to say, for the vindication of his majesty’s honour and justice, that there had not been so many years passed, since the erection of the council-table, with so little disturbance or disquiet to the subjects concerning their lands, tenements, goods, and properties, as hath been since his majesty’s happy return; nor hath the ordinary course of proceedings at law been less obstructed.

The fourteenth article was, "That he had caused *quo warrantos* to be issued out against most of the corporations in England, to the intent that he might receive great sums of money from them for renewing their charters; which when they complied withal, he caused the said *quo warrantos* to be discharged, and prosecution thereon to cease."

To this he answered, that he never caused any *quo warranto* to issue out against any one corporation in England, but by his majesty's express command, or by order of the board; which was always upon some miscarriage or misbehaviour in the corporation: and that he did not remember that he had ever moved the king against any particular corporation, but that of Woodstock; and which his duty to his majesty had obliged him to do, being intrusted by his majesty with the command of his house and park there, and being his majesty's steward of his majesty's honour and manor of Woodstock, upon which that borough had always depended.

He said, his majesty having conferred that charge upon him, he was no sooner possessed of it by the death of the late earl of Lindsey, who enjoyed that place before, than he received a petition from several inhabitants and burgesses of the borough of Woodstock, who complained, "that the mayor and justices had lately procured their charter to be renewed, without the privy or consent of the borough; and that under pretence of renewing it, they had procured many new clauses to be inserted, and thereby reduced much of the government, which before depended on the whole corporation, into their own hands; and had thereby likewise procured a piece of ground, the benefit whereof did formerly belong to all the burgesses, and was usually applied to the relief of such of them who were decayed in their estates, to be now granted to the mayor and a select number of the justices, and the profits thereof to be at their disposal, to the great prejudice of the borough and the inhabitants thereof." He referred this petition to Mr. Justice Morton, who lived within four or five miles thereof, and desired him to examine the truth of those allegations, and to certify him whether the complaints were just and reasonable. Whereupon he took the pains to go to the town, and to confer with the mayor and justices, and heard the allegations of the petitioners; and upon the whole matter certified, "that he found several important alterations in the new charter from what had been in the old, and some new concessions."

And at the same time sir William Fleetwood, who was ranger of the parks, certified him, "that since the renewing their charter, the mayor and justices were not so good neighbours to his majesty's game as they had formerly been, and had withdrawn many of those services which they had used to perform: and that when any trespasses were committed by those of the borough upon his majesty's woods or game, which happened very frequently, and complaint was thereof made to the mayor and justices, who had the sole jurisdiction within the borough; there was so slight and perfunctory

"examination thereof, that the prosecutors were wearied out, and no justice could be obtained."

That it was his duty to inform the king of those proceedings, who was much offended thereat, and thereupon gave his direction to his attorney general to bring a *quo warranto*, and to repeal the charter which had been so unduly procured, and in which his majesty had been so grossly deceived and abused: and he did believe that there was the less vigour used in the prosecution of that *quo warranto* because the mayor and justices for some time had pretended that they would surrender the said charter, and receive a new one in such a manner as his majesty thought fit, though they afterwards changed their mind. And this was the only charter, he said, which he gave direction for the prosecution of.

Nor did he ever give order, upon the receipt of any money, to discharge any *quo warranto*, nor cause the prosecution thereupon to cease: nor did he ever receive the least sum of money for the granting or renewing any charter, other than the usual fees received for the same by the clerk of the hanaper, and accounted to the seal; which fee, as he did remember, did amount to thirteen shillings and fourpence, or thereabouts.

The fifteenth article was, "That he procured the bills of settlement for Ireland, and received great sums of money for the same, in a most corrupt and unlawful manner."

To this article there needs no other answer than what is contained in two several places of this discourse, in which so full a relation is made of the whole settlement of Ireland, with all the circumstances that accompanied it, that it would be to no purpose to repeat it in this place. And therein it appears what money the chancellor received from Ireland, and how he came [to receive] any, and by what injustice he came to receive no more; all which was not only well known to the king himself, but to very many of those, who promoted the accusation directly contrary to what they knew to be true.

The sixteenth article was, "That he had deluded and betrayed his majesty and the nation in all foreign treaties and negotiations relating to the late war."

To which he said, that he did heartily wish that those particular treaties, and the particulars in those treaties, had been mentioned, wherein it was conceived that he had deluded and betrayed his majesty, that he might at large have set down whatsoever he had known or done in those treaties; and then it would easily have been made appear, how far he had been from betraying or deluding him. That it was never any ambition of his own that brought him to have a part in any treaty: he said, God knew, that he heartily wished to have meddled in nothing, but the administration of that great office the king had thought fit to have trusted him with. But his majesty had then so good an opinion of him, that he required and commanded his service in many of those treaties: and therefore it would be necessary for him, according to the method he had hitherto used, to mention every particular treaty that had been entered into since the time of his majesty's return into England, and the part that he had in it; being as

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 1025. &c. and p. 1050. &c.

willing to be called to the strictest account for any other treaty he had been engaged in when he had been abroad, or for any counsel he had ever given in his life, public or private; wherein, he doubted not, he should be found to have behaved himself (according to the weak abilities God had given him) with fidelity to his master, and with all imaginable affection to his country, how unhappily soever he had been represented.

The first treaty, he said, was with the crown of Portugal; in which he was none of the commissioners who treated, and was only present when any report was made by the commissioners to the king, or to the council-board, where all the articles were debated; and he did not remember that there had been any difference of opinion upon any of them: and that treaty had been generally held the best that hath been made with any crown, the merchants having thereby greater advantages in trade than they have in any other place, besides many other great benefits, with a great enlargement of his majesty's empire.

The second treaty was with the States of the United Provinces; in which likewise he was none of the commissioners who treated: but all that was by them transacted was still brought to the council-board, and debated there in his majesty's presence; in which the rule by which his majesty guided himself was, that he would not remit any of those concessions which had been formerly made by them in their last treaty with Cromwell; and their unwillingness to consent to that was the reason that their ambassadors proceeded so slowly. And his majesty had the less reason to be solicitous for expedition, because the king of France had given his royal word, and proposed it himself, "that the two crowns might proceed in the several treaties with the Dutch together, that so they might be brought to those good conditions, that they might live like good neighbours with both the crowns, which," he observed, "they were not naturally inclined to do;" and promised positively, "that for his part he would not conclude any thing with the Dutch, before he had entirely communicated the same to his majesty." Notwithstanding which engagement, France entered into and finished their treaty; and in it made that secret article, which they declared afterwards to be the ground [of] their obligation to assist the Dutch in the ensuing war. However, his majesty proceeded not, till the Holland ambassadors consented to all that had been before granted to Cromwell: which being done, the peace was made and ratified on both sides; and without doubt was with more advantage and honour to the English, than ever had been provided by any former treaty between the crown of England and those States.

From the two crowns of Sweden and Denmark ambassadors extraordinary arrived at London shortly after the king's return, and the several treaties were made with both those crowns before the departure of the ambassadors: in neither of which treaties the chancellor was a commissioner, nor knew any thing that passed in either, but as it was represented at the council-board, and debated in his majesty's presence; nor did he ever hear that either of them was reckoned a disadvantageous treaty, both of them containing as much benefit to the English as any treaties which had been made before with those crowns. He

said, it was very true, that there were some unusual expressions of kindness and friendship in the treaty with Denmark; which, in respect of that king's being at that time in a very low condition, under the disadvantageous conditions of the treaty at Copenhagen newly submitted to, and under almost as ill a treaty extorted from that crown by the Dutch, and yet being in terrible apprehension of some new oppression from the one and from the other, the ambassador did very earnestly solicit to have inserted; and which were upon great deliberation allowed and inserted by his majesty's own particular direction, in consideration of the near alliance in blood between his majesty and that king, and the civilities and obligations his majesty had received from Denmark, during his being in Holland after the murder of his father, and during his being in Scotland, when the king of Denmark sent him horses, arms, and ammunition. Of which his majesty had so great a sense, that he was often heard to say, "that if it had pleased God to have brought him home before that disadvantageous peace at Copenhagen had been made," (which had been done by the countenance of the English ships, and the threats of those who were then ambassadors from the governing power in England,) "he would have done the best he could to have defended and protected him:" and therefore he did very readily yield to that article drawn by the ambassador; his majesty declaring at the same time, "that he was very willing that those princes, who were neighbours to Denmark, and from whom that kingdom apprehended new oppressions, should know his majesty's resolutions to support that king, and to defend him from new injuries;" to which the policy of his government, as well as his friendship, inclined and obliged him; though it is very true, the king of Denmark did shortly after make very ill returns to his majesty for that his so signal affection.

These were all the treaties made by the king before the war with the Dutch, (for there was very little progress made either with France or Spain, for the reasons mentioned before,) except only a short treaty with the elector of Brandenburg; which treaty was, for the most part, particular with reference only to the prince of Orange, his majesty's nephew, and for the better ordering his affairs. In which treaty his majesty likewise employed five or six of his council: and the few articles between his majesty and that elector in point of state were likewise transacted by them, and debated and considered at the council-board, and in which all things were inserted for his majesty's benefit and service; and if they had not been afterwards violated by the elector, the king would have reaped much fruit and advantage even from that treaty.

After the war was entered into with Holland, his majesty sent Mr. Coventry to Sweden, and sir Gilbert Talbot to Denmark, to dispose those two crowns to a confidence in each other, and then to dispose them both to adhere to his majesty, or at least not to assist or favour the Dutch. The treaty with Sweden succeeded to his majesty's wish, and was concluded in a league defensive, very much to the king's satisfaction, and with the full approbation of the whole board; that crown having manifested so much affection, and such an inclination to an entire conjunction with him,

that upon very reasonable conditions they would have been induced to have entered into a league offensive, and even into the present war against the Dutch : in order to which, they sent their ambassadors to the king at the same time when Mr. Coventry returned, and they became the mediators for the peace ; having first declared to his majesty, " that if the treaty should prove ineffectual, the crown of Sweden would immediately join with his majesty against the Dutch." What became of the other treaty with Denmark is publicly known, his majesty having declared to all the world how perfidiously he was treated by the Dane.

There remains only one other treaty to be mentioned, which is the last with the Dutch, upon which the peace was made : and therefore it will be necessary to set down the inducements to that treaty, the whole progress and conclusion of it ; by all which it will easily appear that his majesty was neither betrayed nor deluded in it, or, if he were, that it was not done by him.

After so many encounters and various successes in the war, which had been carried on with a much greater expense than his majesty at his first entrance into it was persuaded it would cost him ; when he saw the strength and power of the Dutch so much increased by the conjunction of France and Denmark, who supplied them with money, ships, and, what they more wanted, with men as many as they desired ; and that all the propositions he could make to Spain could not induce them to enter into such an alliance with him, as might embark them against France, notwithstanding it was evident to all but themselves, that the French resolved to break the peace with them, having at that time published those declarations which they afterwards made the ground of the war : his majesty clearly discerned, that the Dutch grew less weary of the war than they had before seemed to have been ; and that they would be able, with that assistance and conjunction, to continue the war with less inconvenience than his majesty was like to do.

He had found it necessary for straitening the trade of the enemy, (the depriving them of which could only induce them to desire a peace, and which he could not do by the strength of his own ships, which were still kept together to encounter their fleet,) to grant commissions upon letters of marque to as many private men of war as desired the same, and with such strict orders and limitations as are necessary in those cases ; and he found indeed the advantage very great, in the damage those men of war did to the enemy, which was considerable, and gave them great trouble. On the other side, the common seamen chose much rather to go on board those men of war, where their profit out of their shares of the booty was greater, and their hazards much less, than in the king's ships, where they got only blows without booty, though their pay and provisions were much greater than they had been in any former time : so that when the royal fleet was to be set out, there was greater difficulty in procuring seamen and mariners to man it.

And then, whereas the advancement of trade was made the great end of the war, it was now found necessary to suppress all trade, that there might be mariners enough to furnish the ships for the carrying on the war. And this inconveni-

ence produced another mischief : for by the great diminution and even suppression of trade, there was likewise so great a fall in the customs, excise, and all other branches of the king's revenue, that it was evident enough that his majesty would have little to carry on the war, but what should arise by imposition in parliament upon the people ; who already complained loudly of the decay of their rents, of the small and low prices which their commodities yielded by the cessation of trade, and especially by the carrying all the money in specie from the several counties to London for the carrying on the war. And the parliament itself appeared so weary of it, that, instead of granting a new supply proportionable to the charge, they fell upon expedients to raise money by the sale of part of the king's revenue, which was already too small to support the ordinary and necessary expense of the crown.

But above all, his majesty was most discouraged by the extreme license of the seamen in general ; but especially of those who were called privateers, set out in the particular ships of war upon adventure, who made no distinction between friends and foes ; but, as if the sea had been their own quarters, they seized upon all ships which passed within their view, and either pillaged them entirely, and so dismissed them, (which they usually did to those which they foresaw would be delivered by the course of justice,) or else brought them into the harbours, after they had taken from them what they best liked. And then the formal proceedings in the court of admiralty were so dilatory, and involved in so many appeals, that the prosecution of justice for injuries received grew as grievous as the injury itself ; which drew an universal clamour from all nations, " that without being parties to the war they were all treated as enemies."

France had made the damage they had this way received, and the interruption of their trade, a great part of their quarrel, and one ground of their conjunction with the Dutch. From Spain, which really wished better to us than to our enemies, the complaints were as great ; " that their whole trade was destroyed ; their ships of Flanders, which supplied Spain with what they wanted for themselves, and with what was necessary for their trade and intercourse with the Indies, were all taken as Dutch, because it was very hard to distinguish them by their language : " which was likewise the case of all the Hanse-towns, which made grievous complaints, and had without doubt received great damage. Those princes of Italy whose dominions reached to the sea, as the two republics of Venice and Genoa, and the duke of Florence, expostulated very grievously for their ships taken by those freebooters of Scotland and of Ireland, both which nations enriched themselves very much upon such depredations. And how much soever the royal navy was weakened every day, the number of those men of war wonderfully increased ; so that those kind of ships, of England, Scotland, and Ireland, covered the whole ocean : and of those ships which were taken and carried into Scotland or Ireland, (in England there were many redeliveries,) it was observed, that there were *vestigia nulla retrorsum*. Even Sweden itself, with whom a new stricter alliance was entered into at that time, with as severe restrictions to that license of

the men of war as could be contrived for the liberty and security of the trade of that crown, complained exceedingly of the violation of all those concessions and provisions, and that their ships were every day taken and plundered. And this universal complaint began to awaken all princes to a jealousy, that the English endeavoured to restrain all trade, till they could make themselves the entire masters of it, and by their naval power put some imposition upon the whole traffick of Europe.

It is very true, at the first entrance into the war there had been many unskilful expressions even in the parliament itself, as well as in the frequent discourses of parliament-men, "that by this war, and by suppressing the power of the Dutch at sea," (of which they made not the least doubt,) "the king would be able to give the law to all the trade of the world, and that no ships should pass the sea without paying some tribute to England:" which liberty and rashness of discourse made great impression upon those who wished mischief enough to the Dutch, till they saw what danger might ensue to themselves by the success of the English; and thereupon wished that they might break themselves upon each other, without advantage to either party. And this general distemper and complaint made the deeper impression upon the king, by his discerning an extreme difficulty, if not an impossibility, to give any just remedy to it; and consequently, that he should be shortly looked upon as a common enemy.

He had taken very great pains, upon deliberate consultations, to suppress that odious irregularity and destructive license that was practised amongst the seamen, and had in many particular cases himself examined the excess, and caused exemplary justice to be done upon the offenders, and restitution to be made of what had been taken, at least of what was left; for no justice could preserve the injured persons from being losers. He had granted such rules and privileges and protection to the ports in Flanders, and to others of his allies, as themselves desired, and looked upon as full security; but then he quickly found, that from those very ports and in those very ships which enjoyed those privileges, the trade of the Dutch was driven on: so that it was evident that by that liberty, which other nations thought themselves in justice entitled to, if not restrained, the Hollanders themselves would be easily able to carry on their whole trade in the ships of Flanders, Hamburgh, and the other free towns, or in their own ships owned by the other; and that the restraint would likewise be impossible, without a total suppression of those men of war, and a revocation of all commissions granted to them or any of them, which would likewise be attended with the freedom and security of trade to all his majesty's enemies.

In the last encounter at sea, the Prince Royal, and three other of his majesty's navy, had been lost; and another, the London, had been burned in the river by the negligence of the seamen; for there was never any discovery made, that there was any purpose or malice in it. The French had obliged themselves, that the duke of Beaufort, admiral of France, should, with the whole fleet under his command, amounting to eighteen good ships, join with the Dutch; and the king

of Denmark was likewise engaged to send all his great ships, which were ten or a dozen, in order to the like conjunction: so that it was evident to his majesty, that the enemy would be much superior to him in strength and power, though he had been able to have manned and set out all his royal navy; which he well foresaw he should not be able to do, both for want of money and want of seamen, who were already in great disorder and mutiny for want of their pay, of which there was indeed a great arrear due to them. And, which was worse, there was grown such an animosity amongst the principal officers of the fleet between themselves, that the whole discipline was corrupted; so that it was hard to resolve into what hands to put the government thereof, if it could have been made ready.

Upon which, and the whole state of affairs, and upon deliberation and frequent consultation with the principal officers of the sea, and such others whose experience in such matters rendered them most capable to give advice, the king found it most counsellable to resolve to make a defensive war the next year, and to lay up all his great ships, and to have some squadrons of the lighter vessels to continue in several quarters assigned to them, which should be ready to take all advantages which should be offered; and that there should be likewise ready in the river another good squadron of ships against the end of the summer, which being ready to join with those which lay out, when the enemy was weary and their ships foul, would be able to take many notable advantages upon them; of which they who advised it were so confident, that they did believe this defensive way thus ordered and prosecuted would prove a greater damage to the enemy in their trade, and all other respects, than they had ever undergone. And in all this counsel and resolution the chancellor had no other part than being present; and, not understanding the subject-matter of debate, could not be able to answer any of the reasons that had been alleged.

These considerations, upon a full survey of his ill condition at home and abroad, induced the king to wish that there were a good end of the war; of which inclination his majesty vouchsafed to inform the chancellor, well knowing that he would be very glad to contribute all he could to it, as a thing he desired most in this world, and which he thought would prove the greatest benefit to the king and kingdom; and his majesty likewise told him, "that he found all those, who had been most forward and impatient to enter into this war, were now weary of it, and would be glad of a peace:" so that there remained now nothing to do, but for his majesty to advise with those whom he thought fit, (for there seemed many reasons to conceal both the inclination to peace, and the resolution not to set out a summer fleet, from being publicly known,) what method to observe, and what expedients to make use of, for the better procuring this wished-for peace, without appearing to be too solicitous or importunate for it, or so weary of the war as in truth he was. And to this consultation the king was pleased to call together with his royal brother, prince Rupert, the chancellor, the general, the lord treasurer, and those other honourable persons with whom he used to advise in his most secret and most important affairs.

That which occurred first to consider was,



whether there were any hope to divide the French from the Dutch; upon which supposition the prospect was not unpleasant, the war with one of them being hopefully enough to be pursued; the conjunction was only formidable. And to this purpose several attempts had been made both in France and in Holland; both sides being equally resolved not to separate from each other, till a joint peace should be made with England, though they both owned a jealousy of each other: those of Holland having a terrible apprehension and foresight of the king of France's designs upon Flanders, which would make his greatness too near a neighbour to their territories; besides that the logic of his demands upon the devolution and nullity of the treaty upon the marriage was equally applicable to their whole interest, as it was to their demands from the king of Spain. And France, upon all the attacks they had made both in France with the Dutch ambassador there, and in Holland by their own ambassador, found clearly, that they were to expect no assistance from the Dutch in their designs, and that at least they wished them ill success, and would probably contribute to it upon the first occasion: and this made them willing to put an end to their so strict alliance, which was already very chargeable to them, and not like to be attended with any notable advantage, except in weakening an ally from whom they might probably receive much more advantage.

However, neither the one nor the other would be induced to enter into any treaty apart, though they both seemed willing and desirous of a peace; in order to which, the Dutch, through the Swedes ambassadors' hands, had writ to the king, "to offer a treaty in any such neutral place as his majesty should make choice of;" professing, "that they should make no scruple of sending their ambassadors directly to his majesty, but that their conjunction with the other two crowns, who required a neutral place, would not admit that condescension." And at the same time they intimated to the Swedes ambassadors, "that the king of France would not send his ambassadors into Flanders, or any place of the king of Spain's dominions;" and therefore wished, "that his majesty would make choice of Dusseldorf, Cologne, Francfort, or Hamburgh, or any other place that his majesty should think more convenient than the other, under that exception:" all which places, and in truth any other out of the king of Spain's dominions, were at such a distance, (the winter being now near over,) that there could be no reasonable expectation of the fruit of the treaty in time to prevent more acts of hostility.

How the treaty came afterwards to be introduced by overtures from France, and what preliminaries were first proposed from thence by the earl of St. Alban's, and how agreed to by his majesty; how the place of the treaty came to be adjusted, the ambassadors chosen, and the whole progress thereupon, and the publication of the articles of the peace; is so particularly set forth in this narrative before, that it needs not to be repeated here. And one of the ambassadors repairing, as is there said, to the king, and giving him an account of all that had passed before any thing was concluded, and every particular having

been debated at the council-board and consented to; he said, he could not understand how his majesty could be deluded or betrayed in that treaty, which passed with such a full examination and disquisition, and in all which debates his majesty himself had taken the pains to discourse more, and to enlarge in the answer to all objections which were foreseen, than he had been ever known to have done upon any other article.

It is very true, that the chancellor had been commanded by the king to write most of the letters which had been sent to the earl of St. Alban's, from the time of his going over concerning the treaty, his lordship having likewise directed most of his letters to him; and most of the despatches to the ambassadors were likewise prepared by him, they being by their instructions (without his desire or privy) to transmit all accounts to one of the secretaries or to himself. But, he said, it was as true, that he never received a letter from either of them, but it was read entirely, in his majesty's presence, to those lords of the council who were assigned for that service, where directions were given what answer should be returned, and he never did return any answer to either of them, without having first read it to the council, or having first sent it to one of the secretaries, to be read to his majesty. And he did with a very good conscience protest to all the world, that he never did the least thing, or gave the least advice, relating to the war, or relating to the peace, which he would not have done, if he had been to expire the next minute, and to have given an account thereof to God Almighty.

And as his majesty prudently, piously, and passionately desired to put an end to that war, so no man appeared more delighted with the peace when it was concluded, than his majesty himself did; though, he said, as far as he could make any judgment of public affairs, the publication of that peace was attended with the most universal joy and acclamations of the whole nation, that can be imagined. Nor is it easy to forget the general consternation that the city and people of all conditions were in, when the Dutch came into the river as high as Chatham; and when the distemper in the court itself was so great, that many persons of quality and title, in the galleries and privy lodgings, very indecently every day vented their passions in bitter execrations against those who had first counselled and brought on the war, and wishing that an end were put to it by any peace; some of which persons, within very few days after, as bitterly inveighed against the peace itself, and against the promoters of it. But, he said, he was yet so far from repenting or being ashamed of the part he had in it, that he looked upon it as a great honour, that the last service he performed for his majesty was the sealing the proclamations, and other instructions, for the conclusion and perfection of that peace, the great seal of England being that very day sent for and taken from him.

The seventeenth and last article was, "That he was a principal author of that fatal counsel of dividing the fleet about June 1666."

For answer to this, he set down at large an account of all the agitation that was in council upon that affair, and that the dividing and separation

• See above, pp. 1214, &c. and 1228, &c.



of the fleet at that time was by the election and advice of the two generals, and not by the order or direction of the council: all which hath been at large, in that part of this discourse which relates to the transactions of that time<sup>b</sup>, set down, and therefore needs not to be again inserted.

He took notice of the prejudice that might befall him, in the opinion of good men, by his absenting himself, and thereby declining the full examination and trial which the public justice would have allowed him; which obliged him to set down all the particulars which passed from the taking the seal from him, the messages he had received by the bishop of Hereford, and finally the advice and command the bishop of Winchester brought him from the duke of York with the approbation of the king. Upon all which, and the great distemper that appeared in the two houses at that time, and which was pacified upon his withdrawing, he did hope, that all dispassioned men would believe that he had not deserted and betrayed his own innocence; but on the contrary, that he had complied with that obligation and duty which he had always paid to his majesty and to his service, in choosing at that time to sacrifice his own honour to the least intimation of his majesty's pleasure, and when the least inconvenience might have befallen it by his obstinacy, though in his own defence: and concluded, that though his enemies, who had by all the evil arts imaginable contrived his destruction, had yet the power and the credit to infuse into his majesty's ears stories of words spoken and things done by him, of all which he was as innocent as he was at the time of his birth, and other jealousies of a nature so odious, that themselves had not the confidence publicly to own; yet, he said, notwithstanding all those disadvantages for the present, he did not despair, but that his majesty, in his goodness and justice, might in due time discover the foul artifices which had been used to gain credit with him, and would reflect graciously upon some poor services (how overrewarded soever) heretofore performed by him, the memory whereof would prevail with him to think, that the banishing him out of his country, and forcing him to seek his bread in foreign parts at this age, is a very severe judgment. However, he was confident that posterity will clearly discern his innocence and integrity in all those particulars, which have been as untruly as maliciously laid to his charge by men who did nothing before, or have done any thing since, that will make them be thought to be wise or honest men; and will believe his misfortunes to have been much greater than his faults.

As soon as he had digested and transmitted this his answer and vindication to his children, which he did in a short time after his arrival at Montpelier, he appeared to all men who conversed with him to be entirely possessed of so much tranquillity of mind, and so unconcerned in all that had been done to him or said of him, that men believed the temper to be affected with much art, and could not be natural in a man, who was known to have so great an affection for his own country, the air and climate thereof; and to take so much delight and pleasure in his relations, from whom he was now banished, and at such a distance, that he could not wish that they should undergo the in-

conveniences in many respects which were like to attend their making him many visits. But when there was visibly always in him such a vivacity and cheerfulness as could not be counterfeited, that was not interrupted nor clouded upon such ill news as came every week out of England, of the improvement of the power and insolence of his enemies; all men concluded, that he had somewhat about him above a good constitution, and prosecuted him with all the offices of civility and respect they could manifest towards a stranger.

There were two inconveniences which he foresaw might happen, and could not but discompose the serenity of his mind. The first, and that which gave him least apprehension, though he could not avoid the thinking of it, nor the trouble of those thoughts which could not be separated from it, was, how he should be able to draw as much money out of England as would support his expense; which, though husbanded with as much frugality as could be used with any decency, he foresaw would amount to a greater proportion than he had proposed to himself. His indisposition and infirmity, which either kept him under the actual and sharp visitation of the gout, or, when the vigour of that was abated, in much weakness of his limbs when the pain was gone, were so great, that he could not be without the attendance of four servants about his own person; having, in those seasons when he enjoyed most health and underwent least pain, his knees, legs, and feet so weak, that he could not walk, especially up or down stairs, without the help of two men; and when he was seized upon by the gout, they were not able to perform the office of watching: so that to the English servants which he had brought with him, which with a cook, and a maid to wash his linen, amounted to six or seven, he was compelled to take four or five French servants for the market and other offices of the house; and his lodging cost him above two hundred pistoles. But all the apprehensions of this kind were upon short reflections composed, in the assurance he had of the affection and piety of his children, who he believed out of his and their own state would raise enough for his unavoidable disbursements.

The other apprehension stuck closer to him, and made him even tremble in the very reflection. He could not forget the treatment he had between Calais and Roan, and the strange violent importunity that was used to him to get out of the kingdom, when he had not strength to get out of his bed. And though he was now at ease from such inhuman pressures; yet his enemies, who had even extorted that importunity from a people not inclined to such incivilities, had still the same power, and the same malice, and a froppish kind of insolence, that delighted to deprive him of any thing that pleased him, and manifestly pleased itself in vexing him. And if they should again prevail with the same ministers to remove him from his quiet, and oblige him to new journeys, the same spirit would chase him from place to place; there being none in view like to be superior to their influence, when France had been subdued by it. So that besides the impossibility of preserving the peace and repose of his mind in so grievous a fatigue, and continual torture of his body, he saw no hope of rest but in his grave. And against this kind of tyranny he could by no

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 1181, &c.

reasonable discourse with himself provide any security, or stock of courage to support it.

His friend the abbot Mountague, who was the only advocate he had to that court, used all his powerful rhetoric to allay those fears, and to comfort him against those melancholic apprehensions, by assuring him, "that the ministers were far from such inclinations, and that nothing but reason of state could dispose them to that severity:" yet he prepared him not to think of removing from Montpellier, without first acquainting that court with it. And when afterwards he proposed to him, "that he might have leave to reside in Orleans, or some other city, at such a nearer distance from England, that his children or friends might more easily repair to him;" the court did not like the proposition, but proposed Moulins, whither they would not yet give him a pass, till first their ambassador in England should know that it would not be unacceptable to his majesty: so that he found himself upon the matter not only banished from his country, but confined to Montpellier, without any assurance that he should not be again shortly banished from thence.

However after he had revolved all the expedients that occurred to him for the prevention of such a mischief, he concluded there was no other remedy to be applied to those contingencies, than in acquiescing in the good pleasure of God, and depending upon him to enable him to bear what no discretion or foresight of his own could prevent. And in this composure of mind he betook himself to his books, and to the entertainment and exercise of such thoughts, as were most like to divert him from others which would be more unpleasant.

God blessed him very much in this composure and retreat. And the first consolation he administered to himself was from the reflection upon the wonderful and unusual proceedings and prosecution that had been against him, in another kind of manner, and after another measure, than used to be practised by the most bitter enemies, and than was necessary to their ends and advantages who had contrived them: not to mention the malice and injustice of their first design of removing him from the trust and credit he had with the king, and to alienate his majesty's affection and kindness from him, to which the corrupt hopes and expectation of benefit to themselves might incline them; and then such unrighteous ends cannot naturally be prosecuted but by as unrighteous means. When they were not only privy to but contrivers of his escape, which they looked upon as attended with more benefit to them than his imprisonment or the taking his life could have been; when they were secure of his absence, and of no more being troubled or contradicted by him, by the bill of banishment, by which they broke their faith and promises to the king, and made him depart from his own resolutions: to what purpose was all their other prosecution of him both at home and abroad, more derogatory to the king's honour, and that innate goodness of nature and clemency that all men know he abounds in, than mischievous to him? why must he be absurdly charged with counsels and actions, of which he could never be suspected? and why must his name be struck out of all books of council, and catalogues and lists of servants,

that it might not appear that he had ever been a counsellor of state, or a magistrate of justice; a method that was never practised towards the greatest malefactor? to what worthy or necessary end could that exorbitant demand be made and pursued in France, to expose him and the honour of that crown to the general reproach of all men, with such unparalleled circumstances?

These very extraordinary attempts and unheard of devices seemed to all wise men but the last effort of vulgar spirited persons, and the faint grasping of impotent malice; and instead of depressing the spirits of him they hated, raised his confidence, that God would not permit such gross inventions of very ill and shortsighted men to triumph in the ruin of an honest man, whose heart was always fixed upon his protection, and whom he had so often preserved from more powerful stratagems: and he did really believe, that the divine justice would at some time expose the pride and ambition of those men to the infamy they deserved.

To those persons with whom he did with the most freedom communicate, he did often profess, that upon the strictest inquisition he could make into all his actions from the time of the king's return, when his condition was generally thought to have been very prosperous, though at best it was exercised with many thorns which made it uneasy, he could not reflect upon any one thing he had done, (amongst many which he doubted not were justly liable to the reproach of weakness and vanity,) of which he was so much ashamed, as he was of the vast expense he had made in the building of his house; which had more contributed to that gust of envy that had so violently shaken him, than any misdemeanour that he was thought to have been guilty of; and which had infinitely discomposed his whole affairs, and broken his estate. For all which he had no other excuse to make, than that he was necessitated to quit the habitation he was in at Worcester-house, which the owner required, and for which he had always paid five hundred pounds yearly rent, and could not find any convenient house to live in, except he built one himself, (to which he was naturally too much inclined;) and that he had so much encouragement thereunto from the king himself, that his majesty vouchsafed to appoint the place upon which it should stand, and graciously to bestow the inheritance of the land upon him after a short term of years, which he purchased from the present possessor: which approbation and bounty of his majesty was his greatest encouragement. And his own unskilfulness in architecture, and the positive undertaking of a gentleman, (who had skill enough, and a good reward for his skill,) that the expense should not amount to a third part of what in truth it afterwards amounted to, which he could without eminent inconvenience have disbursed, involved [him] in that rash enterprise, that proved so fatal and mischievous to him; not only in the accumulation of envy and prejudice that it brought upon him, but in the entanglement of a great debt, that broke all his measures; and, under the weight of his sudden, unexpected misfortune, made his condition very uneasy, and near insupportable.

And this he took all occasions to confess, and to reproach himself with the folly of it. And yet, when his children and his nearest friends pro-

posed and advised the sale of it in his banishment, for the payment of his debts, and making some provision for two younger children; he remained still so much infatuated with the delight he had enjoyed, that, though he was deprived of it, he hearkened very unwillingly to the advice; and expressly refused to approve it, until such a sum should be offered for it, as held some proportion to the money he had laid out; and could not conceal some confidence he had, that he should live to be restored to it, and to be vindicated from the brand he suffered under, except his particular complete ruin were involved in the general distraction and confusion of his country, of which he had a more sensible and serious apprehension.

He was wont to say, "that of the infinite " blessings which God had vouchsafed to confer " upon him almost from his cradle," amongst which he delighted in the reckoning up many signal instances, "he esteemed himself so happy " in none as in his three acquiescences," which he called "his three vacations and retreats he had " in his life enjoyed from business of trouble and " vexation;" and in every of which God had given him grace and opportunity to make full reflections upon his actions, and his observations upon what he had done himself, and what he had seen others do and suffer; to repair the breaches in his own mind, and to fortify himself with new resolutions against future encounters, in an entire resignation of all his thoughts and purposes into the disposal of God Almighty, and in a firm confidence of his protection and deliverance in all the difficulties he should be obliged to contend with; and towards the obtaining whereof, he renewed those vows and promises of integrity and hearty endeavour to perform his duty, which are the only means to procure the continuance of that protection and deliverance.

The first of these recesses or acquiescences was, his remaining and residing in Jersey, when the prince of Wales, his now majesty, first went into France upon the command of the queen his mother, contrary, as to the time, to the opinion of the council the king his father had directed him to govern himself by, and, as they conceived, contrary to his majesty's own judgment, the knowing whereof they only waited for; and his stay there, during that time that his highness first remained at Paris and St. Germain's, until his expedition afterwards to the fleet and in the Downs. His second was, when he was sent by his majesty as his ambassador, together with the lord Cottington, into Spain; in which two full years were spent before he waited upon the king again. And the third was his last recess, by the disgrace he underwent, and by the act of banishment. In which three acquiescences, he had learned more, knew himself and other men much better, and served God and his country with more devotion, and he hoped more effectually, than in all the other more active part of his life.

He used to say, that he spent too much of his younger years in company and conversation, and too little with books; which was in some degree repaired, by the greatest part of his conversation being with persons of very eminent parts of learning and virtue, and never with men of loose and debauched manners. And he took great pleasure frequently to remember and mention the

names of those with whom he kept most company, when he first entered into the world; many whereof lived to be very eminent in church and state: to whose information and example, and to the affection, awe, and reverence, he had to their persons, he did acknowledge to owe all that was commendable [in] him. He did very much affect to be loved and esteemed amongst men of good name and reputation, which made him warily avoid the company of loose and dissolute men, and to preserve himself from any notable scandal of any kind, and to live *cautè*, if not *castè*. Nor was the conversation he lived in liable to any other exception, than that it was with men superior to him in their quality and their fortunes, which exposed him to greater expense than his fortune would warrant: and yet it pleased God to preserve him from ever undergoing any reproach or inconvenience.

He accused himself of entering too soon out of a life of ease and pleasure and too much idleness, into a life of too much business, that required more labour and experience and knowledge than he was supplied for; for he put on his gown as soon as he was called to the bar; and, by the countenance of persons in place and authority, as soon engaged himself in the business of the profession as he put on his gown, and to that degree in practice, that gave little time for study, that he had too much neglected before; besides that he still indulged to his beloved conversation. Few years passed before the troubles in Scotland appeared, and the little parliament was convened; which being dissolved and presently a new one called, he was a member in both, and wholly gave himself up to the public affairs agitated there, and where he was enough esteemed and employed, till the spirit reigned there, and drove men of his principles from thence.

He was entirely and without reserve trusted, with two other of his friends, in all the king's affairs which related to the parliament, before the rebellion appeared; which brought him into prejudice and jealousy with many of both houses, who before were very kind to him. And in the beginning of the rebellion he was sworn of the privy-council and made chancellor of the exchequer: and from this time the pains he took, and the great fatigue he underwent, were notorious to all men; insomuch as, the refreshment of dinner excepted, for he never supped, he had very little of the day, and not much of the night, vacant from the most important business.

When the prince was separated from his father, the king commanded him to attend his highness into the west, under more than a common trust: and by the inequality of humours amongst the counsellors, the wants and necessities of the prince's little court and family, the want of wisdom in his governor, that made him want that respect from the prince and all other people that was due to him, the faction amongst all the country gentlemen, and, above all, the ill success in the king's affairs, and the prevalence of the parliament in all places, made the province he had very uncomfortable and uneasy. The unavoidable necessity of transporting the person of the prince out of the kingdom (which was intrusted only to four of the council by the king, and by his command reserved from his governor and another) when there should be apparent danger of

his falling into the hands of the rebels, and the as necessary deferring it till that danger was even in view, and the designs of some of the prince's servants with the county to obstruct and prevent it when it was in view; the executing it in a seasonable article of time before or in the moment that it was suspected, and disguising it by a retreat to Scilly, and staying there till they could be provided for a further voyage; and then the prince's remove from thence to Jersey, the contests which happened there between the counsellors upon the queen's commands for his highness's present repair into France, her majesty's declared displeasure, and the personal animosities which grew from thence between the persons in the greatest trust; were all particulars of that weight and distraction, that made great impression upon his mind and faculties, which needed much reflection and contemplation to compose them.

This first retreat gave him opportunity and leisure to call himself to a strict account for whatsoever he had done, upon revolving of all his particular actions, and the behaviour of other men; and to compose those affections and allay those passions, which, in the warmth of perpetual actions and chafed by continual contradictions, had need of rest, and cool and deliberate cogitations. He had now time to mend his understanding, and to correct the defects and infirmities of his nature, by the observation of and reflection upon the grounds and successes of those counsels he had been privy to, upon the several tempers and dispositions of men employed both in the martial and civil affairs of the greatest importance, and upon the experience he had and the observation he had made in the three or four last years, where the part he had acted himself differed so much from all the former transactions and commerce of his life.

He had originally in his nature so great a tenderness and love towards mankind, that he did not only detest all calumniating and detraction towards the lessening the credit or parts or reputation of any man, but did really believe that all men were such as they seemed or appeared to be; that they had the same justice and candour and goodness in their nature, that they professed to have; and thought no men to be wicked and dishonest and corrupt, but those who in their manners and lives gave unquestionable evidence of it; and even amongst those he did think most to err and do amiss, rather out of weakness and ignorance, for want of friends and good counsel, than out of the malice and wickedness of their natures.

But now, upon the observation and experience he had in the parliament, (and he believed he could have made the discovery no where else, without doubt not so soon,) he reformed all those mistakes, and mended that easiness of his understanding. He had seen those there, upon whose ingenuity and probity he would willingly have deposited all his concerns of this world, behave themselves with that signal uningenuity and improbity that must pull up all confidence by the roots; men of the most unsuspected integrity, and of the greatest eminence for their piety and devotion, most industrious to impose upon and to cozen men of weaker parts and understanding, upon the credit of their sincerity, to concur with them in mischievous opinions, which they did not comprehend, and which conduced to dishonest actions they did not intend. He saw the most

bloody and inhuman rebellion contrived by them who were generally believed to be the most solicitous and zealous for the peace and prosperity of the kingdom, with such art and subtilty, and so great pretences to religion, that it looked like ill-nature to believe that such sanctified persons could entertain any but holy purposes. In a word, religion was made a cloak to cover the most impious designs; and reputation of honesty, a stratagem to deceive and cheat others who had no mind to be wicked. The court [was] as full of murmuring, ingratitude, and treachery, [and] as willing and ready to rebel against the best and most bountiful master in the world, as the country and the city. A barbarous and bloody fierceness and savageness had extinguished all relations, hardened the hearts and bowels of all men; and an universal malice and animosity had even covered the most innocent and best-natured people and nation upon the earth.

These unavoidable reflections first made him discern how weak and foolish all his former imaginations had been, and how blind a surveyor he had been of the inclinations and affections of the heart of man; and it made him likewise conclude from thence, how uncomfortable and vain the dependence must be upon any thing in this world, where whatsoever is good and desirable suddenly perisheth, and nothing is lasting but the folly and wickedness of the inhabitants thereof. In this first vacation, he had leisure to read many learned and pious books; and here he began to compose his Meditations upon the Psalms, by applying those devotions to the present afflictions and calamities of his king and country. He began now by the especial encouragement of the king, who was then a prisoner in the army, to write *The History of the late Rebellion and Civil Wars*, and finished the four first books thereof; and made an entry upon some exercises of devotion, which he lived to enlarge afterwards.

When he had enjoyed, in that pleasant island of Jersey, full two years, in as great serenity of mind as the separation from country, wife, and children, can be imagined to admit, he received a command from the queen, then at St. Germain's, and an express order from the king, upon which the other had been sent, his majesty being then prisoner in the Isle of Wight, that he should forthwith attend the person of the prince of Wales, who, upon the revolt of the ships under the command of the parliament in the Downs, and their profession of obedience to the king, was advised to make all possible haste to them; and the chancellor was required to wait upon his highness at Roan upon a day assigned, which was past before the orders came to him.

And [then] without any delay he used all possible diligence to find the prince; who with greater expedition, without coming to Roan, passed to Calais, and from thence to Holland to possess the ships which he found there, and possessed with all that alacrity (which is always very loud) that seamen can express; and by the assistance of the prince of Orange got more victual quickly on board, that he might be in the Downs with the fleet to second some attempt which was already on foot in Kent, and others expected in several parts of the kingdom. And the chancellor having in his way called upon the lord Cottington at Roan, and together with him, and some other

persons of honour and quality, made what haste they could to Dieppe, that they might there embark for any place where they should hear the prince to be; and there they were informed, that his highness was at the Brill in Holland. And thereupon they put themselves on board a French man of war, and upon the sea were taken prisoners by Ostenders, who, upon the advantage of being in the ship of an enemy, concluded them to be lawful prize, and treated them accordingly, with all the circumstances of barbarity; and after having plundered them thoroughly of money and jewels of great value, and stripped most of their servants to their shirts, they carried them in great triumph to Ostend; where though their persons were used with civility and respect, and presently set at liberty, yet they were compelled to stay there many days, in hope to obtain the jewels and money of which they had been robbed, and, finding that not to be done, (those privateers being subject to no discipline, nor regarding the orders of the admiralty, or any other governor,) to make such provision as was necessary for a further voyage. And at last they got from Ostend to Flushing, having found means to inform the prince of their misadventures, and of their readiness at Flushing to receive and obey his commands.

The fleet was then in the Downs in so good a posture, by the access of other ships and vessels to it, and by some notable commotions on land, that the prospect was fair and hopeful. And the prince received the advertisement no sooner, than he was pleased to send a frigate to Flushing for those who had been so long expected. But the winds proved then so cross and tempestuous in the gentlest season of the year, that after several attempts at sea, they were so often driven back again into the harbour, sometimes by very dangerous storms, that in the end they received new directions to attend the prince at the Hague, the fleet being at the same time under sail for that coast.

The earl of Lautherdale was at that time come to the fleet as commissioner from the kingdom of Scotland, to inform the prince, that duke Hamilton with a powerful army was already marched into England; and thereupon to invite his highness to make what haste he could, to put himself in the head of that army, according to a promise the king had made in some private treaty with the Scots; and which the queen had sent very positive commands to be observed and obeyed. This was the reason, not without other more reasonable motives, so suddenly to quit the Downs, that he might get more victual for the fleet, and therewith sail to the north, and disembark in such a place as should be nearest to the Scots army, with which he doubted not to find a very considerable conjunction of the English; since he knew that sir Marmaduke Langdale had possessed himself with a body of English officers and gentlemen, of Berwick, and sir Philip Musgrave had done the same with the like assistance, at Carlisle, before the Scots began their march.

The lord Cottington and the chancellor came to the Hague the next day after the prince's arrival, and were very graciously received by his highness, and with a wonderful kindness by all the court, and all the gentlemen who had attended upon him; not so much out of affection to them, as out of detestation of one another, who had kept company for the space of two months last past.

The prince had found the common seamen full of such a keen devotion for his service upon the true principles of the cause, and for the redemption of the king his father out of prison, and so full of indignation against those who had formerly misled them into rebellion, especially the presbyterians; that as they had before the declaration set all those officers on shore by force, who were appointed by the parliament to command them, so now they thought the new ones, which they had chosen for themselves, not fierce and resolute enough for their purposes. The truth is; there had been much unskilful tampering amongst them by emissaries from Paris, and other attempts. And the duke of York, having made his escape very little time before, and being then at the Hague when the fleet came to Helvoetsluye, upon the first notice lost no time in making haste to them. It was generally known, that the king his father had long designed to make him high admiral of England; and the commission which had been formerly granted to the earl of Northumberland they all knew to be repealed and cancelled: so that he no sooner came to the fleet, but he was received with the usual acclamations of joy as their admiral, and he as cheerfully assumed the command. And his small family presently began to propagate their several factions and animosities, with which they abounded, to make such parties amongst the seamen as might advance their several pretences. And in this posture the prince found the fleet when he came to it, and resolved to take the command immediately into his own hand, and that the duke should remain at the Hague with his sister, till that expedition were over; and so he made haste with the fleet into the Downs, hoping that some present occasion would be the best expedient to extinguish that fire, and compose those distempers, which he discerned already to be kindled amongst the seamen.

The advice and instruction which were brought from Paris were grounded upon the treaty with Scotland, the marching of that army, and the expectation of some notable attempt by the presbyterian party in London; in order to which, all address was to be made to that city, and a declaration to be published to gratify that party. This secret was intrusted only to one of the council, and one other who was to be ministerial in whatsoever the other directed. And this temper was quickly discovered when they came into the Downs, by the great [care] that was taken to give no offence or interruption to the trade of the city, which all men believed would be the best means to reduce it. Ships of return, richly laden, were suffered quietly to pass thither; others coming from thence, very well freighted, were likewise quietly permitted to prosecute their voyage: all which was passionately opposed by prince Rupert and all the rest of the council. And this contradiction was quickly known to the lords of the bedchamber, and others, who had no reverence for that council, and were now the more inflamed upon this division of opinion. And the seamen likewise coming to take notice of it, cried out, "the prince was betrayed;" and grew into such rage and fury, that they declared, "that they would throw those overboard who gave the prince such evil counsel." Two or three unsuccessful attempts at land, and then the lord

Lautherdale's coming thither, and the order thereupon for the fleet to sail presently for Holland for the reasons aforesaid, kindled all those sparkles into a bright flame of dissension, so universal, that there were very few who spake with any civility of one another, or without the highest animosity that can be imagined.

This was the distracted condition of affairs when the lord Cottington and the chancellor came to the Hague; the council divided between themselves, and more offended with the court for presumption in making themselves of the council, and opposing whatsoever the other directed, by their private whispering to the prince in reproach of them, and their public murmurings against their persons for the counsel they gave, every man endeavouring to incense others against those who were not affected by him; and this ill humour increased by such an universal poverty, that very few knew where to find a subsistence for three months to come, or how to dispose of themselves. The clamour from the fleet was so high for new victual and for money, that there was apprehension just enough, that they would provide for themselves by returning to their old station; to which they had both opportunity and invitation, by the parliament's having set out another fleet superior in power to them, that were already at anchor in their view, under the command of the earl of Warwick, to block them up in that inconvenient harbour. The sudden news of the total defeat of the Scots army, and shortly after the loss of Colchester, and taking the persons of so many gallant gentlemen, and murdering some of them in cold blood; the daily warm contests in council upon the insolent behaviour and the unreasonable demands of the lord Lautherdale, who as peremptorily insisted upon the prince's going immediately with the fleet into Scotland, as he had done before the total defeat of duke Hamilton, and without expecting to hear what alteration that fatal change had produced in that kingdom, which was very reasonable to apprehend, and in truth had at that time really fallen out: these and many other ill presages made the chancellor quickly find, that in his two years' repose in Jersey he had not fortified himself enough against future assaults, nor laid in ballast to be prepared to ride out the storms and tempests that he was like to be engaged in.

The preservation of the fleet was a consideration that would bear no delay; and was in a short time, though with infinite difficulties and contests full of animosity, resolved to be by committing the charge of it to prince Rupert, who was to carry it into Ireland, where were many good ports in his majesty's obedience. But that was no sooner done, but the horrid murder of the king, and the formed dissolution of the monarchy there, and erecting and establishing the government in that kingdom with a seeming general consent, at least without any visible appearance or possibility of contradiction or opposition; the faint proclamation of the present king in Scotland, under the same conditions which they would have imposed, and with all the circumstances with which they had prosecuted the rebellion against his father; the resolution what was fit for the young king to undertake in his own person, and the dismal prospect, how all the neighbour princes were solicitous not to pay him any such civilities, as might

encourage him to expect any thing from them; were all arguments of perplexity and consternation to all men, who had been moderately versed in the transaction of affairs; and were too many things to be looked upon at once, and yet could not be effectually looked upon but together. So that the chancellor used to say, "that all the business he had been conversant in, from the beginning to his coming to the Hague, had not administered half the difficulties and disconsolation, had not half so much disturbed and distracted his understanding, and broken his mind, as the next six months from that time had done." Nor could he see any light before him to present a way to the king, by entering into which he might hopefully avoid the greatest misery that ever prince had been exposed to. His own particular condition (under so general a mortification) afflicted him very little, having long composed himself by a resolution, with God's blessing, to do his duty without hesitation, and to leave all the rest to the disposition of Providence.

When the fleet was committed to the government of prince Rupert to embark for Ireland, it was enough foreseen by those who foresaw what naturally might fall out, that Ireland was probably like to be the place whither it might be the most counsellable for the prince himself to repair. But as it was not then seasonable in many respects to publish such an imagination; so it was not possible to keep the fleet where it then was, or in any port of the dominions of Holland, where the States were already perplexed what answer they should return if the new commonwealth should demand the ships, or whether they were not obliged to deliver them: and therefore no time was to be lost. Nor was the voyage itself like to be secure, but by the benefit of the winter season, and the unquiet seas they were to pass through; which would have made it too dangerous a voyage for the person of the prince, who must find a shorter passage thither, when it should be necessary.

When that inhuman impiety was acted at London, and the young king had in some degree recovered his spirits from the sudden astonishment, and had received the vile proclamation and propositions from Scotland, his majesty with those few who were of nearest trust concluded, "that it would be shortly of necessity to transport himself into Ireland;" which was to be the highest secret, that it might be equally unsuspected in England and in Scotland. "That he should incognito, or with a light train, pass through France to Nantz, or some other port of Bretagne, where two or three ships of war, which he could not doubt of obtaining by the favour of his brother the prince of Orange, might attend him; and from thence he might with least hazard embark for the nearest coast of Ireland, where the marquis of Ormond might meet him."

This being concluded in that manner, the lord Cottington went in a morning to the king before he was dressed; and desired, "that when he was ready, he would give him a private audience in his closet." He there told him, "that his majesty had taken the most prudent resolution that his condition would admit, for Ireland; where there remained yet some foundation for hope. That for himself he was so old and in-

"firm," (for to his seventy-five years, which was then his age, he had frequent and painful visitations of the gout and the stone,) "that his majesty could not expect his personal attendance in so many journeys by land as he must be exposed to: yet having served the crown throughout the reign of his grandfather and his father, he was very desirous to finish his life in his majesty's service."

"That he had reflected upon the woful condition his affairs were in, not more by the power of his rebels, than by being abandoned by all his neighbour princes. That it was too apparent, that neither of them would embark themselves in his quarrel; so that the utmost he could hope from them was, that in some secret manner they might contribute such a supply and relief to him, as might give him a subsistence, till some new accidents and alterations at home or abroad might produce a more seasonable conjuncture. That even in that particular, he doubted the magnanimity or generosity of princes would not be very conspicuous: however it being all his present dependance, he must try all the ways he could to provoke them to that disposition."

"That he knew the crown of Spain was so low at that time, that whatever their inclinations might be, they could neither supply him with ships or men or money towards the raising or supporting of an army: yet that he knew too, that there is such a proportion of honour, and of a generous compassion and bounty, that is inseparable from that crown, and even runs through that people, which other nations are not inspired with. And he was confident, that if his majesty sent an ambassador thither, how necessitous soever that court might be, it would never refuse to make such an assignment of money to him as might, well husbanded, provide a decent support for him in Ireland; where likewise the king of Spain had power to do his majesty more offices than any other prince could do, or he any where else, by the universal influence he had upon the Irish nation. And general Owen O'Neill, who was the only man that then obstructed the union of that people in a submission to the king, had been bred up in the court of Spain, and had spent all his time in the service of that crown, and had still his sole dependance upon it; and therefore it was to be presumed, that he might be induced by direction from Madrid, to conform himself to a conjunction with the marquis of Ormond, the king's lieutenant there." He said, "that his majesty knew well that he had spent a great part of his life in that court, in the service of his grandfather and father; and he would be willing to end his days there, if it were thought of use to his affairs."

The discourse was too reasonable not to make impression upon the king; which discovering in his countenance, the other desired him, "that he would think that day upon all that he had said, without communicating it to any body, till the next morning, when he would again wait on him, to know his opinion upon the whole; for if his majesty should approve of what he proposed, he had another particular to offer, before the matter should be publicly debated." When he came the next morning, and found the king

much pleased with what he had before discoursed, and asked what the other particular was that he intended to offer; the lord Cottington told him, "that he was very glad his majesty was so well pleased with what he had proposed, which he confessed the more he had revolved himself, the more hopeful the success appeared to him; which made him the more solicitous, that through any inadvertency such a design might not miscarry."

He put him then in mind again "of his great age, how unlike it was that he should be able to hold out such a journey, or, if he did, the fatigue thereof would probably cast him into a fit of the gout or the stone, or both, which if he should outlive, he should be long detained from the prosecution of his business, which the less vigorously pursued would be more ineffectual;" and therefore proposed, "that he might have a companion with him, of more youth and a stronger constitution, who would receive some benefit by the information and advice he should be able to give him, the advantage whereof would redound for the present, and might more in the future, to the king's service;" and in fine proposed, "that the chancellor of the exchequer might be joined in the commission with him, and accompany him into Spain, from whence if they made haste in their journey, they might make such a progress in that court, that he might be able to attend his majesty in Ireland in a very short time after his arrival there; whilst himself remained still at Madrid, to prosecute all further opportunities to advance his service."

The king was surprised with the overture; and asked "whether the chancellor would be willing to undertake the employment, and whether he had spoken with him of it." To which the other presently replied, "that he knew not, nor had ever spoke to him of it, nor would do, till his majesty, if he liked it, should first prepare him; for he knew well he would at first be startled at it, and it may be might take it unkindly. That he knew well how much of the weight or his business lay upon the chancellor's shoulders, and in that respect that many others would not be willing he should be absent: yet that there was a long vacation in view, and there could be little to be done till the king should come into Ireland; and by that time he might be with him again, with such a return from Spain as might be welcome and convenient to him. And therefore if his majesty would first break the matter to him, he would then take the work upon him; and he believed he should give him such reasons, since he could not suspect his friendship," (which was very notorious, and they lived then together,) "as would dispose him to the journey."

When the king spake to him of it, as a thing that had resulted from his own thoughts; "that he had more hope to obtain some supply from Spain, than from any other place; that no man could be so fit to solicit it as the lord Cottington, and nobody so fit to accompany him as he, who might be with him in Ireland in a short time;" he said, "he had spoken with lord Cottington to undertake the employment, to which he was not averse; but he had expressly refused to undertake it alone, and he knew that



"no companion would be so acceptable to him as he would be."

The chancellor did not at first dissemble the apprehension, that this device had been contrived at Paris, where he knew that neither of them were acceptable, nor were wished to be about the king, or to have so much credit with him as they were both thought to have: but the king quickly expelled that jealousy. And he desired a short time to consider of it; and received such reasons (besides kindness in the invitation) from the lord Cottington, that he did not submit only to the king's pleasure, but very willingly undertook the employment: and, though it was afterwards delayed by the importunity of many, and the queen's own advice, who thought the chancellor's attendance about the person of the king her son to be more useful to his service, than it was like to be in the other climate, the king was firm to his purpose; and despatched them shortly after his coming into France, when he resolved and prepared for his own expedition into Ireland, in order to which there were then some Dutch ships of war that waited for him at St. Malo's.

This was the occasion and ground of his second retreat and recess from a very uneasy condition, of which he was not more weary in respect of the difficulty and melancholy of the business, from which he could not entirely disentangle himself by absence, than in respect of the company he was to keep in the conducting it, who had humours and inclinations uneasy to him, irresolute in themselves, and contrary for the most part to his judgment. And he did still acknowledge, that he did receive much refreshment and benefit by that negotiation. For though the employment proved ineffectual to the purposes for which it was intended, by the king's finding it necessary to divert his intended journey for Ireland, into that of Scotland; yet he had vacancy to recollect and compose his broken thoughts; and mended his understanding, in the observation and experience of another kind of negotiation than he had formerly been acquainted with, under the assistance, advice, and friendship of the most able person, and the best acquainted with foreign negotiations and the general interests of the several kings and states in Christendom, of any statesman then alive in Europe, and who delighted in giving him all the information he could. He was conversant in a court of another nature and humour, of another kind of grandeur and gravity, of another constitution and policy; and where ambassadors are more esteemed and regarded, and live with more conversation and a better intelligence amongst themselves, than in any other court in the world.

The less of business he had, he was the more vacant to study the language and the manners and the government of that nation. He made a collection of and read many of the best books which are extant in that language, especially in the histories of their civil and ecclesiastical state. Upon the reading the Pontifical History written by Illescas in two volumes, and continued by one or two others in three other volumes, he begun there first his Animadversions upon the Superiority and Supremacy of the Pope, which he afterwards continued to a perfect work. Here he resumed the continuation of his Devotions on the Psalms, and other discourses of piety and devo-

tion, which he reviewed and enlarged in his later times of leisure. Though he underwent in this employment many mortifications of several kinds, yet he still acknowledged that he learned much during the time of his being in Spain, from whence he returned a little before the battle of Worcester; and after the king's miraculous escape into France, he quickly waited upon his majesty, and was never separated from his person, till sixteen or seventeen years after by his banishment.

This he called his third and most blessed recess, in which God vouchsafed to exercise many of his mercies towards him. And though he entered into it with many very disconsolate circumstances; yet in a short time, upon the recovery of a better state of health, and being remitted into a posture of ease and quietness, and secure from the power of his enemies, he recovered likewise a marvellous tranquillity and serenity of mind, by making a strict review and recollection into all the actions, all the faults and follies, committed by himself and others in his last continued fatigue of seventeen or eighteen years; in which he had received very many signal instances of God's favour, and in which he had so behaved himself, that he had the good opinion and friendship of those of the best fame, reputation, and interest, and was generally believed to have deserved very well of the king and kingdom.

In all this retirement he was very seldom vacant, and then only when he was under some sharp visitation of the gout, from reading excellent books, or writing some animadversions and exertations of his own, as appears by the papers and notes which he left. He learned the Italian and French languages, in which he read many of the choicest books. Now he finished the work which his heart was most set upon, the History of the late Civil Wars and Transactions to the Time of the King's Return in the Year 1660; of which he gave the king advertisement. He finished his Reflections and Devotions upon the Psalms of David, which he dedicated to his children; which was ended at Montpelier before the death of the duchess. He wrote and finished his Answer to Mr. Hobbes's Leviathan, to which he prefixed an epistle dedicatory to the king, if his majesty would permit it. He wrote a good volume of Essays, Divine, Moral, and Political, to which he was always adding. He prepared a Discourse Historical of the Pretence and Practice of the successive Popes from the Beginning of that Jurisdiction they assume; in which he thought he had fully vindicated the power and authority of kings from that odious usurpation. He entered upon the forming a method for the better disposing the History of England, that it may be more profitably and exactly communicated than it hath yet been. He left so many papers of several kinds, and cut out so many pieces of work, that a man may conclude, that he never intended to be idle.

In a word, he did not only by all possible administrations subdue his affections and passions, to make his mind conformable to his present fortune; but did all he could to lay in a stock of patience and provision, that might support him in any future exigent or calamity that might befall him: yet with a cheerful expectation, that God would deliver him from that powerful combination which then oppressed him.



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Lyme, and restraining the garrison of Taunton, 506. marches to Chard, *ib.* thence to Sherborne, *ib.* thence to Salisbury, *ib.* defeats Waller at Andover, 507. relieves Donnington castle, *ib.* Banbury castle relieved by the earl of Northampton, 508. colonel Urry deserts the king, and discovers his plans, *ib.* the second battle of Newbury, *ib.* from which the king hastens to Oxford, 509. and from thence relieves Donnington castle again, 510. returns to Oxford, 511. Newcastle taken by the Scots, *ib.* the temper of the army and court at this time, *ib.* propositions of peace from Ireland rejected by the king, 512. the council appointed by him to attend the prince of Wales into the west, 514. divisions in the parliament at Westminster, *ib.* the independent party against peace, 515. the self-denying ordinance proposed, 516. passes, 532. fresh overtures of peace, 517. the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton sent to London with a message for a treaty, 518. the king sends archbishop Laud a pardon under the great seal, 519. declared by parliament to be of no effect, *ib.* the parliament agree to a treaty at Uxbridge, 520. the names of their commissioners, *ib.* and the king's, *ib.* particulars respecting it, *ib.* first, of religion, 522. secondly, of the militia, 525. 529. thirdly, of Ireland, 525. Weymouth surprised by the king's party, 527. but lost again, 530. Shrewsbury surprised by the parliament forces, 527. the end of the treaty at Uxbridge without effect, 530. the king melancholy at the state of his affairs, *ib.* association in the west in favour of peace, 531. the prince of Wales made general of the king's forces, and of this association, 532. Newcastle taken by the Scots, *ib.* the earl of Mountrose's expedition into Scotland, 533. the prince of Wales removes to Bristol, 538, 540, 543. reasons why, 540, 542. why the court had better have been removed into the west, 538. the marquis of Argyle inveterate against the king, 541. state of the western counties when the prince of Wales came to Bristol, 542. the prince summons the commissioners of the associated western counties to Bridgewater, 546. resolutions taken at Oxford, 550. Evesham taken after the king's departure, 551. the king takes Hawkesley-house, *ib.* storms and takes Leicester, *ib.* marches back towards Oxford, hearing that Fairfax had set down before it, 552. is defeated at Naseby, 553. the king's troops throughout the war undisciplined in rallying, *ib.* the king's cabinet falls into the enemy's

hands, 554. many of his letters afterwards garbled and published to his prejudice, *ib.* the king retires by Litchfield to Bewdley, and thence to Hereford, *ib.* prince Rupert to Bristol, *ib.* the king should have retired into the west, *ib.* 562. the affairs in that quarter in the mean time, 554. notice of the club-men in Somerset and Dorsetshire, 556. the king goes to Abergavenny, thence to Ragland-castle, 562. thence to Chepstow and Cardiff, having altered his intention of going to Bristol, *ib.* Leicester retaken by sir T. Fairfax, *ib.* Bridgewater taken by him, 563. false expectations of peace prevalent, *ib.* the king's letter to prince Rupert against treating of peace at that time, *ib.* he removes to Ludlow with the intention of joining the marquis of Mountrose in Scotland, who had been greatly victorious there, 564. his letter to the prince of Wales, ordering him to retire into France, whenever he might be in danger of falling into the rebels' hands, *ib.* France objected to by the prince's council, 565. the king's answer persisting in France, 570. a design to petition the prince to send conditions of peace prevented, 566. prince Rupert delivers up Bristol, 567. Pontefract castle surrendered to the enemy, 568. the king goes to Doncaster, *ib.* thence to Newark, alarmed at the approach of Lesley, *ib.* thence to Oxford, *ib.* thence to Ragland, in order to relieve Hereford, *ib.* the Scots rise from before Hereford, whither the king marched, *ib.* the marquis of Mountrose defeated by Lesley, *ib.* the king's intention of relieving Bristol, *ib.* his letter to prince Rupert upon his surrender of that place, 569. revokes his commission, *ib.* through lord Digby's influence, 577. his letter to prince Charles, recommending him to withdraw to Denmark, 574. another commanding him to retire abroad, and preferably to Denmark, 575. reasons against his immediate departure, *ib.* which his council decide against, *ib.* approved of by the king, 584. lord Wentworth's horse beaten at Ashburton, 576. the king marches to Chester, where his horse are routed by Pointz, *ib.* the king retires to Denbigh, 577. thence to Bridgenorth, *ib.* unfortunately persuaded by lord Digby to go to Newark instead of Worcester, *ib.* state of the garrison there, *ib.* lord Digby appointed general, and sent to join the earl of Mountrose, 578. his defeat at Sherborne after some previous success, *ib.* his cabinet of papers taken, and some afterwards published, *ib.* lord Digby retires to Ireland, 579. an account of the discontents of some of the king's

chief commanders, *ib.* he retreats to Oxford, 581. his affairs in the west about this time, *ib.* lord Hopton's forces routed at Torrington by sir T. Fairfax, 583. prince Charles retires to Scilly, 585. lord Hopton's army dissolved, *ib.* the king's transactions at Oxford, 588. Cromwell takes Winchester and Basing, *ib.* the king sends some messages for peace, which were not noticed by parliament, *ib.* sends again for a safe conduct for the duke of Richmond and others, *ib.* their answer, *ib.* sends to desire a personal treaty at Westminster, *ib.* their answer, *ib.* he sends again, *ib.* their ordinance thereupon, 590. he tries in vain to deal with the independents, *ib.* a treaty between the king and the Scots set on foot by the interposition of France, *ib.* the parties cannot agree on the point of church-government, 592. the defeat of lord Astley's forces, 593. the king's letter to prince Charles, enjoining him never to yield to any dishonourable conditions, not even to save his (the king's) life, 594. the prince removes to Jersey, *ib.* a letter from the king to him, exhorting him to continue firm, 595. negotiations for and against the prince's removal into France, 594—597. a further account of Montrevill's negotiation with the Scots, 599. the paper he sent to the king, being a promise for the Scots receiving him, 600. sends another messenger to prevent the king's journey, who is intercepted, *ib.* the king, having no better resource, puts himself under the protection of the Scotch army at Newark, 601. his treatment by them, 602. orders Newark to be surrendered to them, that they might march northwards, *ib.* prince Charles removes to France, 604. transactions relating to the king in the Scotch army, *ib.* he is prevailed upon to order the marquis of Mountrose to lay down his arms, and to leave the kingdom, 605. Henderson employed to dispute with him concerning church-government, *ib.* the queen sends sir W. Davenant to persuade the king to give up the church for peace and security, 606. upon the Scots' desire he orders the surrender of Oxford and all his other garrisons, 607. the parliament, upon the Scots' request, send propositions of peace to him, *ib.* his answer, *ib.* the Scots enforce these propositions, *ib.* his answer to them, 608. the parliament demand, and the Scots deliver up the king for money, *ib.* a committee and servants appointed by parliament to attend him, *ib.* he is brought to Holmby, *ib.* his request for the attendance of any two of his own chaplains refused,

*ib.* several garrisons surrendered to parliament, *ib.* differences arise between the parliament and army, 609. (see Army.) the army seize upon the king, 612. his chaplains allowed him by the army, 613. he removes according to the marches of the army, *ib.* sir John Berkley sent from the queen to him, 614. Mr. Ashburnham comes to him, *ib.* the different designs of the parliament and army relating to him, 615. he is allowed to see his children, 616. removed to Hampton Court, 618, 620. his conversation with his children, 620. lord Capel waits upon him, 621. substance of his letter to the chancellor of the exchequer, *ib.* the marquis of Ormond visits him, 622. and the Scotch commissioners, *ib.* the army begin to be less regardful of him, *ib.* 623. his hopes blasted by the violent proceedings, 623. major Huntington tells him that Cromwell would destroy him, if not prevented, 623. he escapes from Hampton Court, 624. confides himself to colonel Hammond in the Isle of Wight, *ib.* is lodged in Carisbrook castle, 625. observations on this whole business, *ib.* the parliament send to the king to pass four acts, 628. protested against by the Scotch commissioners, *ib.* his answer, 629. his old servants removed from about him, to prevent his further escape, *ib.* captain Burly's vain attempt at his release, *ib.* how his answer is received by parliament, and Cromwell's speech thereupon, 630. a vote and declaration of parliament that no more addresses should be made to him, 630, 631. odious to the people in general, 631. a meeting of Cromwell and his officers, wherein they design his destruction, 630. the Scotch commissioners' private treaty with him, 634. observations on it, *ib.* substance of this scandalous treaty, *ib.* the king's condition in the Isle of Wight, 639. the temper of the nation at this time, 641. revolt of part of the fleet to the king, 646. commotions in Kent for him, 646, 654. factions in the prince's fleet, 648, 655. Berwick and Carlisle seized for the king, 653. delivered up to parliament again, 662. the duke of Hamilton and the Scotch troops, who had entered England on the king's behalf, routed by Cromwell, 658. the earl of Holland routed, 663. and Colchester, whither the Kentish royalists had retired, taken, 664. the parliament resolves on a personal treaty with the king, 665. substance of their message to him, 666. his answer, *ib.* the vote against making any more addresses to him repealed, *ib.* the treaty to be at Newport, *ib.* an account of the taking of Pontefract castle for the king, *ib.* de-

livered up to Lambert, 670. the king's altered appearance, 678. the commissioners for the treaty arrive in the Isle of Wight, 677. the first proposition for revoking all the king's declarations, &c. 678. his answer, *ib.* disputes concerning the preamble, 679. he consents to it, 680. the second proposition concerning religion and the church, *ib.* the king offers a proposition of his own, which the commissioners refuse to send to the parliament, *ib.* he sends it himself, *ib.* it is voted unsatisfactory, *ib.* their ministers dispute with the king about the bishops, *ib.* his concessions on this point, 681. the third proposition concerning the militia, *ib.* his answer, *ib.* voted by parliament unsatisfactory, 682. he consents to it with a preamble, *ib.* at last without it, *ib.* the fourth proposition concerning Ireland, *ib.* his answer, *ib.* some further particulars he at first refuses, but at last consents to, *ib.* his proposition now sent to parliament by the commissioners, *ib.* a declaration required of him against the marquis of Ormond, 683. his answer, *ib.* the treaty continued fourteen days longer, *ib.* the demand against Ormond renewed, *ib.* his answer, *ib.* a further demand about the church, *ib.* his answer, *ib.* the parliament's votes upon his former proposition, *ib.* the treaty prolonged till November 25, 684. the declaration of the army, *ib.* new propositions against delinquents, especially the marquis of Ormond, *ib.* his answer, *ib.* the treaty further prolonged for a day, *ib.* proposition concerning Scotland, *ib.* his answer, *ib.* another touching the church, 685. his final answer, *ib.* sum of the king's letter to his son concerning the treaty, *ib.* the conclusion in his own words, *ib.* his attempt at an escape, 686, 687. a sharp debate in parliament on the commissioners' report of the treaty, 688. remonstrance of the army against the treaty presented to parliament, *ib.* the king removed from Carisbrook castle to Hurst castle, *ib.* votes of the commons thereupon, 689. another declaration of the army to the parliament, *ib.* their general marches for London, *ib.* the parliament vote that the king's answer was a ground for peace, *ib.* a contrary vote, *ib.* vote of no more addresses renewed, 690. votes of the commons about settling a form of government, *ib.* a committee appointed to prepare a charge of high treason against the king, *ib.* the prince of Wales desires the States of Holland to intercede with parliament, 691. their answer, *ib.* their ambassador not admitted by parliament to an audience before the

king's death, *ib.* the queen's paper to the parliament laid aside, *ib.* the charge against the king approved by the commons, *ib.* rejected by the lords, *ib.* the commons constitute a high court of justice, 692. Bradshaw made lord president, *ib.* the king sent for from Hurst castle, 693. a plan for his escape not tried, *ib.* he is brought to St. James's, 694. the several consultations among the officers before and after this time, what to do with him, *ib.* concluded to have him publicly tried, *ib.* the prince writes to Fairfax and the council of war, 695. the letter laid aside, *ib.* the king's usage at St. James's, *ib.* he is brought to Westminster-hall, *ib.* the sum of his charge, *ib.* what passed the first day of the trial, *ib.* disturbance in the court by lady Fairfax, 696. a summary passing over the rest of the trial, *ib.* the king's character, 697. his justice and mercy, *ib.* his devotion and religion, *ib.* his conjugal chastity, *ib.* not very bountiful, *ib.* kept state in his court, *ib.* patient in hearing causes, *ib.* fearless, but not enterprising, *ib.* not confident in his own judgment, *ib.* a great lover of the Scotch, *ib.* abhorred debauchery, *ib.* beloved by his subjects in general when he was murdered, 698. the sum of his character, *ib.* his funeral at Windsor, *ib.* why his body was not removed to Westminster in the time of Charles II, 698. proclamation against proclaiming the prince of Wales king, 699. how some neighbouring princes took the king's murder, *ib.* Cromwell when in Scotland supposed to have agreed with Argyle to keep him in perpetual imprisonment, 707. condition of his family after his death, 811.

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general of the king's forces, and of the western association, 532. removes to Bristol, 538, 540, 543. reasons why, 540, 542. no preparations to receive him, 543. his proceedings there, 543, 545. summons the commissioners of the four associated western counties to Bridgewater, 546. himself diverted from business, and divisions caused in his councils by Mrs. Windham, *ib.* sends three commissioners to Exeter to inquire into the complaints against sir R. Greenvil, 548. removes from Bristol to Barnstable, 554, 555. transactions there, 557. goes to Launceston, 559, 569. the king's letter to him, ordering him to retire into France whenever he might be in danger of falling into the rebels' hands, 564. France objected to by his council, 565. the king's answer persisting in France, 570. a design to petition him to send conditions of peace prevented, 566. a conference between lord Goring and one of his council, 567. refuses lord Goring's demands of being next in command to himself, &c. 566, 567. goes to Tavistock, 574. his intention of going to Totness, *ib.* 576. the king's letter to him, recommending him to withdraw to Denmark, 575. his letter commanding him to retire abroad, and preferably to Denmark, *ib.* reasons against his immediate departure, *ib.* which step his council decide against, *ib.* their decision approved of by the king, 584. state of his affairs in the west, 581. he commits sir R. Greenvil, refusing the command, to prison, 582. goes to Pendennis, 584. thence to Scilly, 585. the king's letter to him, enjoining him never to yield to any dishonourable conditions, not even to save his (the king's) life, 594. he removes to Jersey, *ib.* the queen's letter pressing his removal from Scilly, *ib.* a letter to him from the king, exhorting him to continue firm, 595. he is inclined to go to France, *ib.* the lords Capel and Colepepper sent to dissuade the queen from sending for him into France, *ib.* their instructions and arrival at Paris, 596. lord Digby goes to Jersey to persuade him to remove to Ireland, *ib.* thence he goes to France to gain the queen's consent to this measure, 597. where, being cajoled by cardinal Mazarine, he returns to Jersey to persuade the prince to remove into France, *ib.* debates in the prince's council concerning his going, 603. lord Capel's opinion against it, *ib.* the arguments of the lords Digby and Jermyn for it, *ib.* the prince resolves to go, 604. all his council, except lord Colepepper, dissent, and stay behind, *ib.* the prince's treatment

and condition in France, 606, 640. he goes to Helvoetsluyt to take the command of the fleet that had revolted from Rainsborough, 646. 648. factions in his fleet, 648, 655. he comes into the Downs with his fleet, 649. an unsuccessful enterprise there, 657. thence into the Thames, 649. and takes several ships, 656. commissioners sent to him from the city, with a petition, *ib.* he writes to the city, *ib.* he writes to the earl of Warwick, 657. his answer, *ib.* he went to sea towards Holland after having attempted to fight with the earl of Warwick, *ib.* the earl follows him, *ib.* the prince comes to the Hague, 659. divisions in his court, *ib.* the letter of the parliament of Scotland to him, 660. deliberations in his council about it, *ib.* his and the duke of York's condition at the Hague, and the factions among their followers, 670. the ill condition of his fleet in Holland, 672, 673. he has the smallpox, 673. he prevails with the States of Holland to intercede with the parliament for his father, 691. sends a letter to Fairfax, and the council of war on his behalf, 695. which was read and laid aside, *ib.* (as king) proclamation against proclaiming him king, 699. his condition at the Hague, 704. the States condole with him, *ib.* his new council sworn, *ib.* the queen's first message to him, *ib.* he thinks of going into Ireland, 705. proclaimed in Scotland, and commissioners sent from thence to him, *ib.* factions in his court with reference to Scotland, 708. circumstances that made his departure from Holland necessary, 711. he delivers a memorial to the States, 712. deliberations respecting his movements, 713. conference between lord Cottington and the chancellor of the exchequer concerning his sending an embassy to Spain, 714. he declares those two to be his ambassadors, 715. the chancellor of the exchequer appointed by him to make a declaration relating to England, 717. different opinions in his council about it when read, *ib.* upon which it was laid aside, 718. he removes to Breda, 719. thence to Antwerp, 720. thence to Brussels, *ib.* has an interview with the archduke near Valenciennes, *ib.* meets his mother at St. Germain's, *ib.* unwilling that she should interfere in public affairs, *ib.* Mr. Elliot comes to him, *ib.* his influence over him, *ib.* Cromwell's arrival in Ireland delays his voyage there, 724. he removes to Jersey, 725. stays some months there, 731. account of the embassy he sent to Spain, 725, 732, 739, 747, 752, 753. he gives over all thought of going into Ireland in consequence of

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tumult of the levellers, *ib.* his speech against the king in parliament, on his refusing to pass four acts sent to him by parliament, 630. his meeting with his officers, wherein they design the king's destruction, *ib.* he made every thing, right or wrong, subservient to his ends, 637. observations on his conduct as subservient to his own ends, 638. was a great preacher, 640. got lord Lisle sent lord lieutenant into Ireland, 641. opposes sir W. Waller's being appointed to succeed lord Lisle, *ib.* and proposes Lambert, 642. the marquis of Argyle makes a fast friendship with him and Vane, *ib.* foreseeing a war with Scotland, he nevertheless did not garrison Berwick or Carlisle, 653. owing to his perfect contempt for the Scotch, *ib.* advances against them, 654. leaving Ireton to watch Fairfax and the army in Kent, 655. defeats sir M. Langdale near Preston, 658. and routs duke Hamilton at Uxeter, *ib.* marches into Scotland, 662. his declaration of his intentions, *ib.* is received at Edinburgh, *ib.* returns to England, leaving his friend Argyle to settle affairs, 663. endeavours to prevent the parliament from repealing their votes of no more addresses to the king, 666. reasons that obliged him to be present in parliament, and to leave the siege of Pontefract castle to Lambert, *ib.* his great loss in Rainsborough, 669. the house of peers had little to do after his return from Scotland, 691. he long after endeavoured in vain to erect a new house of peers of his own creation, 692. placed much confidence in Harrison, who owed his rise to him, 693. outwitted Fairfax, and made use of him in compassing the king's death, 696. employed and contemned sir J. Danvers, *ib.* causes duke Hamilton's petition for his life to be rejected by the house of commons, 702. as also the earl of Holland's, *ib.* votes against lord Capel's similar petition, for the good of the commonwealth, *ib.* supposed to have agreed with Argyle when in Scotland to keep the king in perpetual imprisonment, 707. was to have been excepted in Charles II.'s proposed declaration, 718. made lord lieutenant of Ireland, 723. how brought about, *ib.* his hypocrisy as to this appointment, *ib.* provides forces for his going thither, 724. arrives at Dublin, *ib.* is obliged to take Tredagh by storm, 736. marches into Munster, *ib.* Cork betrayed to him, *ib.* the whole province submits to him, 737. France grew every day into a closer correspondence with him, *ib.* Christina queen of Sweden expressed a great esteem for him,

739. makes great use of the animosities amongst the Irish, 744. gives the Irish leave to transport themselves into any foreign prince's service, 744, 745. what use he had made of the levellers, 745. sent for by the parliament out of Ireland, leaves Ireton his deputy, 750, 773. made general upon Fairfax's resignation, 750. the Scots raise an army against him, *ib.* he enters Scotland, 751. the distress of his army, *ib.* entirely routs the Scots at Dunbar, *ib.* enters Edinburgh, *ib.* endeavours to fight the king's army, 759. gains a pass and gets behind the king, *ib.* who thereupon marches into England, without his knowing it till a day afterwards, 760. his resolutions and counsels upon this news, *ib.* orders Lambert to follow the king with a body of the horse, *ib.* leaves Monk in Scotland, *ib.* 780. and follows the king three days after, 760. defeats him at Worcester, 764. supposed by some to have corrupted Lesley the king's general, 765. an argument against it, *ib.* returned in triumph to London, and received with universal joy, *ib.* discountenances the presbyterians from the time of his being chosen general, 775. causes several high courts of justice to be erected, *ib.* grieved and vexed at the escape of Middleton and Massey, 780. Saint-John his confidant, 784. never zealous for the war with the Dutch, but governed in it by Saint-John, 787. his successes abroad, 787, 788. his reason for keeping the better quarter with cardinal Mazarine, 788. Ireton by his obstinacy often prevailed over Cromwell, *ib.* and was so thorough a republican, that had he lived he would have opposed his schemes, *ib.* the parliament not so obedient to him as he expected, 791. he erects another council of officers who expostulate with them about their dissolution, 792. he and they dissolve them, *ib.* his behaviour on this occasion, 793. his declaration to the people, *ib.* what would have been the consequence had not Cromwell now made himself a tyrant, 794. he and his council choose a new parliament, *ib.* calls them together by his own warrant, *ib.* and delivers them an instrument for their authority, *ib.* they deliver up their power to him, 795. he is made protector by his council, *ib.* and by Lambert's support, 879. installed according to an instrument of government, 795. takes an oath to observe it, *ib.* proclaimed, 796. entertained by the city, *ib.* his fleets twice victorious against the Dutch, *ib.* his reception of the Dutch commissioners, *ib.* makes peace with them, 797.

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Hedworth, Randolph, signed the anabaptists' address to Charles II, 855.

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- Buckingham, duke of, takes the lead in an opposition to the chancellor, 1197. his hatred to the duke of Ormond, *ib.* supports the bill for preventing the importation of Irish cattle, 1200. receives a challenge from the lord Ossory, *ib.* of which he informs the house of lords, 1201. the house, after considering the affair, sends both to the Tower, 1202. a scuffle between him and the marquis of Dorchester, *ib.* both committed to the Tower, *ib.* he obstructs the bill for lord Roos's divorce, 1208. a particular relating to him which hastens the fall of the chancellor, 1230. his behaviour towards the king, *ib.* a warrant issued to apprehend him, 1231. is removed from all his employments, *ib.* a proclamation issued for apprehending him, *ib.* desires the chancellor to interpose in his behalf, 1232. the chancellor's advice to him, *ib.* he surrenders himself, *ib.* is examined at the council-board, 1233. the king is satisfied with his defence, *ib.* after the dismissal of the chancellor he is restored to all his employments, 1236. and is much inflamed against the chancellor, 1237. and is induced to concur in the prosecution, *ib.* sends for sir Robert Harlow in hopes of gaining some information against the chancellor, 1239.
- Butler, James, marquis of Ormond, 998, 1000. one of the king's council at the restoration, 992. character of him, 993. made lord steward of the household, 1005. his courage and constancy in the king's service, *ib.* his friendship with the chancellor, *ib.* and 1015. is sent by the king to inform the chancellor of his daughter's marriage with the duke of York, 1009. made a duke, 1018. urges the chancellor to resign his office, *ib.* and to wait wholly upon the person of the king, *ib.* appointed of the committee to enter into a treaty with the Portuguese ambassador for the king's marriage with the infanta, 1038.
- Butler, Dr., a physician at Cambridge, 917.
- Byron, sir John, 966.
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- Cadiz, 933.
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- Cesar, sir Charles, master of the rolls, dies, 957.
- Calais, 976, 1246, 1250, 1252, 1253.
- Calamy, Mr., his disingenuity respecting the king's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, 1035.
- Calthurst, Anne, widow of Matt. Calthurst, marries Laurence Hyde, 915.
- Calthurst, Matthew, of Claverton near Bath, *ib.*
- Canaries patent, a particular relation of the passing of it, 1134.
- Canary merchants; the principal of them petition for a charter, 1136. the king approves of it, *ib.* opposed by the city of London, *ib.* the chancellor refuses to put the seal till the merchants had satisfied the city, 1137. some differences in the company after their incorporation, *ib.* which are referred to the king, 1138. the king satisfies all parties, *ib.*
- Canterbury, the king's arrival there, 994.
- Capel, the lord, 973, 974. his stay in Jersey, 975. by advice of his friends in England, who wished to obtain permission for him to return to England, he removes to Middleburgh, *ib.* returns into England, 976.
- Castilian, Anne, of Benham, 915. marries Rob. Hyde, *ib.*
- Carey, sir Lucius, eldest son to the lord viscount Falkland, an intimate friend of Edward Hyde, 925. some account of his education, *ib.* his fortune, *ib.* character, *ib.* marries against his father's wishes, *ib.* goes to Holland with his wife, 926. returns to England, retiring to a country life and his books, *ib.* his father's death calls him from his retirement, *ib.* returns to his studies, *ib.* mode of living, and his acquaintance, *ib.* his progress in learning, *ib.*
- Carew, Thomas, one of Edward Hyde's chief acquaintance, 923. his character, 924.
- Carleton, sir Dudley, ambassador at the Hague, 929.
- Carteret, sir George, 974, 1161. governor of Jersey, 975. receives the chancellor into his house, *ib.*
- Castro, the marquis de, 1256.
- Cavendish, sir Charles, 985. his character, 988. the chancellor persuades him to return into England, *ib.*
- Chaloner, Dr., principal of Alban hall, Oxford, 916. dies of the plague, *ib.*
- Charles I. calls a parliament upon the rebellion in Scotland, April 1640, 934. dissolves it in May, 935. calls another in November, *ib.* sends for Mr. Hyde, 937. his discourse with him, *ib.* gets him to undertake the care of episcopacy in parliament, till he goes to Scotland, *ib.* thanks him by secretary Nicholas for his zeal in his service, *ib.* offers him the place of solicitor general, which he declines, 938. intrusts lord Falkland, sir J. Colepepper, and Mr. Hyde with the conduct of his affairs in parliament, 939. passes the bill against the bishops, 942. accompanies the queen to Dover, 943. receives a message from the parliament respecting the removal of the prince of Wales from Richmond, *ib.* writes a sharp answer, *ib.* which Mr. Hyde prevails upon him to alter, 944. meets the prince at Greenwich, *ib.* his discourse with Mr. Hyde there, *ib.* directs him to prepare and send him answers to such declarations or messages as the parliament should send to him, *ib.* promises secrecy, and that he will himself transcribe all the answers, *ib.* is surprised in the midst of this discourse by the earls of Essex and Holland, *ib.* goes to Theobalds, 945. begins his progress northward, 946. takes the prince with him, *ib.* sends for Mr. Hyde to attend him at York, 948. sends Mr. Ashburnham to Mr. Hyde, with the declaration of the 26th of May, and wishes an answer to be prepared as soon as possible, 949. displeased with the lord keeper, 950. is reconciled to him by Mr. Hyde, 951. goes to Beverley, 952. thence to Hull, *ib.* his progress into Northamptonshire and Leicestershire, 954. returns to York, *ib.* his wager with lord Falkland concerning Mr. Hyde's style, *ib.* some of the king's movements, 955. determines to make secretary Nicholas master of the wards, 956. and Mr. Hyde secretary of state, *ib.* graciously receives the commissioners sent by the parliament to treat with him, 958. complains that their powers are so restrained, *ib.* is against a cessation of arms, 959. is urged by Mr. Pierrepont to make the earl of Northumber-

land lord high admiral of England, *ib.* which sir E. Hyde advises him to comply with, 960. which the king refuses, *ib.* the true cause of his rejecting it, *ib.* description of his affection for the queen, 961. his promise to the queen that he would never make any peace but by her mediation, *ib.* dismisses the Scottish commissioners, who attended him with a request to abolish episcopacy, 963. is much troubled at the disunion between the princes Rupert and Maurice, *ib.* goes to Bristol, *ib.* his last conference with the chancellor, 972. commands him to attend the prince into the west, 969. sends him two manuscripts containing all the passages in the years 1645, 1646, 976. much pleased with the chancellor's vindication of him in his answer to the parliament's declaration, *ib.* the removal and solemn interment of his body proposed, but his body not to be found, 1049. Charles, prince of Wales, (afterwards Charles II.) sent under his new governor the marquis of Hertford to Richmond, 943. ordered to attend his majesty at Greenwich, *ib.* meets the king there, 944. is sent by the king into the west, 973. goes thence to Scilly, *ib.* and afterwards to Jersey, 974. embarks for France, *ib.* Charles II. receives the account of the murder of the king his father, 979. sends the chancellor and lord Cottington ambassadors to Spain, *ib.* speaks to the chancellor respecting his daughter's appointment as maid of honour to the princess royal, 990. commands the chancellor to write an answer to Cromwell's declaration of decimating the king's party, 991. is restored to his kingdom, 992. his council at the restoration, 993. mortified at the solicitations of some royalists at Canterbury, 994. more mortified at a list of privy-counsellors recommended to him by general Monk, *ib.* is much displeased, and gives the list to the chancellor, *ib.* desires him to discourse the matter with the general and Mr. Morrice, 995. is afterwards satisfied with Monk's explanation, *ib.* his triumphant entry into London, *ib.* is mortified at the disunion of his friends, 998. a review of the causes of this disunion, *ib.* various instances of the unhappy constitution of the king's friends, 1002. which much troubles the king, 1003. neglecting business, he gives himself up to pleasure, *ib.* fills the courts of justice with grave and learned judges, 1004. confirms the general in all the offices assigned him by the parliament, 1005. sends two of the chancellor's friends to inform him of his daughter's marriage with the duke of York, 1009. his behaviour upon

it towards the chancellor, *ib.* makes him a present of twenty thousand pounds, 1011. creates him a baron, *ib.* his satisfaction at seeing the change in the queen's behaviour towards the duke and duchess of York, 1014. reproves the chancellor for not being pleased at it, *ib.* commissioners sent to him from Scotland and Ireland, 1020. disposes of several great offices of the kingdom of Scotland, 1022. is inclined from lord Lauderdale's discourse to delay the reestablishment of episcopacy in Scotland, 1024. greatly perplexed at the contradictory addresses from Ireland, 1029. hesitates whom to send to Ireland as his deputy, 1030. fixes upon the lord Roberts, 1031. is concerned at the delay in passing the bill of indemnity, 1032. interposes with parliament respecting it, *ib.* at last gets it passed, *ib.* confers with the chancellor upon the proposal of marriage made to him by the Portuguese ambassador, 1036. is himself pleased with it, 1037. appoints a committee by the chancellor's advice to consider of it, *ib.* and to enter into a treaty with the ambassador, 1038. refuses to enter into a war with Spain, *ib.* writes to the king of Portugal, the queen regent, and the infants, 1039. appears much colder towards the treaty, 1041. sends the earl of Bristol to see some ladies in Italy, 1042. receives the Portuguese ambassador coldly on his return, *ib.* by degrees returns to his old resolution, and receives him with his usual freedom, 1043. is greatly incensed at the Spanish ambassador's printing the memorials he had presented against the match, *ib.* requires him forthwith to depart the kingdom, *ib.* receives some particular overtures from the court of France respecting the treaty with Portugal, *ib.* lays the whole matter before his privy-council, 1045. and is advised without more delay to conclude the treaty, *ib.* his speech to the new parliament, 1046. urges them to confirm the act of indemnity, *ib.* imparts to them the news of his intended marriage, *ib.* his coronation, 23d of April, 1048. proposes a solemn interment of his father, 1049. whose body cannot be found, *ib.* appoints lord Roberts deputy of Ireland, 1050. offers him the privy seal, *ib.* enters warmly into the affairs of Ireland, *ib.* hears all parties, *ib.* his friends restored by act of parliament, 1051. appears inclined to favour the Irish catholics, 1052. is distressed with regard to the settlement in Ireland, 1055. passes the first act of settlement, 1057. appoints three lords justices, *ib.* hears again the different parties, 1058. passes the second act, *ib.*

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engage in a war with the Dutch, *ib.* approves of the bishop of Munster's proposals for an alliance against the Dutch, 1123, 1125. obliges the chancellor to seal a grant appointing lord Ashley treasurer of prize-money, 1128. measures taken to prejudice him against the chancellor, 1129. a proposal made to the king for liberty of conscience, *ib.* which he approves of, *ib.* is offended with the chancellor and treasurer for opposing it, 1130. and also with the bishops, 1131. he prorogues the parliament, *ib.* approves of the Canary merchants' petition for a charter, 1136. some differences in the company referred to him, 1138. he satisfies all parties, *ib.* greatly afflicted at the death of the earl of Falmouth, 1142. removes to Hampton-court on account of the plague, 1144. removes to Salisbury, 1145. removes with his court to Oxford, 1149. his speech to both houses at Oxford, 1150. anxious for peace, on the French ambassador's leaving the kingdom, 1153. hopes to divide France and Holland, *ib.* is moved by the duke of York to make sir George Savile a viscount, 1157. which the king will not consent to, *ib.* offended with the earl of Sandwich, 1159. is at length satisfied with the apology the earl makes for his imprudent conduct, 1161. is persuaded to remove lord Sandwich from the command of the fleet, *ib.* but resolves to dismiss him with honour, *ib.* thinks of appointing prince Rupert and the general joint admirals, 1163. commands the solicitor general not to oppose the proviso offered by sir George Downing in the bill for a supply, 1167. consults further the private committee upon it, 1168. is much offended with the chancellor for his sharp reproof of sir George Downing, 1170. but is satisfied with the chancellor's explanation, *ib.* is persuaded to desire the treasurer would resign, 1171. and wishes the chancellor to advise him to it, *ib.* the chancellor earnestly beseeches him to reconsider it, 1172. he is prevailed upon to lay aside the intention, *ib.* removes from Oxford to Hampton-court, *ib.* the plague having decreased, he returns to Hampton-court, 1173. is desirous of uniting with Holland against France, 1175. is prepossessed against the queen on her miscarriage, 1179. allows great license in the court, *ib.* an attempt to raise jealousies in him of his brother, 1180. his temper and disposition, *ib.* endeavours used to lessen the king's esteem of the duchess of York, *ib.* much alarmed at the fire of London, 1186. despairs of preserving Whitehall

or Westminster-abbey, *ib.* he is seriously affected by that dreadful calamity, 1189. measures taken to efface such good impressions in him, 1189. and to lessen his esteem of the privy-council, *ib.* complains to the chancellor of the liberties taken with his character, 1191. the chancellor seriously remonstrates with him, 1192. his false reasoning, that princes have many liberties which private persons have not, &c. *ib.* his speech to the parliament, 1195. begins now to understand the damage he had sustained by the plague and the fire, *ib.* consults his private committee upon the bill brought into the house of commons for examining the public accounts, 1196. is against the bill prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle, 1198. passes the Irish bill with a speech, 1208. his speech at the prorogation of the parliament, 1209. appoints commissioners for inspecting the public accounts, *ib.* is involved in great difficulties, particularly with regard to the war with Holland, 1210. consults the private committee in these straits, *ib.* takes a resolution to act on the defensive, *ib.* strengthens various forts and places on the coast of Essex and Sussex, *ib.* inspects the fortifications of Sheerness, 1211. receives overtures from France, 1215. which he approves of, 1216. difficulties about settling a place for a treaty, *ib.* progress of the negotiation, 1217. is highly offended with the breach of the overtures made by France, 1218. and resolves to continue the war, *ib.* receives new overtures from France, *ib.* consults the East India company in relation to Poleroone, 1219. consults the privy-council upon the overtures made by France, *ib.* which advises him to enter upon the treaty, *ib.* agrees upon Breda as the place of treating, *ib.* appoints lord Hollis and Mr. H. Coventry his plenipotentiaries, 1220. upon the death of lord Southampton he resolves to put the treasury into commission, 1223. the chancellor advises him against it, *ib.* commissioners appointed, 1224. in great perplexity at the attack upon Sheerness by the Dutch, 1225. is advised to convene parliament during the prorogation, 1226. he consults the privy-council upon it, *ib.* is advised by the privy-council to conclude the treaty for peace, 1229. issues a warrant to apprehend the duke of Buckingham, 1231. grows weary of the prosecution, 1232. is satisfied with the duke's defence before the privy-council, 1233. sends the duke of York to the chancellor to desire him to resign, *ib.* his conference with the chancellor at Whitehall, 1234, 1235.

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Chillingworth, Mr. William, one of Edward Hyde's intimate friends, 925. wrote his excellent book against Mr. Nott the Jesuit at sir Lucius Carey's house, 926. spent all his younger time in disputation, 930. becomes a sceptic in the greatest mysteries of faith, *ib.* falls off to the church of Rome, *ib.* goes to St. Omer's to perfect his conversion by the conversation of the greatest men there, *ib.* finds no satisfaction, and returns with as much haste from them to the church of England, *ib.* thought all war to be unlawful, 930. shut up in Arundel-castle, *ib.* falls into the rebels' hands, *ib.* is cruelly treated by them, and dies shortly after in prison, *ib.* character, *ib.*

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**F.**  
**Fairfax, sir Thomas**, son of lord Fairfax, 949, 950.  
**Falkland, lord**, 927, 928, 939, 941, 944, 947, 948, 953, 954, 955, 957, 963. deputy of Ireland, 925. called to the privy-council, 938. is intrusted, together with sir J. Colepepper and Mr. Hyde, with the conduct of the king's affairs in parliament, 939. some account of his temper and principles, *ib.* a design formed of sending him to the Tower, 947. it is defeated, *ib.* goes to York, 952. prepares an answer to the nineteen propositions of parliament, 953. his wager with the king respecting Mr. Hyde's style, 954. solicits the king to make Mr. Hyde chancellor of the exchequer, 957. attends the king to Bristol, 963. is killed in the battle at Newbury, 966. his character, *ib.*  
**Falmouth, earl of**, (see sir Charles Berkley.)  
**Fanatics**, they defend the cause of the regicides, 1033. cause their last speeches to be published, *ib.* have a conference of assassinating the general, *ib.* an insurrection of them raised by Venner in London, *ib.* for which he is executed with his associates, *ib.*  
**Fanshaw, sir Richard**, an account of his embassy into Spain, 1162. from whence he is recalled, 1163.  
**Felton, John**, kills the duke of Buckingham, 917.  
**Ferrers, lord viscount**, attends the duke of York as a volunteer, 1132.  
**Fiennes, Nathaniel**, his conversation with Mr. Hyde, 937.  
**Finch, the lord keeper**, 936.  
**Fleet prepared against the Dutch**, 1132. again prepared, 1143.  
**Flemming, a Swedish senator**, sent ambassador into England, 1212. his character, *ib.*  
**Florence, the ambassador of**, at Madrid, his character, 983.  
**Flushing**, 977, 978, 979.  
**Fonde, monsieur le**, 1250, 1251, 1254, 1255.  
**Fouquet, monsieur**, superintendant of the finances in France on the death of cardinal Mazarine, 1043. makes some overtures to the chancellor concerning the treaty with Portugal, *ib.*  
**France; war with England**, 917. worries Spain, 934. infests Italy, *ib.*  
**French, the**, send ambassadors into England under pretence of mediation between the English and Dutch, 1139. prepare a fleet, 1173. negotiations of the French at this time, 1174. prevent the neighbouring states from assisting the bishop of Munster, *ib.* force him to make peace with the Dutch, 1175. their fleet narrowly escape in a storm, 1184. Holland and France jealous of each other, 1213. make overtures, 1215. make new overtures, 1218. invade Flanders, 1228. French ambassador urges the chancellor to retire to France, 1245.  
**French ambassadors, the**, neglect an opportunity of making peace, 1143. seem desirous of mediating a peace, 1146. a further negotiation with them, 1149. complain of the damage the subjects of France had sustained by the king's ships, and remonstrate warmly against the English, 1151. have a conference with the English ministers in consequence of their remonstrance, 1152. receive their final answer, and leave the kingdom, 1153.  
**Frescheville, Mr.**, created lord Frescheville, 1133.  
**Fuy, sir George**, of Kyneton, 915. marries Susanna Hyde, *ib.*  
**G.**  
**Gabell, chief minister of the king of Denmark**, 1146.  
**Garraway, Mr.**, 1197.  
**Gassendas**, 938.  
**Germany, state of in 1639**, 934.  
**Gilasp, a seditious preacher in Scotland**, is executed, 1110.  
**Glenornie, earl of**, one of the Scotch commissioners, 1021. his character and some account of him, *ib.* made chancellor of Scotland, 1022.  
**Gloucester**, 965.  
**Glyn, Mr.**, 948.  
**Godolphin, Sidney**, one of Edward Hyde's intimate friends, 925. his character, 927. death, *ib.*  
**Goring, the lord**, 973.  
**Gourny, alderman**, lord mayor of London, his character, 946.  
**Grandison, William, viscount**, 918, 943, 944. sent express by Mr. Hyde with a letter to the king at Theobald's, 945. surprised by the parliament forces, 958.  
**Grana, the marquis of**, the emperor's ambassador at Madrid, his character, 982.  
**Gravesend**, 943.  
**Greenvil, sir Richard**, 973.  
**Greenwich**, 943, 944.  
**H.**  
**Hague, the**, 929, 979.  
**Hales, John**, of Eton, an intimate friend of Edward Hyde, 925. Greek professor in the university of Oxford, and fellow of Merton college, 929. assisted sir H. Saville in his edition of St. Chrysostom's works, *ib.* present at the consultations of the synod at Dort, *ib.* would never take any cure of souls, *ib.* a great contemner of money, *ib.* interview with archbishop Laud, *ib.* his discourse on schism, *ib.* made prebend of Windsor, 930. his character, 929.  
**Hamden, Mr.**, 936, 939.  
**Hamilton, the marquis of**, 918. Edward Hyde introduced to him, *ib.* comes into the queen's confidence, 919. found Mr. Hyde early in private with the king, 947.  
**Hammond, Dr.** frequented the house of sir Lucius Carey, 926.  
**Hampton-Court**, 1144.  
**Harlow, sir Robert**, sent for by the



duke of Buckingham, and questioned as to the chancellor's conduct in appointing lord Willoughby governor of the Barbadoes, 1239.

Harcourt, the count of, sent in an embassy from the court of France, 966. arrives in London, *ib.*

Haro, don Lewis de, waits upon the chancellor, at Madrid, 983.

Harvey, Daniel, a merchant, complains to archbishop Laud of the earl of Portland, 920. mentions Mr. Hyde to the archbishop, *ib.*

Harvey, Mr. Justice, one of the judges of the common pleas, 917.

Haslerig, sir Arthur, 936.

Henderson, Alexander, the Scottish high priest, 961.

Henrietta Maria, queen to Charles I, takes the marquis of Hamilton into her confidence, 919. endeavours to persuade Mr. Hyde to accept the office of solicitor general, 938. resolves to go abroad, 941. prevails on the king to pass the bill against the bishops, 942. goes to Dover accompanied by the king, 943. puts to sea, *ib.* description of the king's affection for her, 961. the king promises not to make any peace but by her mediation, *ib.* lands in the north, *ib.* forms a design of drawing the prince into France, 970. is displeased at the chancellor's going to Spain, 980. her strong opinion of his sincerity, *ib.* her reception of him on his return from Spain, 984. complains to him of the duke of York's conduct, *ib.* is much offended with sir Edward Herbert and sir George Ratcliff, *ib.* sends Mr. William Mountague to confer with the chancellor, 985. greatly incensed at the duke of York's marriage, 1010. congratulated by the privy-council on her return, 1011. receives the chancellor graciously, *ib.* greatly offended with the duke of York's behaviour towards the duchess, 1113. suddenly alters her behaviour, 1014. the reason of it, *ib.* is reconciled to the duchess, 1015. and to the chancellor, *ib.* brings a natural son of the king's into England, 1107. leaves England, 1139. prevents the duke of York's going to sea again, 1143. endeavours to bring about a peace between England and France, 1214. sends the earl of St. Alban's into England for that purpose, *ib.* forbids Dr. Cosins to officiate to the protestants in her suite, 984. on which the chancellor remonstrates with her, *ib.* her majesty's answer, *ib.*

Herbert, sir Edward, attorney general, advises the king to declare the parliament dissolved, 968. his character, *ib.*

Hereford, bishop of, sent to the chancellor to persuade him to leave the kingdom, 1244.

Hertford, marquis of, 994, 1049. go-

vernor to the prince of Wales, 943. has leave from Cromwell to attend the king's funeral, 1049. inserted in the list of privy counsellors recommended to the king by Monk, 994.

Holland, 929, 934.

Holland, earl of, 947, 953, 954, 955. surprises Mr. Hyde in conference with the king, 944. his journey to Beverley, 953. the king's reception of him, 954.

Hollis, Mr., 948.

Hollis, lord, appointed a plenipotentiary to treat for peace, 1220.

Hopton, sir Arthur, 975.

Hopton, sir Ralph, 965. committed by the commons to the Tower, 947.

Hopton, the lord, 930, 972, 973, 975. his stay in and departure from Jersey, *ib.*

Howard, lord Edward, 949, 951.

Howard, sir Robert, 1197.

Hubert, a Frenchman, makes a strange confession that he had caused the fire of London, and had been hired in Paris a year before to do it, 1187. upon which he is executed, 1188.

Hull, 952, 953, 954.

Humakerke, Laurence Van, advises prince Rupert to make an attempt on the island of Schelling, 1184.

Huntingdon, 947.

Hussey, sir James, one of the masters in chancery, brings the plague to Oxford, 1625, 916. dies in New college, *ib.*

Hyde, Alice, aunt to lord Clarendon, 915. married to John St. Loe, *ib.*

Hyde, Anne, aunt to lord Clarendon, 915. married to Thomas Baynard, *ib.*

Hyde, Anne, daughter of the chancellor, appointed maid of honour to the princess royal, 990. is married to the duke of York, 1007. her character traduced by sir Charles Berkley, 1011. upon which the duke resolves to deny the marriage, *ib.* is delivered of a son, *ib.* accepts sir Charles Berkley's submission, 1014. the queen mother is reconciled to her, 1015. endeavours used to lessen the king's esteem of her, 1180.

Hyde, Edward, (afterwards earl of Clarendon,) born at Dinton, co. Wilts, 915. third son of Henry Hyde, 916. born 18th of Feb. 1608, *ib.* educated by a school-master, to whom his father had given the vicarage of the parish, *ib.* sent to the university of Oxford at the age of thirteen, *ib.* designed to the clergy, *ib.* was to make his own fortune by his industry, *ib.* candidate for a demyship of Magdalen college, *ib.* recommended by king James to Dr. Langton, the president, *ib.* but was not chosen, *ib.* remains at Magdalen hall, *ib.* under the tuition of Mr. John Oliver, *ib.* chosen demy the following year, though

there was no vacancy, *ib.* upon the death of his elder brother Henry, is sent by his father to the inns of court, *ib.* enters at the Middle Temple, *ib.* in consequence of the plague did not go there till Michaelmas term, 1625, *ib.* takes his degree of bachelor of arts, 917. character at that time, *ib.* arrives in London, *ib.* seized with a quartan ague, *ib.* goes to Pirton, *ib.* recovers, and returns to the Middle Temple, *ib.* gets acquainted with some officers, *ib.* retreats from their company without hurt or prejudice, *ib.* cannot bring himself to an industrious pursuit of the law study, *ib.* loved polite learning and Roman history, *ib.* goes the Norfolk circuit in 1626, *ib.* arrives at Cambridge, and lodges in Trinity college, *ib.* seized with the small-pox, *ib.* put under the care of Mr. Crane, *ib.* in great danger, *ib.* recovers and goes to his father's house at Pirton, *ib.* receives the account of the death of the duke of Buckingham, *ib.* returns to his studies at the Middle Temple, 918. loses his uncle and patron sir Nicholas Hyde, *ib.* marries the daughter of sir George Ayliffe, *ib.* loses his wife within less than six months from the small-pox, at Reading, *ib.* employed in a cause in the court, *ib.* the occasion of his introduction to the marquis of Hamilton, 919. marries the daughter of sir Thomas Aylesbury, bart. *ib.* betakes himself seriously to his profession, *ib.* laments his father's death, *ib.* his name mentioned by Mr. D. Harvey to abp. Laud, 921. is sent for by the archbishop, *ib.* the conversation between them respecting the complaints against the earl of Portland as treasurer, *ib.* is taken particular notice of by the archbishop, 922. in consequence receives encouragement in his profession, *ib.* method of spending his time, *ib.* some account of his chief acquaintance, 923. of these he looked upon Mr. Selden with most affection and reverence, 925. afterwards he forms a more intimate friendship with others, whose characters are given, *ib.* fortunate in his acquaintance and friendships in his profession, 931. the countenance he received from certain great men made him look- ed upon by the judges in Westminster-hall with great condescension, *ib.* reconciles abp. Laud to the earl of Hertford, *ib.* his free expostulation with the archbishop, *ib.* his reverence for, and opinion of him, 932. gives up his whole heart to his profession, *ib.* his family, three sons and a daughter, 933. reflections on the younger part of his life, *ib.* his own character, *ib.* chosen to serve for two places in the parliament of 1640,

viz. Wotton-Basset and Shaftesbury, 934. chooses to serve for the former, *ib.* his first speech in the house against the earl marshal's court, &c. *ib.* endeavours to prevail on abp. Laud to oppose the dissolution of the parliament, 935. is chosen to serve in the second parliament of 1640, *ib.* the parliament prejudiced against him, *ib.* renews his motion for the suppression of the earl marshal's court, *ib.* succeeds in abolishing it, *ib.* receives the thanks of the earl marshal for his treatment of his person on that occasion, *ib.* lays aside his gown, and wholly gives himself up to public business, *ib.* in the chair of the committee against the court of York, 936. and of that against the judges, *ib.* and against the marshal's court, *ib.* and of that concerning the lord president and council of the marches of Wales, *ib.* and of many other committees, *ib.* particularly of an enclosure, in which arose the first cause of Oliver Cromwell's enmity to him, *ib.* in the chair in the grand committee of the house for the extirpation of episcopacy, *ib.* the discontented party make great court to him, *ib.* his conversation with Nathaniel Fiennes respecting his attachment to the church, *ib.* and with Harry Martin about the proceedings of the houses, 937. is sent for by the king, *ib.* their discourse, *ib.* undertakes for the care of the church and episcopacy till the king goes for Scotland, *ib.* receives the king's thanks by secretary Nicholas, *ib.* draws up an answer to the parliament's remonstrance, 938. reads it to lord Digby, *ib.* refuses to have it communicated to the king, *ib.* the king hears of it, and sends for it, *ib.* it is read before the privy-council, *ib.* and is printed, *ib.* sent for by the king, who offers him the place of solicitor general, which he declines, *ib.* refuses another post, 939. is intrusted, jointly with lord Falkland and sir J. Colepepper, with the conduct of the king's affairs in parliament, *ib.* account of his disposition and principles, 940. sent by the parliament to the king with a message respecting the removal of the prince of Wales from Richmond, 943. prevails with the king to alter his answer to the parliament, 944. the king's discourse with him in the privy gallery at Greenwich, *ib.* is directed by the king to prepare answers for him to the parliament's declaration and messages, *ib.* is surprised in the midst of his discourse by the earls of Essex and Holland, *ib.* sends the king an account of a message from parliament respecting their privileges, 945. his advice thereupon,

*ib.* a design formed to send him to the Tower, 947. it is defeated, *ib.* required by his majesty to attend him at York, 948. disposes the lord keeper to send the great seal to the king, and himself attend the king, *ib.* begins his journey to York, *ib.* stops at Ditchley, *ib.* stops at Nostall, *ib.* sends the king an answer to the declaration of the 19th of May, *ib.* receives from the king the declaration of the 26th of May, and is desired to answer it speedily, *ib.* writes to the king from Nostall in favour of the lord keeper, 950. goes to York, *ib.* his reception there, 951. he reconciles the king to the lord keeper, *ib.* is required by the committee from parliament to attend the house, *ib.* his answer, *ib.* advises the king not to publish the answer to the parliament's nineteen propositions, 953. lord Falkland's expostulation with him thereon, *ib.* his conversation with the earl of Holland, *ib.* is exempted from pardon by a vote of the houses, *ib.* his conversation with sir Edmund Varney, 954. laments the loss of many of his writings, 955. declines the office of secretary of state, 956. accepts the office of chancellor of the exchequer, 957. is sworn of the privy-council, and knighted, *ib.* advises the king to comply with Mr. Pierrepont's proposal of making the earl of Northumberland lord high admiral of England, 960. delivers his opinion on the Scottish commissioners' request for the abolition of episcopacy, 962. attends the king to Bristol, 963. his office invaded by Mr. Ashburnham, 965. loses his dear friend lord Falkland, 966. refuses the office of secretary of state a second time, *ib.* is made one of the junto, 967. dissuades the king from dissolving the parliament, *ib.* is commanded to attend the prince into the west, 969. his conversation with lord Digby, concerning the prince's going to France, *ib.* he endeavours to reconcile the king and the duke of Richmond, 972. without success, *ib.* his last conference with the king, *ib.* his promise to the king at parting, 973. sets out from Oxford, *ib.* arrives at Bath, where he has the first fit of the gout, *ib.* arrives at Bristol, *ib.* goes to Scilly, *ib.* and from thence to Jersey, 974. receives the prince's permission to remain there, *ib.* remains there about two years, in great intimacy with sir George Carteret, 975. betakes himself to a continuance of the history begun at Scilly, *ib.* builds a lodging in Elizabeth castle, *ib.* receives great assistance from the king, in information and documents, towards his History, 976. publishes an answer to the parlia-

ment's declaration, that they would receive no more addresses from the king, *ib.* leaves Jersey, and goes to Caen, thence to Rouen and to Dieppe, *ib.* whence he embarks for Dunkirk, 977. (and afterwards proceeds to join the prince's fleet, *ib.* but is taken by some frigates of Ostend, *ib.* plundered and carried into that port, *ib.* is set at liberty, and promised satisfaction, *ib.* but cannot obtain it, notwithstanding his repeated remonstrances, 978. goes to Flushing, 979. from thence to Middleburgh, *ib.* embarks aboard the Hind frigate to attend the prince in the river Thames, *ib.* is driven back, *ib.* arrives at the Hague, *ib.* is appointed ambassador to the court of Spain, *ib.* which is much murmured at, *ib.* but is himself much pleased with the commission, 980. sends for his wife and children to Antwerp, *ib.* attends the masquerade at Madrid, 981. and the toros, *ib.* is visited by the other ambassadors at Madrid before his audience, 982. demands his audience, 983. prepares mourning for himself and train to appear in at the audience, *ib.* changes his purpose at the request of don Lewis de Haro, *ib.* applies himself to learning Spanish, *ib.* leaves Madrid, 984. attacked with the gout at Pampeluna, *ib.* notwithstanding continues his journey, and arrives at Paris, *ib.* his reception by the queen mother, *ib.* speaks with her upon her forbidding Dr. Cosins to officiate to the protestants in her family, *ib.* her majesty's answer, *ib.* confers on the subject with sir Walter Mountague, 985. goes to Brussels, *ib.* has an audience with the archduke, *ib.* joins his family at Antwerp, *ib.* goes to the duke of York at Breda, *ib.* persuades him to return to the queen mother, *ib.* remains with his family at Antwerp, 987. his friendship with sir Charles Cavendish, *ib.* whom he persuades to go to England, 988. gives an account of his proceedings to the king, 989. his answer to the queen, who endeavoured to attach him to her interest, *ib.* state of his family at Antwerp, 1007. he removes with them to Breda, *ib.* declines the offer made to his daughter by the princess royal, of the situation of a maid of honour, 990. which his wife accepts, and he at length gives his consent, 991. answers Cromwell's declaration, *ib.* is one of the king's council at the restoration, 992. highest in office, and thought to be so also in trust, the reasons why, 993. his intimacy with the marquis of Ormond, *ib.* some intimations made to the king at the Hague of his being very much in the prejudice of the presbyterian

party, with advice to leave him there till he himself should be settled in England, which the king receives with indignation, *ib.* his request to the king to decline giving him any protection, *ib.* his resolution of withdrawing himself, *ib.* receives from the king the list of privy counsellors recommended by Monk, 994. by the king's desire has a conference with Morrice concerning this list, 995. takes his seat in the house of peers with a general acception and respect, *ib.* is thought to have most credit with the king, 1004. all matters referred by the king to him, *ib.* resigns the office of chancellor of the exchequer, 1006. he foresees a storm of envy and malice against him, *ib.* is informed by the king of his daughter's marriage with the duke of York, 1009. is struck to the heart with the news, *ib.* and breaks out into violent passions, *ib.* acts severely towards his daughter, and orders her to keep her chamber, 1010. his language upon this affair in the presence of the king, 1009. the king presents him with twenty thousand pounds, 1011. and creates him a baron, *ib.* is well received by the queen mother on her return, *ib.* his conference with the duke of York, and answer to his highness's threats, 1012. absolutely refuses to make any application towards appeasing the queen's anger, 1013. the queen suddenly alters her behaviour towards him, *ib.* the reason given him by abbot Mountague, *ib.* receives sir Charles Berkley's professions civilly, 1014. his reply to the king's reproof, *ib.* desires leave to retire beyond the seas, *ib.* is introduced by the earl of St. Alban's to the queen mother, 1015. who is reconciled to him, *ib.* not elated by the marriage of his daughter, *ib.* some instances of his disinterestedness, 1016. refuses an offer of crown lands, *ib.* declines being made a knight of the garter, 1017. also declines being made an earl, 1018. but finds he cannot prudently refuse it longer, *ib.* urged by the marquis of Ormond to resign his office of chancellor, *ib.* and betake himself wholly to wait upon the king, *ib.* which he refuses, 1019. anxious in council and in parliament to remove all obstructions in the way of the bill of indemnity, 1032. is consulted by the king concerning a treaty of marriage with the infants of Portugal, 1036. whom he desires to refer it to a committee, 1037. appointed of the committee, *ib.* some overtures made to him by monsieur Fouquet, the French minister, concerning the treaty with Portugal, 1043. with which he acquaints the king, 1044. his integrity in

refusing money (ten thousand pounds) offered him by the French minister, *ib.* which he complains of to the king, but is desired by him to continue his correspondence, 1045. expresses himself warmly upon the duke of Ormond's being made lord lieutenant of Ireland, 1059. his vindication of himself with regard to Irish affairs, 1068. his speech to parliament previous to its being prorogued, 1084. is hated by the queen, 1087. the king imparts to him all his inquietness of mind respecting the queen, 1088. endeavours to reconcile their majesties, 1088—1092. but is unsuccessful, 1092. his interest declines on the appointments of sir Harry Bennett and sir Charles Berkley, 1101. however he still retains the king's favour, *ib.* opposes the war with the Dutch, 1104. the duke offended with him for it, *ib.* he satisfies the duke, *ib.* a full statement, in vindication of himself, of the proceedings relative to the sale of Dunkirk, 1105. his advice to the king regarding his natural son Mr. Crofts, 1108. is accused of high treason by the earl of Bristol, 1109. who absconds, 1110. receives proposals from the bishop of Munster for an alliance against the Dutch, 1123. which he communicates to the king, *ib.* beseeches the king to reconsider his appointment of lord Ashley to be treasurer of the prize-money, 1128. is obliged by the king to seal the grant, *ib.* measures taken to prejudice the king against him, 1129. opposes the bill for liberty of conscience, *ib.* speaks against it in the house of lords, 1130. and drops some unguarded expressions, *ib.* the king offended with him upon it, 1131. refuses to put the seal to the Canary merchants' charter till they had satisfied the city of London, 1136-37. a vindication of the chancellor in this affair, 1138. his reflection upon the attempt made on the Dutch at Bergen, 1149. substance of his speech to the parliament which met at Oxford, 1150. prospect of the king's affairs about this time, 1152. an attempt to make a breach between the chancellor and the treasurer, 1154. the occasion of it, *ib.* is consulted by the duke of York respecting two suits he intended to make to the king, 1156. is against removing the earl of Sandwich from the command of the fleet, 1162. his conference with the earl, 1163. the malice of lord Arlington and sir William Coventry against him, 1165. is desired by the king to persuade the treasurer to resign, 1171. he earnestly entreats the king against it, *ib.* and at length prevails, 1172. his interest declines while the courtiers

affect to represent it at the highest, 1190. repeats to the king the conversation which had passed between him and lord Arlington on the king's course of life, 1191. he seriously remonstrates with the king, 1192. delivers his opinion very freely to the king in the private committee against the bill for examining the public accounts, 1196. which is soon reported to his prejudice, 1197. in the debate of the Irish cattle bill, he defends the commons by desiring the peers to restrain their encroachments, 1204. he offends the lords by advising them not to insist unreasonably upon privilege, 1205. advises the king against putting the treasury into commission, 1223. is against the king convening the parliament during the prorogation, 1227. the storm beginning to arise against him, 1229. the house of commons incensed against him by the agency of Mr. William Coventry, *ib.* his fate hastened by the singular behaviour of the duke of Buckingham, 1230. the chancellor's advice to the duke, who had requested him to interpose in his behalf with the king, 1232. declines to give the king any advice as to staying the prosecution, till the duke had surrendered himself, *ib.* loses his wife, 1233. the duke of York sent to him to desire him to resign, *ib.* many persons of eminence interpose in his behalf, 1234. he attends the king at Whitehall, *ib.* the conference between them, *ib.* the king leaves him in displeasure, 1235. the duke of York interests himself in his behalf, *ib.* the great seal taken from him, 1236. the duke of Buckingham is much inflamed against him, 1237. and is persuaded to concur in the prosecution of him, *ib.* the king also expresses great displeasure against him, *ib.* and reflects upon him in his speech to the parliament, 1238. one Tomkins moves the house to thank the king for removing him, *ib.* unfair methods used to induce the house to adopt that motion, *ib.* persons sought after to furnish matter of impeachment against him, 1239. is accused of high treason by Mr. Seymour, *ib.* many advise him to make his escape, *ib.* which he refuses to do, *ib.* the king declares his belief in his innocence, 1240. which he afterwards disowns, *ib.* articles of the charge against him, *ib.* proceedings against him in the house of commons, 1241. Mr. Seymour accuses him of high treason at the bar of the house of lords, 1242. debates in that house concerning his commitment, *ib.* he is again advised to withdraw, 1243. but refuses, *ib.* the king offended with him for

the part he is reported to have taken with respect to the duke of Richmond's marriage, *ib.* his letter to the king upon that subject, *ib.* the king expresses a wish that he would withdraw, 1244. the bishop of Hereford sent to him to advise him to leave the kingdom, *ib.* which he refuses to do without receiving a command from his majesty, 1245. is urged by the French ambassador to retire to France, *ib.* but cannot be prevailed upon, *ib.* receives a notice from the king to withdraw, *ib.* he unwillingly obeys, and leaves the kingdom, 1246. he lands at Calais, *ib.* an instance of his generous behaviour to his enemies, *ib.* his address to the house of lords on his withdrawing, 1247. which is burned by order of both houses, *ib.* writes to the French court for leave to remove to Roan, 1250. which is granted to him, *ib.* on his journey he receives orders to leave France instantly, *ib.* appeals to that court in consequence of the ill state of his health, *ib.* the occasion of the ill treatment he meets with in France, 1251. proceedings against him in England, *ib.* a bill of banishment passed against him, *ib.* receives reiterated orders to quit France instantly, *ib.* again represents the ill state of his health to the French court, *ib.* the French king renews his commands for his speedy departure, *ib.* receives an express, with a particular account of all the transactions in parliament against him, 1252. is advised by the duke of York to hasten his return, and undergo his trial, *ib.* for that purpose he returns to Calais, *ib.* where he is confined to his bed by a dangerous illness, *ib.* is notwithstanding required to leave the place, and retire out of the French territories, *ib.* the French court suddenly alters its behaviour towards him, 1253. and permits him to go to what place he would, *ib.* which is a great relief and comfort to him, *ib.* he returns to Roan, 1254. from thence proceeds towards Avignon, *ib.* is greatly abused, and almost murdered by some English at Eureux, *ib.* removes from thence to Bourbon, 1255. and from thence to Avignon, *ib.* where he is received with the greatest kindness, 1256. visits Montpellier, *ib.* where he receives great civilities and respect, especially from lady Mordaunt, *ib.* he writes a vindication of himself, 1257. his answer to the several articles of the charge against him, 1257—1275. enjoys great tranquillity of mind, 1275. two apprehensions discompose him, *ib.* first, the insufficiency of his fortune, *ib.* this was composed in the assurance he had of the affection and

piety of his children, *ib.* the second, the fear of being again persecuted in his banishment, *ib.* this removed by an entire acquiescence in the good pleasure of God, 1276. reflections on the wonderful and unusual proceedings and prosecution against him, *ib.* which raise his confidence in God, *ib.* his reflections on his conduct from the time of the king's restoration, *ib.* blames himself for the vast expense he had made in the building of his house, *ib.* esteems himself most happy in what he calls his three acquiescences, or retreat from public business, 1277. his first acquiescence was his residence in Jersey; his second was, when he was ambassador in Spain; and his third was his last recess, by the disgrace he underwent, and by the act of banishment, *ib.* in all these he had learned more, knew himself and others better, and served God and his country with more devotion, *ib.* a summary recapitulation of his life, *ib.* his writings, 1282.

Hyde, Henry, father to lord Clarendon, 915. of the Middle Temple, *ib.* master of arts in Oxford, *ib.* has an inclination to travel, *ib.* goes to the Spa for his health, *ib.* passes through Germany into Italy, to Florence, Syenna, and Rome, 916. averse to the Roman catholics, *ib.* protected at Rome by cardinal Allen, *ib.* returns to England, *ib.* persuaded by his mother to marry, *ib.* marries Mary, daughter of Edward Langford, *ib.* lives a private life at Dinton, *ib.* his character, *ib.* serves as burgess in several parliaments, *ib.* has four sons and five daughters, *ib.* removes to Pirton, 917. in a very dangerous state of health, 919. removes to Salisbury, *ib.* dies suddenly, aged sixty-nine, 920. character, *ib.*

Hyde, Henry, brother of lord Clarendon, 916. died aged twenty-six or twenty-seven, *ib.* was master of arts in the university of Oxford, *ib.*

Hyde, Joanna, aunt to lord Clarendon, 915. married to Edward Younge, *ib.*

Hyde, Laurence, of West-Hatch, grandfather to lord Clarendon, 915. his education, *ib.* a clerk in one of the auditor's offices of the exchequer, *ib.* married Anne widow of Matthew Calthurst, *ib.* had four sons and four daughters, *ib.* purchased the manor of West-Hatch, *ib.* where he died, *ib.* left the bulk of his estate to his eldest son Robert, *ib.* and the inappropriate rectory of Denham to his second son Laurence, *ib.*

Hyde, Laurence, uncle to lord Clarendon, 915. afterwards sir Laurence, and attorney general to queen Anne, *ib.* a lawyer of great

name and practice, *ib.* possessed from his father the inappropriate rectory of Dinton, *ib.*

Hyde, Laurence, brother of lord Clarendon, 916. died young, *ib.*

Hyde, Nicholas, uncle to lord Clarendon, 915. treasurer of the Middle Temple, 916. afterwards lord chief justice of the king's bench, 915, 916. death and character, 918.

Hyde, Nicholas, brother of lord Clarendon, 916. died young, *ib.*

Hyde, Robert, of Norbury, co. Chester, great grandfather to lord Clarendon, 915.

Hyde, Robert, uncle to lord Clarendon, 915. married Anne Castilian, *ib.*

Hyde, Susanna, aunt to lord Clarendon, 915. married to sir G. Fuy, *ib.*

# I.

James I. recommends Edward Hyde to Dr. Langton, 916.

Jermyn, Mr. Thomas, 974.

Jermyn, Mr., master of the horse to the duke of York, 1048.

Jersey, 973—976.

Ignoto, the illegitimate son of lady Roos, 1207.

Indemnity, act of, transactions in parliament concerning it, 1031. great delays respecting it, 1032. is at last passed, *ib.*

Inspruck, the archduke of, character of his minister at Madrid, 983.

Insurrection, danger of, 1099.

Johnson, Ben, one of Edward Hyde's chief acquaintance, 923. his character, *ib.*

Ireland, 973, 974. commissioners sent thence to the king, 1020. state of that kingdom, 1025. commissioners sent from different parts of the kingdom, *ib.* commissioners from the state, *ib.* deputies from the bishops and clergy, 1026. a committee deputed by the adventurers, *ib.* a committee from the army in present pay there, "for the arrears due to them," 1028. a committee from the officers who had served the king, *ib.* a committee for the Irish catholics, 1029. Monk still continues lord lieutenant, 1030. lord Roberts made deputy, 1031. affairs of, taken into consideration, 1050. church lands restored, and new bishops appointed, 1051. the Irish catholics favoured by the king, 1052. the different pleas of the Irish, *ib.* a great number of the Irish catholics who had served the king restored, 1055. the first act of settlement passed, 1057. three lords justices appointed, *ib.* partiality of the commissioners appointed by the first act, 1058. a second act of settlement transmitted to the king, *ib.* new commissioners appointed to execute it, *ib.* second act passed, *ib.* they publish their intended method of proceeding, 1060. their sentences

and decrees favourable to the Irish, *ib.* reflections on their proceedings, *ib.* too many of the Irish rebels restored to their estate, 1061. many who had served the king condemned by the commissioners, *ib.* many of their decrees made upon settlements notoriously forged, 1062. the defence of the commissioners on these proceedings, *ib.* their defence by no means satisfactory, 1063. their decree in favour of the marquis of Antrim extremely complained of, 1064. the difficulties of a settlement increased, 1066. by some acts of bounty from his majesty, *ib.* which are attributed to the earl of Orrery, *ib.* the different parties agree upon an expedient for a settlement, 1067. the third act passed, *ib.* the privy-council remonstrate against the bill prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle into England, 1108.

Italy, infested by the arms of Spain and France, 934.

K.

Killigrew, Harry, 949.

Killigrew, Mrs., one of the maids of honour to the princess royal, 989. dies of the small-pox, *ib.*

Kingston, co. Wilts, 915.

Kyneton, co. Wilts, 915.

L.

Lambert, general, 1074. close prisoner in the Tower, 997. still has his faction at work, *ib.*

Lane, Mr., attorney to the prince of Wales, and afterwards chief baron of the exchequer, a friend of Edward Hyde's in his profession, 931. upon the death of lord Littleton, is made keeper of the great seal, *ib.* dies in banishment, *ib.*

Langford, Edward, of Trowbridge, 916.

Langford, Mary, married to Henry Hyde, father of lord Clarendon, 916.

Langton, Dr., president of Magdalen college, Oxford, 916. king James recommends Edward Hyde to him, *ib.* pretends that the letter came too late, *ib.* receives reprehension from lord Conway for not giving more respect to the king's letter, *ib.*

Laud, William, archbishop of Canterbury, 920. one of the commissioners for managing the treasurer's office, *ib.* character upon undertaking that duty, *ib.* receives information and complaints from Mr. Harvey, *ib.* sends for Edward Hyde, 922. is reconciled to the earl of Hertford through Mr. Hyde, 931. his greatest want, a true friend, *ib.* Mr. Hyde's free expostulation with him, 932.

Lautherdale, earl of, one of the Scotch commissioners, 1021. his character and some account of him, *ib.* is made secretary of state in Scotland, 1022. opposes the re-establishment of episcopacy in

Scotland, 1023. strives to get it delayed, *ib.* his discourse makes some impression on the king, 1024. his design is discovered by the other commissioners, *ib.* and prevented, *ib.*

Lawson, sir John, 1038. much consulted by the duke of York, 1132. killed in the first engagement with the Dutch, 1141. his character, *ib.*

Lee, the lady, (afterwards countess of Rochester,) 948.

Leicester, earl of, 927.

London, the plague there in 1625, 917. the small-pox rages there in 1628, *ib.* opposes the Canary merchants' petition for a charter, 1137. a terrible fire breaks out Sept. 1, 1666, 1185. which continues four days, 1186. it decreases, *ib.* various surmises and idle stories respecting it, 1187. the inestimable loss sustained by the fire, 1188.

Lopez, Dr., a learned Jew and physician, 984.

Lords, house of, (see Parliament.)

Lorn, lord, son of the marquis of Argyll, restored, and created earl of Argyll, 1113.

Loudon, earl of, 927.

Low Countries, 927.

Lumley, the lord, 933.

Lutterworth, 948.

Lindsey, earl of, 1049. has Cromwell's leave to attend the king's funeral, *ib.* lord high chamberlain of England, 1017. is created knight of the garter by the chancellor's means, *ib.*

Lionne, monsieur de, 1251. secretary of state in France on the death of cardinal Mazarine, 1043.

Littleton, lord keeper, prevailed upon by Mr. Hyde to send the great seal to the king at York, and attend himself upon his majesty, 948. out of favour at court, 950. Mr. Hyde reconciles the king to him, 951.

Liturgy, an account of the revival of it, 1074. some of the bishops are against all alterations in it, *ib.* others press both for alterations and additions, *ib.* inveighed against by all the factious preachers of all persuasions, 1075. presented to the house of lords with the king's confirmation, 1077. consented to by them, *ib.*

## M.

Madrid, 982.

Maltravers, the lord, 957.

Manchester, the earl of, 931, 936. made lord chamberlain, 1005. one of the committee appointed to enter into a treaty with the Portuguese ambassador concerning the king's marriage, 1037.

Mandeville, the lord, son of the earl of Manchester, 936.

Manly, sir Richard, 936.

Marlborough, taken by the king's forces, 958.

Marlborough, the earl of, killed in the first engagement with the Dutch, 1141.

Martin, Harry, his conversation with Mr. Hyde, 937. owns himself a republican, *ib.*

Martin, sir Henry, 935.

Masquerade, the, at Madrid, description of it, 981.

Maurice, prince, disunion between him and prince Rupert, 963.

May, Thomas, one of Edward Hyde's chief acquaintances, 923. his character, 924.

May, Mr., presumes to speak lightly to the king of the fire of London, 1189.

Maynard, John, a friend of Edward Hyde's in his profession, 931. afterwards bowed his knee to Beal, and swerved from his allegiance, *ib.*

Mazarine, cardinal, 1043.

Mervin, sir Audley, one of the commissioners from the state of Ireland, 1025.

Middleburgh, 979.

Middleton, declared by the king one of the Scotch commissioners, 1022. created earl of Middleton, 1023. proposes the rescinding the act of the covenant, and reestablishment of episcopacy in Scotland, *ib.* discovers Lautherdale's design of delaying it, 1024. and prevents it, *ib.* the king's commissioner in Scotland, 1110. is well received there, *ib.*

Molina, the comde of, ambassador from Spain to England, his character, 1213. endeavours at a separate treaty with Holland, *ib.*

Monk, general, recommends a list of privy counsellors to the king, 994. his reasons for doing so, 995. is made knight of the garter, and admitted of the council, *ib.* is confirmed by the king in all the offices before assigned him by the parliament, 1005. sworn also gentleman of the bedchamber, and master of the horse, *ib.* continues lord lieutenant of Ireland, 1030. resigns that appointment when duke of Albemarle, 1058.

Monmouth, duke of, (see Crofts.)

Montague, Mr., master of the horse to his majesty, dies, 1154. his brother appointed in his room, 1155.

Montpelier, 1256, 1275.

Montrath, earl of, one of the lords justices of England, 1176. his death, 1177.

Montrevil, 1250.

Mordaunt, Mr., created a viscount, 1002. unjustly censured and reproached, *ib.* a most zealous servant to the king, *ib.*

Mordaunt, lady viscountess, her great civilities to the chancellor at Montpelier, 1256.

Morley, Dr. (see bishop of Winchester,) 948. one of Edward Hyde's intimate friends, 925. frequently staying with sir Lucius Carey,

926. his character, 928. preaches a sermon at the coronation, 1048.  
 Morrice, Mr., a particular friend of general Monk's, 995. his conference with the chancellor on the list of privy counsellors given to the king by Monk, *ib.* receives the signet from the king, and is sworn of the council and secretary of state, *ib.* his character, 1100.  
 Mountague, Abbot, 1251, 1254, 1276. gives the chancellor a reason for the alteration of the queen's behaviour, 1013.  
 Mountague, sir Sidney, 949.  
 Munster, the bishop of, makes proposals for an alliance against the Dutch, 1123. which the king approves of, *ib.* engages to invade the United Provinces, 1145. the French deter the neighbouring states from assisting the bishop, 1174. who notwithstanding remains firm to his engagements with England, *ib.* but is at length forced by the French to make peace with the Dutch, 1175.  
 Muskerry, the lord, killed in the first engagement with the Dutch, 1140.  
 N.  
 Navy, state of, from the king's restoration, 1125. state of it at the commencement of the Dutch war, 1127. fleet prepared, 1132.  
 Naseby, 973.  
 Newark, 974.  
 Newbury, battle of, 965.  
 Newcastle, the king and the army retire thither, 974.  
 Newcastle, the marquiss of, 985.  
 Nicholas, secretary, desired by the king to thank Mr. Hyde for his zeal in his service, 937. the king's character of him, 944, 957. is made master of the wards, *ib.* one of the king's council at the restoration, 992. character of him, 993. his reputation, integrity, and experience, *ib.* his trust with the late king, *ib.* his friendship with the chancellor, *ib.* appointed one of the committee to enter into a treaty with the Portuguese ambassador relative to the king's marriage with the infanta, 1037. his character, 1100. resigns his office of secretary of state, 1101.  
 Norbury, in the county of Chester, the family estate of the Hydes since the conquest, 915.  
 Northumberland, earl of, 955. Pierrepoint solicits the king to make him lord high admiral, 959. complains to the king of lord Ossory, 1048. proposes that the old Book of Common Prayer might be confirmed without any alteration or addition, 1077. known to be of the presbyterian party, *ib.*  
 Nott, Mr., the Jesuit, Mr. Chillingworth's book against him, 926.  
 Nostall, 948, 950.

## O.

Oliver, John, fellow of Magdalen

college, Oxford, 916. tutor to Edward Hyde, *ib.*  
 Opdam, admiral, puts to sea with the Dutch fleet, 1140. engages the English, *ib.* perishes in his ship, which is burnt, *ib.*  
 Ordination, debates in the house of lords on the clause of the act of uniformity requiring episcopal ordination, 1077.  
 Ormond, marquis of, is informed of the prince's arrival in the island of Scilly, 973. is restored to his estate, 1051. accepts the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland, when duke of Ormond, 1059. upon the chancellor's regret at the appointment, he states to him his reasons for accepting it, *ib.* sets out for Ireland with the commissioners, *ib.* an attempt by Dick Talbot to assassinate him, 1193. the duke of Buckingham's hatred to him, 1197.  
 Ormond, marchioness of, present at the duchess of York's delivery, 1011.  
 Orrery, earl of, (see lord Broghill,) one of the lords justices of Ireland, 1057. the cause of some im-provident acts of bounty in the king, 1066. and this without the chancellor's knowledge, 1067.  
 Ossory, lord, eldest son of the duke of Ormond, challenges the place before the lord Percy at the coronation, 1048. is ordered by the king to desist from his pretence, 1049. sends a challenge to the duke of Buckingham, 1200. is sent to the Tower, 1202.  
 Ostend, 977, 978.  
 Oxford, 949, 954. the parliament commissioners in Oxford, 958, 961, 974. plague brought there by sir James Hussey, 916.

## P.

Palmer, Geoffrey, attorney general, a friend of Edward Hyde's in his profession, 931.  
 Pampeluna, 984.  
 Papists, the king meditates two bills against them, 1097. their imprudent behaviour, 1098. a design formed to have them convicted, *ib.* which they frustrate, *ib.*  
 Paris, 974, 975.  
 Parliament, the, in the year 1625, adjourned to Oxford in consequence of the plague, 916. called by Charles I. upon the rebellion in Scotland, April 1640, 934. dissolved in May following, 935. another called in November, *ib.* temper and constitution of it, *ib.* discovers a prejudice against Mr. Hyde, *ib.* make a recess during the king's absence in Scotland, 937. their remonstrance of the state of the nation, and its particular grievances, printed, 938. answered by Mr. Hyde, *ib.* pass and send to the king the two bills for granting the militia, and the removing the bishops out of the

house of peers, 942. the latter bill passed by the king, *ib.* sends Mr. Hyde with a message to the king respecting the removal of the prince of Wales, 943. the king's answer delivered to the houses, 945. send a committee to the king about violating their privileges, *ib.* discomposed at the spirit and firmness of the king, 946. their conduct thereupon, *ib.* send commissioners to Oxford to treat with the king, 958. but with very restrained powers, *ib.* vote that no more addresses should be made to the king, 976. which is answered by the chancellor, *ib.* meeting of both houses after the restoration, 995. character of the house of commons, 996. and of the presbyterian party in it, *ib.* transactions in it concerning the act of indemnity, 1031. delays respecting it, 1032. at last passes it, *ib.* is adjourned, *ib.* meet again, 1035. raise several sums for the army and navy, 1034. pass several acts for the settling a future revenue for the crown, *ib.* vote to raise that revenue to twelve hundred thousand pounds, *ib.* give seventy thousand pounds towards the discharge of the coronation, *ib.* thank the king for his declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, 1035. a new parliament summoned to meet, *ib.* it meets on the 8th of May, 1046. the two houses express their joy at the king's intended marriage, *ib.* passes an act to restore the king's friends, 1051. enters with alacrity upon all affairs which refer to the king's honour, safety, or profit, 1069. asserts the king's prerogative, *ib.* unwilling to confirm the act of indemnity, *ib.* prevailed upon by the king to do so, 1070. commons pass a bill for restoring bishops to their seats in parliament, *ib.* which is objected to in the house of lords by the earl of Bristol, *ib.* but which is passed, 1071. parliament is adjourned, *ib.* meets again on the 30th of July, 1661, 1073. pleased with the king's speech to them, *ib.* sent for to attend the king at Whitehall, 1076. his speech to them, *ib.* house of lords consents to the Liturgy as presented to them by the king, 1077. debates there upon the act of uniformity, *ib.* upon the clause requiring episcopal ordination, *ib.* the lords pass the bill, 1078. amendments made in it by the house of commons, *ib.* bill returned to the lords, *ib.* debates upon the amendments made by the commons, *ib.* the lords agree to most of the amendments of the commons, 1079. who submit to all the lords had done, *ib.* and so the king is obliged to confirm the bill, *ib.* great animosities in parliament about private bills, 1083. their

vour towards the king not-  
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 ful, *ib.* the king's speech to  
 y, *ib.* Feb. 18, 1662, the par-  
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 e house, and character of the  
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 e intrigues of sir Harry Ben-  
 and Mr. Coventry, 1097. re-  
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 to the king the articles of  
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 ng offers a proviso, *ib.* which  
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 16, 1195. the king's speech,  
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 the house of lords send lord

Ossory and the duke of Bucking-  
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*ib.* an instance of the violent pas-  
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 king for his speech, and for re-  
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 against the chancellor in the house  
 of commons by Mr. Seymour,  
 1230. articles of the charge stated,  
 1240. proceedings thereupon, *ib.*  
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 Paston, sir Robert, moves for a sup-  
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 1121. which is agreed to by the  
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 Peterborough, the earl of, attends  
 the duke of York as a volunteer,  
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 Piercy, Mr., sent by the king for  
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 Pierrepoint, Mr., sent by the parlia-  
 ment to treat with the king, 958.  
 proposes that the king should  
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 lord high admiral of England,  
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